



Demonstrations of December 11, 1960 in the face of de Gaulle's policy and its effects in the Arab world

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Abstract: The December 11 demonstration is a significant historical juncture in the history of the Algerian war of independence, due to the results it achieved. This research paper is a study of the Demonstrations of December 11, 1960, their role in confronting de Gaulle's policy, and their global effects, especially in the Arab world. This article aims to provide scientific knowledge about the demonstrations. Moreover, it was necessary to shed light on the historical background of the demonstrations, where I covered the motives for the coup of May 11, 1958 and de Gaulle's rise to power. In addition, I traced the policy of the Fifth Republic led by General de Gaulle towards the revolution and how the revolution confronted de Gaulle's strategy in eliminating it and I addressed the conduct and effects of the demonstrations. The last chapter included the global effects of the demonstrations, with focusing on their effects in the Arab world.

Keywords: *demonstrations, the Algerian revolution, de Gaulle, the Fifth Republic, the Arab world*

1. INTRODUCTION:

The events of the revolution and the colonists' reactions to it were influential in France. As a consequence, the fall of the Fourth Republic and the establishment of the Fifth Republic. The Algerian issue controlled France's foreign and internal policy, as the French army rebelled on May 11, 1958, accusing successive civil governments of military inability to eliminate the Algerian revolution, which to that date, overthrown five governments (Bashir S, 2014)¹. After De Gaulle came to power, he did everything in his power to

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eliminate the revolution and to exterminate the National Liberation Army, but rather to exterminate the Algerian people who stand behind their revolution.

2. The coup d'état of May 13, 1958 and De Gaulle's rise to power:

One of the most important motives for the coup was the belief of the colonists that De Gaulle would save them from the danger of the Algerian revolution after the failure of all previous governments and generals, and some French newspapers, such as the *La Vie France*, mentioned this in their October 1957 issue. The same newspaper wrote on May 1, five days before the coup, that the French economic elite denounced the crisis of institutions, and some analysts explained that the capital and their representatives played a significant role in creating the conditions for the return of Gaullism. (Muhammad, M, 1984)²

Among the most important motives that accelerated the coup of May 11, 1958, rumors spread that Flmihan, the head of the government at the time, was intending to negotiate with the Liberation Front (Salah A-, 1964)³. In addition, one of the reasons for the coup was that the colonists in Algeria felt the power of the revolution in 1958; they decided to come up with a strong government that harnesses all possibilities to eliminate the revolution using the power. Others felt that the prestige of the French army depended on the victory in Algeria, and this victory would erase the effect of two defeats inflicted on the French army: the first defeat by Germany and the signing of the armistice in 1940, and the second defeat was against Dien Bien Phu Indochina War in 1954, and De Gaulle who saved France from Nazism will save it from the Algerian revolution, according to their claim (Salah A, 1964).⁴

Also, the year 1958 coincided with some important historical events of the Algerian Revolution. Such as, Tangier Convention, which was held in 27 April of the same year, was related to the Maghreb Arab Union project. Mohammed Almili sees that it was not a coincidence that the convention took place in Aix-en-Provence during the week after the coup d'état of the meeting of legal professionals and French and foreign company managers. The meeting discussed how to, internationally, safeguard the large rights and investments of petrol and mine that the west world prepares to do in the different underdeveloped countries, especially, in Africa. It was clear that the representatives of capitalism were searching economic effects of the rising tide of economic liberalization in Africa and the Middle East, especially, after the nationalization of Suez Canal in 1956. (Muhammad al-Mili, pp. 86-87)⁵

Some French participants of the convention studied the uncertain future of the French ties with its properties overseas. The idea of a United Maghrib was such a

danger that must be removed by any means. In short, the French capitalists looked at Tangier Convention as a starting point for development that must be curbed at that moment because the triumph of the Algerian Revolution with its changes in Africa supporting liberalization in the East risks the situation of the French capitalism and the neocolonial tools that seek continuation. (Muhammad, 1984).⁶

Sakiet incident was one of the incentives of Tangier convention, which included the Algerian National Liberation Front, Marrakesh Independence Party, and Tunisian Constitutional Party. It tackled the necessity of finding a solution for the Algerian case. (Abu al-Qasim, 2007, p181) ⁷. Sakiet incident demonstrated the Maghreb issues and insured the failure of the French politics in North Africa. That reflected internationalization for the Algerian cause, and it created Maghreb solidarity against France and the western compound that supports it in the Atlantic Alliance framework. (Abdullah, 2015) ⁸ In addition to that, the revolution gained the support of African independent countries that are gathered in Accra the capital of Ghana in April 1958. (Abu al-Qasim, 2007, p182) ⁹

Because of the American-British intervention in the French-Tunisian dispute, it was the beginning of the crack of the Fourth Republic, which collapsed with the intervention of the Colonists of Algeria and the military and their rebellion of May 13, which brought De Gaulle to power 1958. (Abdullah, 2015)¹⁰

3. The Fifth Republic Policy towards the Revolution:

After de Gaulle presided the French authority, he determined to change the constitution and he threatened with destroying the revolution. His policy was marked by ambiguity, and it took three dimensions towards the revolution: Military, political, and economic.

Military Dimension: de Gaulle was determined to end the revolution forcibly. He assigned the General Charles as the Commanding General for the Land Forces. By the end of 1958, The General Charles built a military plan based on different points as follows: (Al-Mujahid Newspaper)¹¹

1. Closing Tunisian-Algerian borders by electrical wires. He named them “Fatal Sealing”.
2. Exterminating the Liberation Army and occupying its major areas.
3. Destroying the political-administrative organization and the military of Liberation Front.
4. Replacing the Algerian political-administrative organization by A French organization, after applying Charles’ project all around Algeria.

Charles the General made huge attacks by the airborne in Oran area by the lead of the General Gambiz. They attacked the western part of Winchris Mountains and Dhahra mountains, which led to exterminating many battalions. The French forces launched attacks against Algiers, the eastern mountains of Winchris, the highlands of Medea, Blida, and Meliana areas, and the suburbs of Algiers. After that, they attacked Kabylie areas. Then, Charles took the lead by himself to apply his project to take down the areas, which were shelters for the revolutionaries, and it happened (De Gaulle's, 1971, p83).¹²

Political Dimension: De Gaulle used the policy of evasion and tried to save time by weakening the Algerians and revolutionaries morally through triggering ethnic distinctions amongst the Algerians aiming at destroying the Algerian social infrastructure, breaking the unity of the revolutionaries, segregating the revolution from its associates, and making the world support France. Thus, he took regional, ethnic, and Masaliah strategies in Algeria, however, all his tries failed. He, also, tried to negotiate with some revolutionaries secretly to create a third power so as he can negotiate with it rather than Liberation Front (Abu al-Qasim, 2007, p. 182)¹³. In addition to that, he called everyone by The Peace of the Braves and Algeria is Algerian, but fortunately, he was unsuccessful. (Abu al-Qasim, (2007, p.182)¹⁴

In 16 December 1959, under the name of France, De Gaulle declared his desire to grant the Algerians the right of self-determination, which came in three options:

Separation: It means choosing the government they want, as France abandons Algeria and the Algerians have to organize the country in which they live with what possibilities they have, because France will stop providing the Algerians with money and refrain from helping it to avoid misery and chaos. (De Gaulle's, 1971; pp86-87)¹⁵

Incorporation: or autonomy. He explains in his memoirs what frenchification of Algerians mean. Which means to become an integrated part of the French people enjoying full political, economic and social rights. (De Gaulle's, 1971; pp86-87)¹⁶

Federalism: the Algerians are able to form a government with the help of France, i.e. the formation of an Algerian government whose ministers will be Algerians and united with France in the economy, education and defense, and the internal government will be federal, based on general elections after a period of peace. (De Gaulle's, 1971, pp86-87)¹⁷

Economically: De Gaulle wrote an economic project to eliminate the revolution under the pretext that the cause of the revolution was the social situation of the Algerian people. In early 1959, he drew the Constantine project, which aims to provide job opportunities, create 111,000 new jobs within five years, and create jobs in France for Algerian Muslims by 11 percent. Economic reforms included the distribution of 191,000 hectares of arable land to Algerian farmers and the development of Algeria industrially in order to eradicate underdevelopment. (Bashir , 2014).¹⁸

De Gaulle revived the 1957 economic policy of Lacoste. To bring the interest of foreign companies to the Sahara so that the West would also enter into a war with Algeria, and this after his military inability to solve the Algerian issue and at the same time showing France's increasing inability in the face of financial demands and its inability to invest the Sahara alone due to its financial and technical inability, this is what made De Gaulle return to the Lacoste policy and open the desert to foreign companies. He announced the petroleum law, which stipulates granting concessions to foreign companies, obtaining tax cuts and other privileges, freedom of transportation, and exploiting companies receiving half of the profits, and so on. He visited Sahara as a propaganda and encouragement for foreign companies to contribute to the investment in Sahara. The response of the Liberation Front was that any economic project could not succeed unless it fulfilled two conditions, the first condition is: Those responsible for the implementation of the project must be Algerians and the second: The project should be for the benefit of the Algerians not for the benefit of some colonialists. (Al-Mujahid Newspaper)¹⁹

4. The revolution's confrontation with De Gaulle's policy:

The Revolution fought all De Galle's methods, in the military field the response of the liberation army was the intensification of military operations in the big cities, the war operations intensified since October 1960, especially in Oran and Algiers, where the French command pretended controlling the situation, Challe's project helped the liberation army in fixing it's previous mistakes and went through a decisive period in the liberation war. (Al-Mujahid Newspaper)²⁰

The revolution opened a new front in France. On August 25, 1958, the revolutionaries attacked police stations and destroyed oil refineries and all oil and gas facilities (Abu al-Qasim, 2007, p182)²¹. The revolution chose on August 25 to transfer the revolt to France because on August 25, 1944, de Gaulle entered Paris to liberate it from Nazism.

The revolution achieved politically several victories by which they gain supporters to the Algerian cause at the level of the peoples and at the level of the United Nations. It announced in Cairo the formation of the interim government on September 19, 1958, by the Coordination and Execution Committee. The Liberation Front appealed to the Algerian people to boycott the referendum on de Gaulle's constitution on September 26 1958, which prompted the colonial authorities to force the Algerians to the elections, as they broke into homes and drove the masses of voters to the polling stations by force. The results of the elections were 96 percent who answered yes, de Gaulle proves that there is no repression in Algeria. (Hayat, 2017) ²²

The response of the interim government was on the principle of self-determination that de Gaulle promised on conditions. The provisional government issued a statement on September 28, 1959, after several meetings to study the project and after internal and external consultations and its response to de Gaulle's initiative came in a statement that the interim Algerian government is ready to enter into talks with the French government To discuss the political and military conditions for stopping the fighting and the conditions and guarantees for the implementation of self-determination where it agreed to this principle, but refused to prejudice the territorial integrity of the Algerian people, the statement drew the attention of international public opinion to the dangers that result from every infringement of territorial integrity as an integral part. The interim government also refused that France should have the legitimacy to exploit the wealth of the Sahara, which belongs to the Algerian people and North Africa, The government's statement considered the suspension of the free choice of the Algerian people on consulting the French people as a denial of democracy and the right to self-determination, meaning the government rejects the opinion of the French people because it has no right to reject or accept the results of the referendum for self-determination. The referendum and the people's exercise of their right cannot be under pressure from the French army. (Al-Mujahid Newspaper).²³

The revolution's media explained the dangers of De Gaulle's Algerian project, and Al-Mujahid newspaper, the mouthpiece of the Liberation Front, stated that Algeria, which De Gaulle calls for, must not be born, and considers everyone who accepts it a traitor. (Al-Mujahid Newspaper, 1961)²⁴, and stated that the dangers of this project are limited to three points, namely. (Al-Mujahid Newspaper, 84) ²⁵

1. Divide Algeria after executing the right of self-determination. So, if the result of the referendum was independence or, as De Gaulle described it,

separation, it will result in dividing Algeria into independent countries. The Europeans will have the coastal regions because the European minority is abundant in it and join the Sahara region to France because France considers Sahara a part of it in order to exploit the oil.

2. The Algerians' choice of independence and their right to self-determination result in the disruption of the territorial integrity of the national territory and the continuation of the war between Algeria, which refuses to tear up its territorial integrity, and France, which is stable in Algeria.
3. The third danger is the continuation and spread of war and the resulting threat to world peace in the Mediterranean.

The French leadership made huge and huge efforts during the period 1958 and 1960 to put an end to the revolution, but all these efforts went to waste. The end of 1960 bore the harbingers of victory for the revolution and its army, while the occupation army became restless, demoralized, divided against itself, accusations of responsibility for failure exchanged. This is what de Gaulle himself declared, saying: "Our persistence in pursuing an imaginary struggle harms the morale of our army and thus our national unity, and that the nature of military operations actually leads to the division of our forces into two increasingly different groups." (De Gaulle, p85)²⁶

De Gaulle refers to the failure of military action to eliminate the revolution, and in another statement to the officers, he hinted that military victory does not solve the Algerian issue, and hinted at his decision to recognize Algeria's right to self-determination and asked the army to obey and obey orders. ((De Gaulle, p86),²⁷ De Gaulle also admits that the position he took on the right to self-determination caused a radical division in trends. In August 1959, the ministers strongly supported de Gaulle's project, while the urbanites and party members in Algeria rejected it, and they distributed pamphlets calling for rebellion. The press also used a hostile tone against de Gaulle on Similar to the newspaper, Sada Al-Jazair, a number of deputies blamed violently and stinging de Gaulle's policies, and Georges Bid founded, with some parliamentarians, the French Algeria Gathering (De Gaulle, p89)²⁸, in response to de Gaulle's Algerian project, which was rejected by the revolutionaries of the Liberation Front.

In December 1959, the former Prime Minister Ilhoma Ilih gave several lectures in Algeria that provoked anger towards De Gaulle's policy, and in Paris, Marshel Joan, showed in his speeches and articles his discontent and sadness at what De Gaulle would do. General Wigan also took the same methods, and General Masso attacked De Gaulle's policy. That is why De Gaulle transferred

him to Algeria as a punishment, and at the beginning of 1960, whenever support for De Gaulle's policies increased, the opposition appeared, which heralded a major rebellion, or, as De Gaulle expressed, the clouds heralding the storm (De Gaulle).²⁹

De Gaulle insisted on his policy of Algeria's right to self-determination. He declared on the radio on January 29, 1960: "Algerians have the right to choose their own destiny, and that the right to self-determination has been clarified by the president, decided by the government, approved by Parliament and adopted by the French nation, is the only and possible way out." (De Gaulle, p92)³⁰

De Gaulle tried to find a way out for the Algerian issue that deals with the independence that France will grant to Algeria, with the creation of a common bond between the two countries and the preservation of French unity, by replacing colonialism with modern cooperation, a possible solution now that will have hopes in the future. (De Gaulle)³¹

On June 14, 1960, he delivered a speech in which he stated: "The genius of the present century has changed the conditions of our overseas activities and led us to put an end to colonialism. Self-determination is the possible solution to a complex and painful tragedy." He addressed the leaders of the revolution on behalf of France to negotiations and finding an honorable way out for war and acceptance. In Algeria, Algeria, which will turn into a prosperous country by union with France and cooperation with French federations. (De Gaulle)³²

On June 20, 1960, they started official negotiations. Ali Boumenjel and Mohamed Ben Yahia arrived in the city of Moulin. The first official contact has no agreement. The Algerian delegation presented conditions to the French delegation which consisting of Roger Morris, Secretary-General for Algeria's issues, and General de Gastines. The demands of the Algerian delegation were to conduct Direct talks between Farhat Abbas and General De Gaulle, allowing the negotiating delegation to hold meetings, freedom of movement, statements to the press and holding conferences, release the five kidnapped Ben Bella and his companions, and participate in the negotiations. De Gaulle rejected this offer and considered the demands unreasonable, and France stipulated a cease-fire and then the right to self-determination. (De Gaulle, p100)³³ De Gaulle continued to elude the Algerian delegation until the December 11, 1960 demonstrations, so he entered into serious negotiations with the Liberation Front.

5. The Demonstrations Movement of 11 December 1960:

De Gaulle determined to go to Algeria and talk to top brass. He brought with him Louis Joxe and others. In 09 December 1960, he reached Ain Temouchent province in the Algerian west where de Gaulle faced an aggressive situation from the colonists. (De Gaulle, p105)³⁴ The Europeans met him, at the beginning, with slogans and signs telling “Algeria is French, Down to de Gaulle”. Some ladies shouted from their windows “down to Arabs”; in the other hand, other ladies held the slogan “Long Live Algeria, Algeria is Algerian, Long Live Liberation Front, Algeria is United: the people, and the land, The Sahara is Algerian, No for the Division to Algeria”. (Muhammad, 2000)³⁵

In that day, de Gaulle faced a general strike by the call of the French Algeria Front, which made an appeal, in 8 December, to the Muslim and Non-Muslim French people in Algeria. It stated an invitation to the advancement against the abandonment policy of De Gaulle and to stay French in 9 December 1960. They went to the merchants and told them of the power of closure. In the other hand, the Algerians wanted to remove the phrase “Algeria is French” and put an end to the provocation. In 10 December, the Algerians started demonstrations lasted for a whole week. National demonstrations were made in the capital Algiers at Bellecourt Street, and more than two thousand Algerians holding national flags shouting for independence. Similarly, other demonstrations moved in Oran and were hit by the French security forces and army. De Gaulle visited several cities such as Cherchel, Tipaza, Sidi Belabbas, Bejaia, and Constantine ((Al-Mujahid Newspaper,(12/19/1960), (No. 85), pp. 5-6)³⁶ He, also, says he visited Setif then Aures Mountains the Cradle and Castle of Revolution, Arris, Bisikra, and the last station was Annaba. In one of his meetings the French officers, he clarified that Algeria will gain self-determination. ((De Gaulle, p106)³⁷

In Chlef, the colonists had prepared a demonstration, which was blocked by the Algerians, and they shouted for the independence of Algeria. They released Ibn Ballah, and held the Algerian flag. Thus, the demonstration turned into a conflict in which the Algerians tore the French flags and signs. Ululates were raised, and the French found no way to separate the demonstrators despite of the shooting ((Al-Mujahid Newspaper, (12/19/1960),³⁸ The demonstrations did not stop until the interim government stated by Farhat Abbas to the Algerian people their disapproval to the colonial crimes against the Algerian unarmed people in a racist war. The statement said that... the conflicts of the demonstration had the widest echo, and it was a triumph for the Algerian national liberation fight. Therefore, the conflict should stop now because it is not the last battle. Still, there are other battles waiting for us in the future. In addition, the statement called to abort the referendum, which France insists to organize in 8 January 1961. No

doubt, independence is coming, glory is coming. (Al-Mujahid Newspaper,(12/19/1960)³⁹

6. The effects:

Through these demonstrations, the people were able to put an end to the illusions that the French tried to convince the world with and they convinced the world and their allies with, which is that there is an Algerian people inside and there is an external organization that is far from it, materially and morally, and that the separation between the two is getting wider every day and that the organization The foreign ministry's influence is limited to the resistance and the men of the Liberation Army. The demonstrations showed the world and De Gaulle that the cohesion of the Algerian people with the colonists was a baseless idea. There were allegations saying that the Algerian people had surrendered and demanded France to protect them from the tyranny of the Liberation Front and that the people did not accept the independence that the interim government is calling for of the Algerian Republic and does not accept the integration demanded by the colonial fanatics and accepts the middle solutions that can be summed up in the Algerian Algeria presented to them by De Gaulle. (Al-Mujahid Newspaper,(12/19/1960)⁴⁰

The Algerian people with these manifestations made an end to the bargaining and manœuvres of De Galle who has tried making a third force to isolate the liberation front, so El modjahid newspaper mentioned “a gost made by De Galle and tried to make it alive and named it the Algerian Algeria was destroyed, the people don't admit this creature and they want to kill it before it is born”. (Al-Mujahid Newspaper,(12/19/1960)⁴¹

De Galle stated in his note all his attempts to creat a third force on juin 1960, that's means before the manifestations and he made secret calls with the elements from the forth province in order to reach a resolution and stop fighting as he thought and all that was by making convention with liberation's front elements, but after these manifestations he decided to engage in a serious negotiations and he accepted the invitation of liberation front and he sent official delegation for the negotiations in Lucerne on February 1961, even though he was intended to withdraw from the capital and remain in Oran and Constantine which means a partial withdrawl and that's what the revolutionaries refused in the negotiations and hang on the territorial unity. (De Gaulle, p112)⁴²

The French media announced declaration on March 1961, related to the elements who called them the Algerian speakers and the respond of the interim government by the minister Muhammad yazid, explaining that the stance of the

Algerian government hasn't changed and all the declarations of the French news are fake and it could create chaos and mystery which will be in the interest of the negotiating enemies and the stubborn colonists, and he stated that the government is ready to engage in a serious negotiations, about all the Arab, Maghreb and international support in Asia and Africa and from all peace loving people. (Al-Mujahid Newspaper,(03/13/1961)⁴³

The Algerian case gained the solidarity of the French parliamentarians, as twenty-four members of the Senate and the French National Assembly signed a list of the most important things that included that the negotiation be official and direct without any conditions. It was also agreed that no front would interfere and also alleged third force. (Al-Mujahid Newspaper, (03/13/1961)⁴⁴

It was clear to the French people from the demonstrations that all the records which de Gaulle was receiving and which his policy was based on were all untrue. Le Monde newspaper mentioned, in 14 December 1960, the following: "Now, we have nothing to do except to maintain security before we take our luggage and we board the ship.".(Al-Mujahid Newspaper, (1960) ⁴⁵

After de Gaulle's decision to enter into negotiations and to stop the manipulation acts, he preceded his strategy to replace colonialism with cooperation. That was especially after the results of the elections in 8 January 1961, which was in his favor: 15 million out of 21 million participated. 75% voted with "Yes", and five million voted with "No" who are the supporters of the idea of Algeria is French; whereas in Algeria, 70 percent voted for "Yes". De Gaulle considered that the participation which was 59 % as a good matter, since the Algerian Liberation Front refused that the Algerians participate in the elections. He saw that it was better for him to withdraw from Algeria by the will of the French public. (De Gaulle, p109)⁴⁶

The collective refrain from the participation in the elections of 8 January and the demonstrations proved that the interim government is only the legal representative for negotiations. .(Al-Mujahid Newspaper, 1961)⁴⁷

De Gaulle faced a rejection for his policy in 25 January 1961. Charles the General who was responsible for the extermination war against the revolution demanded to resign because he rejected de Gaulle's policy. In addition, due to the incitement of Jacques Soustelle, a commission was created under the slogan " we serve the law, the government breaks the law". Moreover, in Oran and Algiers, (OAS) Secret Armed Organization was created. It intensified attacks in France and Algeria, and it was such a threat to the parliamentarians and to the senior

officers of government. This urged de Gaulle to explain his position and his intentions, so he held a conference in 11 April 1961 in which he explained that Algeria costs France more than what it gains from it, and that the solution for the Algerian case is separation not what the Liberation Army had achieved in the military sphere. He also explained that his policy serves France not the liberation movement which had impeded the Second World War and which let France hold burdens and responsibilities that go against its greatness, interests, and new ambitions. That is why he forced the revolutionaries to do the negotiations allegedly. ((De Gaulle, p118)⁴⁸

On April 22, De Gaulle faced a split in the army and a coup led by General Chall, where he secretly flew a military plane to Algeria and seized power and the most important government buildings there and was supported by a section of the staff of the war. Then General Weisler and Johar joined him, and he was the Chief of Staff of the Air Force, and then General Slann joined them. He was the chief of staff of the army. This led to the defection of the French army. They announced that the people who participated directly in the project of abandoning Algeria and the Sahara would be referred to military courts. Michel Debré announced on the radio, "The government is determined to impose respect and the will of the nation and all presidents in Algeria should obey only its president, General De Gaulle". A state of emergency declared and the leaders of the rebellion were referred to the judiciary. ((De Gaulle)⁴⁹ it was a failed coup against which the French people stood and cut the way for the military dictatorship. (Al-Mujahid Newspaper, (1961)⁵⁰

De Gaulle continued his policy and on May 20, 1961, the two delegations met in Evian. Louis Joxe headed the French delegation, and Karim Belkacem headed the Algerian delegation. (De Gaulle).⁵¹

7. Effects of demonstrations in the Arab world:

The demonstrations of December 11, 1960, had global resonance and achieved international solidarity, both at the Maghreb, Arab and international levels.

In the Arab world:

Iraq: The popular and official attitude towards the December 11 demonstrations was the same. At the popular level, demonstrations took place on December 20, 1960, in which tens of thousands of workers, students and women participated. The demonstrators carried the flags of Algeria and a number of banners with slogans such as the immortality of the martyrs of Algeria - Down with the Atlantic

bloc, on top of which is America. They demanded from the Arab governments to boycott France and nationalized France's share of Iraqi oil. They also chanted that America, France and Britain would fall. When the demonstrations reached the Ministry of Defense square, decisions were read out to the demonstrators, which they agreed unanimously, namely: (Al-Mujahid Newspaper, (1961)⁵²

1. Denounce the brutal massacres carried out by French colonialism in Algeria.
2. Defamation of the colonial war supported by the Atlantic bloc, led by the United States of America.
3. The Iraqi government's claim to nationalize France's share in Iraqi oil.
4. The demonstrators also saluted the Asian-African bloc, China, the Soviet Union, and the free people of France in Algeria.

At the level of Iraqi organizations and bodies. The Arab Students Association in Istanbul sent Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the United Nations at that time, a telegram protesting the massacres committed by France in Algeria. The same thing done by the Islamic Arts Association in Baghdad, the Iraqi Women's Association, the Students' Union at the College of Veterinary Medicine, the General Federation of Trade Unions in Iraq and Iraqi students In Britain, the Engineers Syndicate and the Iraqi Bar Association, in addition to the student demonstrations in Baghdad. (Al-Mujahid Newspaper, 1961)⁵³

The Directorate of Medical Equipment in the Ministry of Defense received large quantities of medicines to deliver to the office of the Algerian delegation in Baghdad. A number of Iraqi organizations and bodies called on the Iraqi government to nationalize France's share in Iraq's oil. Professor Muhammad Hadid, head of the Iraqi Committee for the Solidarity of Asian Peoples, sent a telegram to United Nations Secretary-General Hammarskjöld at that time. The letter denounced the brutal massacres committed by the French army in Algeria and called on the United Nations to put an end to the French aggression in Algeria and to recognize the right to self-determination through a referendum supervised by the United Nations. (Al-Mujahid Newspaper, 1961)⁵⁴

Cairo: Like Iraq, the official attitude corresponded with the popular attitude. On the official level, President Gamal Abdel Nasser sent a support telegram to the Algerian government, stating that the United Arab Republic supports by all means the struggle of the Algerian people for freedom and independence.⁵⁵

The National Assembly held a meeting as well as the Arab Affairs Committee of the National Assembly under the chairmanship of Anwar Sadat. The speakers discussed the situation in Algeria and decided to demand that parliaments in all

Arab countries sever relations with France and provide Arab subsidies to the National Liberation Front, especially arms and volunteers, and liquidate the region from foreign military bases .(Al-Mujahid Newspaper, 1961).⁵⁶

On the other hand, the Egyptian newspapers launched campaigns against French colonialism. The Sheikh of Al-Azhar Mosque issued an appeal to the world calling on international public opinion to intervene to preserve human rights in Algeria. Sermons were delivered at Friday prayers denouncing the crimes of French colonialism. Huge demonstrations turned into a large popular meeting in Republic Square in which Kamal El-Din Hassan attacked French colonialism, and the meeting decided the following: (Al-Mujahid Newspaper, (1961) ⁵⁷

1. Unconditional support for the hard struggle of the Algerian people.
2. Defaming the massacres of French colonialism and asking the United Nations to investigate the crimes committed by France in Algeria against human rights.
3. Urging the peoples and governments of Asia and Africa to recognize the Algerian government and provide it with all assistance.
4. Placing the responsibility of the French massacres on the NATO countries, and asking intellectuals all over the world to declare their condemnation of the brutality of French colonialism in Algeria.
5. Calling the Pope and heads of all religions to intervene with France to stop its brutal massacres in Algeria. Calling on the Arab and African youth and the free youth in the whole world to organize their aid for the Algerian people and the Liberation Army. Calling on all Arab and African governments and all countries that believe in human values to work to defend the rights of the Algerian people and facilitate the task of volunteers willing to fight with The Algerian people.

Other women's demonstrations took place in which the Arab Women's Union and a number of Egyptian organizations participated. On December 17, 1960, the first lesson in colleges and primary and secondary schools was devoted to the struggle of the Algerian people. (Al-Mujahid Newspaper, 1961)⁵⁸

Damascus: Students of scientific institutes, their professors, transport and electric power unions in the cities of Damascus and Homs sent telegrams of protest to the United Nations asking it to intervene to put an end to the genocidal war in Algeria. Major popular demonstrations were organized in different governorates of Syria during which they demanded that Arab governments sever relations with France. (Al-Mujahid Newspaper, 1961) ⁵⁹

Libya: Popular demonstrations took place in Libya on 18 and 17 December 1960, lasting two days in which all classes of the Libyan people participated. The Libyan people, the government and king denounced the bloody massacres committed by the French army, and the security and army cordoned off the French embassy, which was overrun by the angry popular masses. The Libyan government submitted a strong protest to the French ambassador. The Prime Minister gave a speech in which he warned the French colonialism of stubbornness and ignoring the demands of the Algerians. The Libyan Foreign Minister met with the ambassadors of the Arab countries and warned of the seriousness of the events in Algeria, which will increase the enthusiasm of the Libyan people who call for an economic boycott with France. (Al-Mujahid Newspaper, 1961).⁶⁰

Tunisia: On the official level, on December 13, 1960, Secretary of State for the Presidency and Defense of the Tunisian Government, Mr. Behi Adgham, and Dr. Sadiq El-Mokadam, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, visited Farhat Abbas in his office and expressed to him effective and continuous solidarity. On the same day, the Tunisian government invited the Chargé d'Affairs of the French Embassy in Tunisia and drew his attention to the serious and dire consequences that could result from the continuation of repression and executions in Algeria. On the same day Tunisian national organizations met at the invitation of the Tunisian Constitutional Party to discuss the dangerous situation in Algeria and expressed their support and solidarity with the Algerian people and their sacred struggle and denounced the crimes of colonialism. The Tunisian General Labor Union sent a telegram to General De Gaulle protesting against the executions and to the atrocious crimes committed by the French army in Algeria. (Al-Mujahid Newspaper, 1960)⁶¹

Morocco: The King of Morocco sent a telegram of condolences on behalf of the martyrs of Algeria to President Farhat Abbas, affected by the bloody incidents that took place in Algeria. The King also delivered a speech on the radio in which he said that Morocco's independence would not be achieved unless Algeria gains its independence, and that we depend on the help of the peoples of Africa to achieve Algeria's freedom and independence. The Moroccan government denounces the brutal repression of Algerian civilians. In addition, it summoned the French ambassador in Morocco, lodged a stern protest against the attacks against Algerians, and sent instructions to its delegation at the United Nations to make every effort to expedite a decision in favor of the Algerian case. (Al-Mujahid Newspaper, 1960)⁶²

In the rest of the world:

Turkey: Huge demonstrations took place in Istanbul, in which several thousand students participated. They carried banners bearing the expressions of support for Algeria's independence and denouncing the war and colonialism in Algeria and denouncing the criminal acts committed by the French army. Students organized demonstrations in Izmir calling for the independence of Algeria and tried to tear the French flag that was in the general building of the Atlantic Alliance Land Forces. (Al-Mujahid Newspaper, 1960)⁶³.

India: Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India held a press conference in New Delhi on December 25, 1960, in which he declared support for the struggle in Algeria and denounced the genocidal war. He said that the Algerian case could be resolved through independence. (Al-Mujahid Newspaper, 1960)⁶⁴

China: The government in Beijing issued an official statement on what is happening in Algeria, stating: "On December 11, 1960, the French army and police killed a large number of heroic Algerians fighting against colonial domination." In addition, they made an appeal to African and Asian countries and to all peace-loving countries to support the heroic struggle waged by the Algerian people by his national government. Mr. Chuan Lai, Prime Minister sent a telegram of support and solidarity to President Farhat. (Al-Mujahid Newspaper, (1960)⁶⁵

Soviet Union: Radio stations and newspapers in the Soviet Union denounced the crimes of French colonialism. The TASA agency broadcast a special statement about these incidents, in which the government of the Soviet Union confirmed that these brutal crimes were evidence of the approaching end of colonialism. (Al-Mujahid Newspaper, 1960)⁶⁶

Yugoslavia: The Yugoslav radio and press devoted programs on what happening in Algeria. The Yugoslav government called on the United Nations to intervene quickly in Algeria and to organize and monitor the Algerian people's referendum on the right to self-determination. Marshall Tito sent a telegram of support to the Algerian prime minister. (Al-Mujahid Newspaper, 1960)⁶⁷

United States of America: The United States of America initially sided with France when presenting the Algerian case at the United Nations. It pressured other countries to take its attitude. As it played a major role in pressuring many countries and prompting them not to vote on the political rules submitted by the African-Asian Committee to the United Nations. America voted against the list and its spokesperson at the United Nations stated, "We hope that the members of

this committee will understand that it is wise to avoid adopting a list that is feared to be harmful to the solution of the Algerian case.” It is noteworthy that the rules calls for opening talks to set the necessary conditions for implementing the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and a cease-fire. (Al-Mujahid Newspaper, 1959).⁶⁸

After President Kennedy came to power in the United States, this marks the beginning of the US policy change towards the Algerian case came with a new tone and decided to adopt straightforwardness in dealing with problems⁶⁹, and President Kennedy's policy was known as positive towards Arab issues.

After the Evian negotiations stopped in June 1961, Washington's reaction was direct negotiation with the Algerian government that alone would guarantee an end to the war. The US State Department spokesperson stated that the United States believed and still believes that direct negotiations between France and the Algerian government are the only solution to reach a positive solution to the Algerian case. (Al-Mujahid Newspaper, 1961)⁷⁰

In the Arab League: In its session held in Baghdad from January 30 to February 4, 1961, the Arab foreign ministers met and affirmed the symmetry of Zionism and colonialism and the Arab desire for solidarity and overcoming differences to confront Arab issues. The top of the agenda points was the Algerian case. The resolutions on Algeria include the following: (Al-Mujahid Newspaper, 1961)⁷¹

1. That the delegations of the Arab countries to the United Nations, in cooperation with the Asian-African Group and other friendly countries, follow the resolutions of the United Nations in its open session at that time regarding Algeria.
2. Providing material and financial assistance to the Algerian government and implementing the previous decisions of the League Council.
3. Supply the Algerian government with more weapons as soon as possible.
4. That all Arab countries allow their nationals to volunteer in the Algerian Liberation Army and allow volunteers and technicians to cross their lands.
5. Arab countries are intensifying their efforts with foreign governments to gain political support for the Algerian case.
6. The Arab countries affirmed their support for Algeria's unity and territorial integrity.
7. Arab countries that have foreign bases on their soil do not allow them to be used in military operations against Algeria.
8. The Arab countries will not restore their political and economic relations with France if they continue their war against the Algerian people.

Conclusion:

As a conclusion, deGaulle policy was marked by ambiguity, and it took three dimensions towards the revolution: Military, political, and economic. And he threatened with destroying the revolution.

The Revolution fought all De Galle's methods, the revolution achieved politically several victories by which they gain supporters to the Algerian cause at the level of the peoples and at the level of the United Nations

After de Gaulle's decision to enter into negotiations and to stop the manipulation acts, De Gaulle faced a rejection for his policy. Moreover, split in the army.

The demonstrations of December 11, 1960, had global resonance and achieved international solidarity, both at the Maghreb, Arab and international levels.

The demonstrations of December 11, 1960, had a major role in the liberation of Algeria, as the popular explosion ended the maneuvers of De Gaulle, who tried to create a third force to isolate the Liberation Front. An official delegation for negotiations was sent to Loseran in February 1961.

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