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The Algerian Revolution in the Representations of the French Intellectual Elite: Jean-Paul Sartre as a Model

الثورة الجزائرية في تمثلات النخبة الفرنسية المثقفة: جان بول سارتر نموذجا

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Abstract:

This study examines the representations and writings of the French intellectual elite regarding the Algerian cause and the history of the Algerian Liberation Revolution, highlighting their role in shaping global awareness of the Algerian people's right to freedom and peaceful living. It focuses on the works of Jean-Paul Sartre, the renowned philosopher and writer, known for his extensive contributions to philosophy, literature, and psychology. A significant part of Sartre's writings explored human existence and the right to freedom, which he greatly valued. These foundations positioned him among the strongest opponents of injustice and a committed advocate for the Algerian cause. The study concludes that Sartre's support granted the revolution international legitimacy due to his credibility among global intellectual elites. More than a voice of protest, he sought solutions to the Algerian tragedy and left an enduring intellectual legacy documenting struggles for liberation worldwide.

Keywords: Sartre, representations, intellectual elite, Our Shame, torture.

الملخص باللغة العربية:

الدراس في تمثلات وكتابات النخبة الفرنسية حول القضية الجزائرية وتاريخ الثورة التحريرية ، يدرك حجم التغير الكبير الذي أحدثته هذه التمثلات لدى بعض الضمائر الواعية بحق الشعب الجزائري في الحرية والعيش بسلام، ولأهميتها اخترنا تمثلات جان بول سارتر الفيلسوف والأديب، الذي اشتهر بكتاباته الغزيرة في الفلسفة، والأدب وعلم النفس، والتي خصص جزءا كبيرا منها للبحث في سر الوجود الإنساني، وحقه في الحرية التي عاش عاشقا لها، كل هذه المكتسبات جعلت سارتر من أكبر المناهضين للظلم في العالم، ومدافعا عن حق الشعب الجزائري في نصرة قضيته.

ومن نتائج هذه الدراسة، توصلنا إلى أنّ دعم سارتر للثورة الجزائرية أكسبها شرعية عالمية، نظرا لمصداقيته لدى الكثير من النخب المثقفة حول العالم، فلم يكن سارتر مجرد صوت يندّد ويناهض، فلقد سعى لإيجاد حل للمأساة الجزائرية، التي كان يراها وصمة عار في تاريخ وطنه، ومن واجبه أن يقف في وجه السياسة الاستعمارية المنافية للأخلاقيات الإنسانية. كما ترك إرثا مرجعيا يؤرخ للنضال التحرري العالمي والوطني.

الكلمات المفتاحية: سارتر، تمثلات، نخبة مثقفة، عارنا، التعذيب.

1. INTRODUCTION

The other's representations of the Algerian revolution formed a historical reference that differed in terms of its nature and orientations. They may be positive or negative, realistic or symbolic, but they all contribute to shaping our understanding of the revolution and its importance in the history of Algeria. Our study of the representations of the educated French elite is not merely a presentation of the positions of some elites towards the Algerian issue in general and the revolution in particular.

It is a work that examines the set of ideas and perceptions that were formed in the minds of the latter and were not formed in others It can be said that the representations of others appeared with the development of the liberal concepts that spread among the youth elites and the emergence of liberation movements in the French colonies, which made some French elites pay great attention to the Algerian issue, especially after the outbreak of the liberation revolution, which resulted in a clear change in events that made some names emerge, declaring their strong rejection of the French policy practiced against the Algerian people Among the most prominent voices opposing colonial policy was the philosopher and politician Jean-Paul Sartre, who was an example of global liberation. He made his mark through his representations, which became a reference in

the revolutionary narrative supporting the Algerian cause.

2. The Significance of the Study : The importance of this study lies in the impact that Jean-Paul Sartre's representations had on the Algerian cause. Studying most of his writings opposing colonial policy in Algeria highlights the significance of what Sartre wrote and composed, as they serve as an intellectual reference for defending the human right to exist freely, without submission or surrender. These representations also revealed the ugly reality of the colonizer, who stripped people of their right to freedom and to live in peace.

3. Statement of the Problem: The problem of this study revolves around highlighting the value and importance of Jean-Paul Sartre's writings, which represent an example of what the educated French elite produced about the history of the liberation revolution. These writings revealed the extent of the suffering of the Algerian people under French occupation and emphasized the necessity of confronting colonial policies. This leads us to question how Jean-Paul Sartre's writings against the French colonizer were represented in Algeria.

This problem includes a number of sub-questions:

- What were the writings of the French intellectual elite about the Algerian liberation revolution?
- Who was Jean-Paul Sartre?
- What are Jean-Paul Sartre's anti-colonial and libertarian representations?
- How did the Algerian revolution influence Jean-Paul Sartre's perceptions of freedom and existentialism?
- How did Jean-Paul Sartre's writings impact the Algerian cause and the liberation revolution?

4. Objectives of the Study :The research aims to highlight the presence of the Algerian Revolution in the studies and representations of the French intellectual elites and to examine its conception and libertarian propositions through the writings of Jean-Paul Sartre. Accordingly, the study seeks to understand his intellectual perceptions that made him a pioneer of anti-colonial policy in Algeria.

5. Methodology :The method used in this study is the historical-analytical approach, through which we collected the scientific material related to the research topic and presented it systematically, analyzing it based on the information obtained.

6. Added Value :The objective value of this research is determined by monitoring and exploring the narratives and representations of the French intellectuals and what they wrote about the liberation revolution. Research in history and memory requires access to the writings of the “other” in terms of perception, perspective, and intended objectives. Accordingly, the cognitive value added by this research is as follows:

- Study of the Algerian Revolution from the perspective of the French intellectual elite’s representations.
- The legitimacy of the Algerian Revolution in the eyes of others.
- The resonance of the Algerian Revolution among French philosophers, thinkers, and activists.
- Jean-Paul Sartre's position on the Algerian liberation révolution
- French recognition of the Algerian people’s right to regain their sovereignty.

From this standpoint, the French elite overcame the barrier of fear brought about by the liberation revolution and decided to break their silence by uniting their efforts within small local organizations, such as Liberal Federalism, the Liberal Left Caucus, the Teachers’ Forum, New Republic, and New Life for Democracy in Algeria. These organizations were supported and led by figures such as André Mandouze and Alexandre Chaulet. Many of their members were councilors in the Municipal Council of Algiers, chaired by Jacques Chevallier, along with Georges Plachet, Jean-Marie Tino, and Paul Arnold. In the same direction, journalist Robert Rémond and several Algerian newspaper writers sought to free the Algerian

press from advocates of violence and repression in Algeria.[1]

As for the French lawyers, they adopted fair and courageous attitudes toward the prisoners and those sentenced to death. Among those who defended the justice of the National Liberation Front's demands and supported its cause was the well-known lawyer Jacques Vergès, who defended the activist Djamila Bouhired. Together with his friend Georges Arnaud, he co-authored a book about Bouhired's struggle, exposing the police fraud committed against her and recounting her statements before the judge. She declared:

7. Algerian Revolution in the Logic of the Writings of the French Intellectual Elite:

The Algerian Revolution received the attention of many national and foreign writers from various fields, including scholars, intellectuals, politicians, historians, authors, artists, journalists, philosophers, and liberal thinkers worldwide, such as Francis Jeanson and his wife Colette, a writer and specialist in psychology. Jeanson made significant contributions through his writings, which promoted the culture of liberation and rejected the traditional domination of colonialism, including his fair and supportive writings on the Algerian cause.[2] He expressed his sympathy for the cause by establishing a support network that strengthened the Algerian Revolution. His groundbreaking book *L'Algérie hors la loi*, co-authored with his wife Colette and published in 1955 by Éditions du Seuil, was one of the first works to openly criticize French policy in Algeria at the political, military, economic, and social levels.[3]

The truth is that I love my country, and I want to see it free. That is why I support the struggle of the National Liberation Front (FLN), and that alone is the reason why you will sentence me to death, just as you killed my brothers Ben M'hidi, Boudiaf, and Zadiour. But do not forget that when you kill us, you also kill the honor of your country and its libertarian traditions, as well as destroy its future, which you are putting in danger. Do not forget that you will never be able to prevent Algeria from regaining its right to freedom, God willing.[4]

With the beginning of the Algerian Liberation Revolution in November 1954, a committee was formed to secure the release of Msalli El-Hajj and all victims of repression. Among its prominent members were Jean Cassou, Marceau Pivert, André Breton, Yves Dechezelles, Alexandre Hébert, and Yves Jouffa. On 9 December 1954, the Committee Against Colonial Oppression was established, which included figures such as Daniel Guérin.

Subsequently, in August 1955, the Committee for the Defense of Democratic Freedoms was created by Claude Bourdet, Georges Fontenis, Robert Barrat, Gilbert Gobron, François Mauriac, and Jean-Marie Domenach. Another initiative, the Committee of Intellectual Action Against the Resumption of War in North Africa, as well as the Committee for Amnesty for Political Prisoners Overseas, was also launched.

Additionally, Louis Massignon demanded from the President of the French Republic the suspension of executions, while the Movement for Justice and Freedom Overseas was spearheaded by Jean Rous, Louis Houdeville, and Marceau Pivert.[5]

Because of their openly supportive stance toward the Algerian cause, many French intellectuals faced setbacks as a result of their attempts to enlighten French public opinion. Among them were several churchmen, such as Chaulet, Scotto, Declercq, Jotun, Gauton, Timsit, Perrin, Leviton, Lavalette, and Mine. Others, like Petty Officer Maymilot, fled carrying weapons and luggage. Additionally, René Vautier, a committed filmmaker, spent twenty years in the Aurès Mountains, using his camera to document and bear witness to the struggle of the Algerian people. [6]

French anti-colonialists included Jacqueline Chérukroun, a militant in the Algerian Communist Party and the first political prisoner incarcerated in the Barberousse Prison in Algiers in 1955, as well as Renée Ravina, another activist who, along with her husband, was arrested in March 1956. Both opposed France's colonial

policy and were determined to help the revolution realize its full potential.[7]

All these names we mentioned are examples of hundreds of French intellectuals who raised the banner of denouncing and opposing their country's policy toward the Algerian people. Aware of the tragedy caused by killings, torture, displacement, and the deprivation of legitimate freedoms, they chose not to remain silent and sought to satisfy their consciences, fully recognizing the human rights of all peoples of the world to be free and to live in peace.

This also included the struggling Algerian people, who, thanks to their revolution, convinced many that every individual has a legitimate right to defend their land, dignity, and freedom. Among the most prominent supporters was the philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre, who upheld the universal value of human existence, condemned injustice, and embraced freedom. Through his writings and anti-colonial ideology, Sartre adopted a strong and principled stance toward the Algerian cause.

8. A Historical Overview of the Philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980)

Before addressing Jean-Paul Sartre's representations and his ideas regarding the Algerian Revolution, it is essential to briefly outline his life and intellectual journey. So, who was Sartre?

Jean-Paul Charles Aymard Sartre was born on June 21, 1905, in Paris. He is regarded as one of the most prominent existentialist philosophers, particularly interested in ontology and the nature of existence. Sartre's early life was marked by hardships that shaped in him a spirit of rebellion against the constraints of his reality.

He began his studies with distinction in October 1915 at Henri-IV High School in Paris.[8] At the age of 19, Sartre was deeply influenced by the writings of the philosopher Henri Bergson, especially through Bergson's work *Direct Consciousness* (*La conscience immédiate*), which he read in 1924. Sartre later confessed: *"I found in this volume a description of what I believed to be my psychological life"*[9] This intellectual awakening attracted Sartre to philosophy and motivated him to choose it as his academic specialization.

He pursued his studies at the prestigious École Normale Supérieure, where he was surrounded by brilliant peers who later became part of the French intellectual elite in the field of contemporary thought, including Raymond Aron, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, and Paul Nizan. Sartre considered his four years at the École Normale a period of happiness shared with his colleagues and intellectual companions.[10] He ultimately graduated in 1929, earning a doctorate in philosophy.[11]

In addition to his interests in literature, philosophy, and psychology, politics played a significant role in shaping Sartre's thought. One of the most influential political developments between the First and Second World Wars was the rise of the French Communist Party in December 1924. At that time, the party was represented by only four workers, while the majority of its members came from the intellectual elite.

Sartre's initial engagement with politics began during his years at the École Normale Supérieure (1924–1929), where the activities of the Communist Party had a notable influence on him (Omarani, 2007, pp. 17-20). However, despite this early exposure, Sartre chose not to join the French Communist Party in the 1930s. He believed that the party lacked political strength and a solid popular base.

Instead, Sartre devoted much of his time to writing, particularly working on his famous novel "Nausea" (La Nausée). Nevertheless, he supported the policy of the Popular Front, which he viewed as a political force capable of promoting security, stability, peace, and social justice both in France and across the world.[12]

In pursuit of his growing interest in philosophy, Jean-Paul Sartre traveled to Germany in September 1933, where he studied German philosophy at the French Institute in Berlin. During this period, Sartre explored the phenomenology of Edmund Husserl (1859–1938) and the existential philosophy of Martin Heidegger. It was at

this stage that he wrote his first notable article, *L'Imaginaire* (The Imaginary), which later appeared in 1936 as a psychological and philosophical study published in *Recherches Philosophiques*.[13]

Sartre was not only a philosopher but also an accomplished novelist. His famous work, *La Nausée* (*Nausea*), published in 1938, is widely regarded as a narrative embodiment of his existential philosophy. Through its characters, themes, and narrative techniques, the novel reflects Sartre's deep engagement with questions of existence, freedom, and authenticity.[14] In the same year, he published *La Transcendence de l'Ego*, an applied philosophical study examining the relationship between fiction, consciousness, and self-reflection.[15]

In 1939, Sartre completed *Esquisse d'une théorie des émotions* (*Sketch for a Theory of Emotions*), which serves as an introduction to phenomenological thinking and an exemplary application of this method. The book marked a significant turning point in contemporary philosophy and the human sciences, particularly in psychology.[16]

From this point forward, Sartre dedicated himself to producing both philosophical and literary works, which quickly established his reputation in cultural, intellectual, and political circles worldwide. In June 1940, during World War II, Sartre was captured and imprisoned in a German camp, where he remained until March 1941.[17] After his release, he resumed his philosophical writing, and in 1943 published his monumental work *L'Être et le Néant* (*Being and Nothingness*).[18] This publication solidified Sartre's position as a leading existentialist thinker and a central figure in 20th-century philosophy.[19]

Sartre's philosophy is considered revolutionary because it asserts that human beings are inherently dissatisfied with their existence. He advocates for rebellion, disobedience, and revolution against the social conditions that impose submission and servitude. According to Sartre, such oppressive circumstances compel individuals to demand change in order to adapt and achieve freedom. For the French philosopher, revolution represents the essence of life's struggle, a necessary response to alienation and exploitation. In his work *Materialism and Revolution*, Sartre addresses the dilemma of revolutionary philosophy, portraying the revolutionary as both a productive worker and an oppressed individual. In Sartre's view, the revolutionary transcends his current condition, paving the way for the creation of a new society.[20]

In the same year, Sartre was invited by the French Communist Party to collaborate with them and to help organize the National Book Committee, which was supervised by the party. In 1945, Sartre published the first issue of the renowned magazine *Les Temps Modernes*, which featured contributions from prominent French intellectuals such as Simone de Beauvoir, Raymond Aron, and Maurice Merleau-Ponty. In the magazine's introduction, Sartre declared: *"In sum, our intention is to contribute to some change in the society around us. This is the main purpose of this magazine"*.[21] However, in 1948, Sartre announced his separation from the Communist Party and decided not to engage in any political movement after the dissolution of the Popular Democratic Assembly. From that point onward, he redirected his focus toward other fields, including history, economics, and a re-examination of Marxist thought.[22]

In 1956, Sartre severed his relationship with the Communist Party after a conflict marked by mutual accusations. From that time onward, he shifted his attention to broader political and social issues, focusing on the dynamics of the French political movement, the influence of major world powers, and significant historical events such as the Indochina War and the Algerian Revolution. Sartre continued his intellectual and activist pursuits until his death on April 15, 1980, in Paris, leaving behind a profound philosophical and literary legacy.[23]

9. Jean-Paul Sartre's Representations of the Algerian Revolution

The French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre's awareness of the Algerian issue began before the outbreak of the liberation revolution, as

he was a prominent member of the Committee of Action of Intellectuals Against the Continuation of the War in North Africa.[24] As a strong opponent of French colonial policy, Sartre was interviewed by the newspaper *République Algérienne* in 1952, and in the fall of 1955, he expressed his support for the Committee of Intellectuals opposing the continuation of the Algerian War. Sartre was also influenced by Francis Jeanson, a collaborator with the magazine *Les Temps Modernes*, who, together with his wife Colette, published *L'Algérie hors la loi* in December 1955. From this point onward, Sartre underwent what he described as a "moral renewal," which led him to identify a new, more radical subject than the proletariat, namely the colonized peoples. The Algerian Revolution benefited significantly from this shift, as it gained the support of a broad cultural and intellectual front in France. [25]

Sartre began to align himself with the "suitcase carriers" movement in 1956 when he published his first article, "The Question of Conflict", in the magazine *Les Temps Modernes*. He later published another article entitled "Algeria Is Not France" in the same magazine, where, in bold letters, the headline declared: "The war will end four times in Algeria and once in France".[26] From this point onward, Sartre's relationship with the Algerian Revolution began to take shape.

Sartre's first article on the Algerian Revolution, published in March 1956 and entitled *"Colonialism is a System"*, highlighted the economic and political mechanisms of colonialism and called for fighting it, thus laying the first building block of a French anti-colonial cultural front. His efforts did not stop there; he continued to express his rejection of the policy pursued by this regime through an intervention during a forum for peace in Algeria, held at Wagram Hall in Paris on January 27, 1956, under the auspices of the Committee of the Movement of Intellectuals Against the Continuation of the War in Algeria.[27]

In the same month, Sartre wrote an article on the issue of violence entitled *"Colonialism Coordinated"*, in which he stated: *"Invasion through violence, exploitation, and oppression required the constant presence of military force. The colonizer denied human rights through torture, poverty, deprivation, and illiteracy, creating a state of 'subhumanity.'"* Sartre depicted this colonial period in the most horrific terms. The concept of "subhumanity," which he borrowed from Marx, appears in many of his writings. He persistently described the extreme forms of violence that shaped the daily life and suffering of the Algerian people. Sartre repeatedly emphasized that colonialism, as a system, sought to portray the Algerian individual as a "monster" against whom all brutal methods of torture were justified.[28]

When Henri Alleg's book *La Question* was published in 1958, Sartre remarked: *"Alleg has brought torture out of the darkness where it hides; now let us confront it in broad daylight"*.[29] In the magazine *L'Express*, Sartre later wrote an article entitled *"Une Victoire"* (*A Victory*), which resulted in the confiscation of the weekly issue managed by Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber. In this article, he stated:

You know what is sometimes claimed to justify the crimes of the executioners: that one must torture a person if his confession could save hundreds of lives. A convenient trick. Take the case of Audin: he was not a terrorist, and the proof lies in the fact that he was accused of undermining national security and reviving a dissolved association. They only wanted to know the address of his friend who sheltered him. Had he revealed it, they would have captured another communist, nothing more. After that, arrests were carried out indiscriminately; every Muslim became a suspect. Most detainees revealed nothing, simply because they had nothing to confess.[30]

Regarding the impact of Henri Alleg's book on Sartre's psyche, he states: *"For my part, I used to stop reading, compelled by a sense of duty to do so. At times, I would publish fragments of what I wrote, and I looked with contempt upon these accounts that placed us on trial without leniency or mercy, stripping us of any glimmer of hope.*

But with the book La Question, everything changed."

Henri Alleg spared us the agony of despair and the burden of shame because he was not only a victim but also someone who rose above suffering, transcending even the limits of humanity. This transformation, Sartre observes, could not occur without a spirit of both irony and sadness. Alleg was tortured in the name of the French people, and through his book, he sought to deliver a powerful message to awaken their consciences, urging them to recognize the path of moral degradation into which their silence and complicity had led them while brutal crimes unfolded in Algeria.

For Sartre, the interrogation was nothing but a vile and heinous crime committed by perpetrators against their fellow human beings. The erosion of humanity, he argues, exists only under the weight of the collective nightmare born of fear. Alleg's courage, therefore, became the catalyst for awakening, compelling the French to confront their own reality and to put an end to their shame once and for all. Sartre acknowledges that Henri Alleg's steadfast resistance to torture and his refusal to yield to fear represent a victory, not only for the dignity of the victims but also for that of the colonizers themselves, confronting the violent excesses of colonialism, both military and civilian, fueled by systemic racism. Thus, Alleg's testimony shattered many of the illusions that had remained deeply rooted in the minds of the French public.[31]

Sartre urged victims subjected to torture and interrogation to demonstrate courage and a will that transcends what is commonly referred to as "humanity," resisting methods whose brutality, he argued, was no different from those employed by the Gestapo during World War II. In this context, Sartre states:

As for torture, this Western contest, the executioner measures himself against the victim in the struggle for human status, and everything unfolds as though they no longer belong to the same human race… Whoever yields to interrogation is not merely compelled to speak; he is condemned forever to a diminished state of being, less than a human being.[32]

In these paragraphs, Sartre sought to expose the profound ugliness of the colonizer, who deprived individuals of their freedom and stripped them of their very humanity. He highlighted how colonial powers legitimized the crimes of torture and interrogation without acknowledging the severity of these acts or their devastating impact on both the individual and society. At the same time, Sartre urged victims to resist and demonstrate courage in the face of oppression. From this perspective, Sartre recognized the victim as a vital force, even when outwardly defeated. For him, injustice can never ultimately prevail over truth, no matter how fragile or suppressed that truth may seem.

Sartre was regarded as a staunch advocate of freedom, a passionate defender of it, and a fierce opponent of injustice and tyranny. What distinguished him from many other French intellectuals regarding the Algerian liberation revolution was his consistency in upholding the principles he had championed both before and after World War II. He persistently called for the realization of freedom within social reality and remained committed to this ideal throughout his philosophical and political writings. This steadfastness is reflected in his famous assertion, "Any freedom is the freedom of others," a notion that deeply shaped his positions during the late 1950s and early 1960s.[33]

Sartre embodied his commitment to freedom and justice through his various writings in newspapers and literary works. In 1959, he wrote the play *Les Séquestrés d'Altona* (*The Condemned of Altona*), aiming to draw public attention to the heinous crimes committed by the French against Algerians.[34]The play, staged in a Parisian theater, explores methods of torture and highlights the atrocities perpetrated by the French army during the Algerian War. Sartre deliberately draws a parallel between the crimes committed by the Nazis during World War II and those carried out by the French

against Algerians, emphasizing that the suffering endured by the French under Nazi occupation mirrors the suffering of the Algerian people during this period.[35]

Among Sartre's influential works is *Our Shame in Algeria* (1963), in which he exposed the policies and practices of the French colonial regime in Algeria. In this book, Sartre denounced the deceptive narrative propagated by colonial authorities that attempted to distinguish between "good" colonists and "bad" colonists, a discourse intended to legitimize a new form of colonialism and maintain France's dominance over the Algerian people. The book presents a collection of testimonies and documents from French soldiers who had served as conscripts, revealing the systematic use of violence and severe torture to extract confessions and information, widespread looting and plundering, assaults on women's dignity, acts of brutal revenge against civilians, and numerous extrajudicial executions.[36] The publication provoked strong outrage from the French right wing, which mobilized the press and media to launch campaigns against Sartre. Protests and demonstrations were organized, with many calling for Sartre and his associates to be punished, particularly among the extremist settlers in Algeria who feared the imminent loss of privileges they had enjoyed for more than a century.[37]

In the early 1960s, Sartre's stance toward the Algerian Revolution became more firmly established, reflecting his unwavering commitment to the principle of freedom that he had long advocated. In February 1960, he visited Cuba with Simone de Beauvoir, where he met with Fidel Castro and engaged in discussions at the University of Havana with students about the progress of the Cuban Revolution, drawing comparisons with both the French and Russian Revolutions. During this period, Sartre also interacted with several Brazilian intellectuals, who invited him to deliver a lecture condemning the French government's demagogic policies toward the Algerian Revolution.[38]

Sartre's positions and ideas had a significant impact on the French cultural community. By early September 1960, a total of 121 French intellectuals had signed an official declaration affirming that Algerians had the right to resist and disobey, while explicitly refusing to participate in armed actions against them. The statement also expressed support for the French citizens who sympathized with the Algerians and opposed the colonial regime.[39] The authors of this declaration were part of a movement founded in October 1958, which expanded considerably over the following two years and reached 1,500 members, most of whom were university professors.[40]

Among the most prominent signatories of the 121 Intellectuals' Manifesto were Simone de Beauvoir, André Breton, Alain Joubert, André Mendoz, François Maspero, Jean-Paul Sartre, Pierre Vidal-Naki, and others. This initiative prompted a counter-movement, marked by the publication of the so-called *Manifesto of the French Intellectuals* on October 7, 1960, in which the signatories of the latter accused the original group of treason.[41]

In October 1960, a statement entitled *"Declaration of the Right Not to Submit"* during the Algerian War was published in the newspaper *Liberté, Vérité* (*Freedom, Truth*). The signatories highlighted that many French citizens were being prosecuted, imprisoned, and tried for refusing to participate in the war. They also declared the following:

- They refused to take up arms against the Algerian people.
- They stood in solidarity with the French citizens who considered it their duty to assist and protect the oppressed Algerians.
- They recognized the cause of the Algerian people as a struggle for freedom that concerns all peoples who value liberty.[42]

In November 1961, he participated in a peaceful demonstration to protest the repression and killings of Algerian workers. On December 13, 1961, he attended another event organized by an association that

included Tayeb Bel Harouf, a representative of the National Liberation Front, and members of the Italian left, focusing on Algerian independence. These activities led to him receiving the Amiga Prize in Milan, Italy.[43]

As a result of his support for the Algerian Revolution, Sartre became a target of hatred from the secret organization OAS and far-right youth. Supporters of French Algeria organized a massive demonstration in Paris, during which thousands of members of political associations and organizations chanted slogans such as "Kill Sartre." However, General de Gaulle responded firmly: "We will not imprison the Voltaire of France"[44].

Sartre did not waver in his support for the Algerian cause. He actively sought solutions aimed at gaining the sympathy and support of French public opinion for the Algerian people. He urged the French government to engage in swift negotiations with the National Liberation Front to end the suffering of the Algerian population. As he stated:

If we want to stop these criminal acts that alienate humanity, for France to lift the stigma and save the Algerians from this brutal torment, there is only one way, which is to open the door to negotiations wide and enter peace through its widest doors.[45]

Sartre also addressed French public opinion, urging them to take action against these brutal crimes. He stated:

In order for us to cast our votes with powers in our hands and somehow be able to withdraw them, the revolution of public opinion can bring down ministers, and we must be aware of the crimes being committed in our name so that we can stop them. This feeling of guilt that lies in our souls without moving must be taken into account, and we must be humiliated and degraded so that we can bear it.[46]

It can be said that Sartre's voice revealed a harsh reality to world public opinion and had a profound impact on the French intellectual elite in particular, and on foreign audiences in general. How could a French philosopher stand against his own country in order to defend justice in the face of injustice? Sartre himself answered this by stating that he was not against his country but rather against the policy of injustice practiced against an oppressed people.

10. Conclusion

We can conclude from the above that studying the representations of the French intellectual elite regarding the Algerian Revolution, particularly through the writings of Jean-Paul Sartre, reveals the humanistic and moral consciousness of this group. Sartre and his contemporaries expressed their initial positions by rejecting the persecution carried out by French authorities against the Algerian people.

Sartre lived his life in constant resentment of injustice and violence, and most of his philosophical and literary writings revolved around the question of human existence, seeking to understand the human self through the mystery of its being, which stands in conflict with the deprivation of freedom in life. Sartre maintained independent positions and did not align himself with any political party at the expense of another. Rather, it was his liberal perceptions and deeply held beliefs that guided him toward the truth he continuously sought.

Sartre's understanding of the colonizer's policies and their exploitative aims drove him to challenge them without submission or appeasement, remaining steadfast in his positions. He was not so much a rebel against his country as he was a critic of practices that contradicted the essence of humanity. Sartre introduced new terms to describe the brutality of colonialism, characterizing these practices as a form of human inferiority, or "under-humanity," which, in his view, violated the fundamental right to human existence.

He did not confine himself to theorizing about freedom and justice but instead embodied these principles in practice through his writings and courageous stances. His voice became that of a free conscience, boldly exposing colonial practices of torture and violence while asserting that "colonialism is a system" that dehumanizes both the colonized and the colonizer alike.

Sartre's positions influenced both global and French public opinion, compelling many to confront the reality of French colonialism in Algeria. His unwavering advocacy contributed to raising international awareness, garnering external support for the Algerian Revolution, and strengthening the belief in the Algerian people's right to freedom and the restoration of their stolen sovereignty.

The representations of the French intellectual elite granted global legitimacy to the Algerian Revolution, breaking the wall of silence that had surrounded the crimes of French colonialism and mobilizing world public opinion in support of the Algerian cause and its people's right to self-determination. Consequently, the Algerian Revolution was not merely a local uprising but a global issue that underscored the principle that the right to freedom is a fundamental human and moral value that cannot be overlooked or disregarded.

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