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**John F. Kennedy's Participation in the
Algerian War of Independence**

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Literature and Interdisciplinary Approaches**

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Dedication

It is with my deepest gratitude and warmest affection that I dedicate this thesis to the following:

To my beloved parents who are a constant source of love, inspiration, guidance, and support,

To my brothers, sisters, and relatives who shared their words of advice and encouragement to finish this work,

To all my friends and classmates who shared this experience with me.



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Abstract

John F. Kennedy, as a senator and a president of United States of America, has given a support to the emerging nations of the Third World. These nations were under the colonial rule and imperialism. Algeria was among the African emerging nations, which asked for its self-determination right from the French colonialism. In 1954, Algeria declared a revolution with a proclamation aimed at internationalizing the Algerian question. France was an ally with United States through NATO, but Kennedy, as a senator, criticized the French policy in Algeria. He announced a speech, in 1957, titled “Facing Facts on Algeria” which clarified Kennedy’s support to the Algerian independence. The aim of this study is to introduce who is John F. Kennedy, his policy toward the African nationalist movement, as well as highlight an important event between the American president and the Algerian country. The study has used a historical approach to trace back this historical event. The research clarified that Kennedy’s attitude toward the Algerian independence was for the interests of its oldest ally France, distance the Soviet Union influence, as well as a positive reaction to internationalize the Algerian issue.

Key words: John F. Kennedy, emerging nations, Algeria, self-determination, France, colonialism, internationalizing, speech, support, ally.

List of Abbreviations

PT: Patrol Torpedo

US: United States

CIA: Central Intelligence Agency

OAU: Organization of African Unity

USSR: Union Soviet Socialist Republics

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

USA: United States of America

FLN: National Liberation Front

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General Introduction

After the end of Second World War, September 2, 1945, the world entered into a third war which was the Cold War. This latter was an ideological conflict and competition between two blocs, the East bloc and the west bloc. The East bloc adopted communism and socialism ideology which advanced by the Soviet Union, while the West bloc adopted democracy and capitalism ideology which championed by the United States. At that time, during the fifties and the beginning of the sixties, John F. Kennedy the American historic figure, as a senator and a president, oversaw crucial moments and events in which were considered as the remarkable events of the twentieth century. Kennedy gave much interest for the nationalist movement in the emerging nations in Africa and South East Asia. Algeria was among the African emerging nations that claimed for its independence. In 1954, the Algerian Nationalist leaders declared a revolution against the French colonial rule and sought to internationalize the Algerian question in international forums. Kennedy, on the floor of the senate, on July 2, 1957, announced a controversial speech titled “Facing Facts on Algeria” which denounced French colonialism as well as Eisenhower’s policy toward the African Nationalist Movement.

Various reasons were the fuel to our desire to start this work which deals with Kennedy’s support to the African Liberation Movement, in particular, the Algerian nation. Such motivation comes from the fact that Kennedy had a remarkable political career which has been discussed by numerous scholars and writers. Another reason behind conducting this study is to highlight such important political and historical event between Algeria and the American president John F. Kennedy.

Through this research work, we will attempt to shed light on the role and the influence of Kennedy’s position toward the French colonialism on the Algerian independence. The aim of this thesis is to find out whether Kennedy contributed to the Algerian freedom from French colonialism, to uncover the motives for his position, and to show that the efforts of the Algerian Nationalist leaders led to a positive reaction from Senator Kennedy.

In this present study, the questions that seem important to ask are:

1. What were the reasons that made Kennedy support the Algerian self-determination in July 2, 1957?

2. What were the interests of Kennedy beyond the independence of Algeria , while France was the oldest ally of US through NATO?

During the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union were in a competition to expand their ideologies in the emerging nations. Besides, France has exhausted the NATO military power in its colonies . Thus, the hypotheses that appear rational is that Kennedy feared that Algeria could have been influenced by the communist ideology, and the French massive use of NATO forces might weaken it.

In order to conduct this research and validate this hypothesis, we will use a historical approach. The general layout of the study comprises three chapters. The first chapter provides overview of John F. Kennedy's life, his family and educational background, his early political career, his election as a president ,and most significant the main challenges that he confronted.

The second chapter is devoted to Kennedy and the African Nationalist Movement. It deals with the rise of African Nationalism during the Cold War, the main factors that inspired the Africans to insist for their independence, the US policy towards Africa during Truman and Eisenhower administration, and specific attention to Kennedy's courting of African Nationalism.

While, the third chapter will be dedicated to Kennedy and the Algerian self-determination. It seeks to highlight the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) as a revolutionary party that has a heavy responsibility of liberating Algeria and devoted his efforts to internationalize the Algerian question. Besides, it focuses on Kennedy's speech " Facing Facts on Algerian" on the floor of the senate July 2, 1957, his remarks, and the internal and external reactions toward the speech.

Chapter One

Overview of John F. Kennedy's Life: From Childhood to Presidency

John F. Kennedy was the 35th president of United States from 1961 to 1963. He grew up in a wealthy family which had strong ties with the Irish Catholic community as well as the political domain. He graduated from Harvard and Stanford University. Kennedy, during the Second World War, served on the US navy and became a war hero. Afterward, he turned his intention to politics and started running to the Congress. From 1953 to 1960, he worked as US senator but his ambition was to reach the presidency. In 1961, he became the first Catholic American president. Kennedy, as a president, faced domestic and foreign challenges: The civil rights issues, the threat of the Soviet Union, and the third world, were Kennedy's main concerns. This chapter provides background information about Kennedy's family and education; his early political career, and his prominent challenges during the presidency.

I.1 Family Background and Education

I.1.1 The Kennedy Family

John Fitzgerald Kennedy, nicknamed "Jack", was the son of Joseph "Joe" and Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy. He was born on May 29, 1917 in Brookline, Massachusetts, the second son of nine children. The Jack's family had closer links with the Irish Catholic community of Boston as well as the politics of the city. Patrick Joseph Kennedy, Jack's grandfather, was the only son of Irish Immigrants Patrick and Bridget Kennedy who worked as a Democratic politician leader in Massachusetts. Rose's father, John Francis Fitzgerald known as Henry Fitz was a popular mayor of Boston. Rose F. Kennedy got her education at Catholic schools and abroad. She was leaning to the art on managing a household, while Joseph Kennedy had experienced different kinds of professions, such as, U.S. ambassador to Great Britain in 1937. Joe was one of the richest in America "he was able to provide each of his children with a trust fund that by 1949 had reached \$ 10 million" ¹. Jack married in 1953 Jacqueline Bouvier and had two children, Caroline and John Jr.

Kennedy, throughout his life, had health problems and was physically ill. In his childhood, according to his mother Rose, "Jack was a healthy infant too, but then, as noted on his card: 'has had whooping cough, measles, chicken pox,' childhood diseases that were expectable in those days but that of course caused worries about him." ². In spite of his poor health, Kennedy used to play sports, and he enjoyed reading books to get away from his health problems as Susan MuaddiDarraj asserted, in her book *John F. Kennedy* (2003), "for Jack,

books represented an opportunity to escape from his physical pain, as well as from the fact that he was only an average student in terms of grades”³.

I.1.2 The Kennedy's Educational Background

On October 2, 1931, Kennedy had entered Choate which was a private school in Connecticut. Then, he graduated at Harvard University following the path of his father and brother. He majored in political science and was interested in international relations and political theory. In 1937, Kennedy had traveled to Europe for his senior thesis entitled *Appeasement at Munich*. Afterward, it was published as a book entitled *Why England Slept* and became a bestseller.

In 1940, Kennedy graduated from Harvard into Stanford University School of Business Administration. Afterward, he decided to join the armed services or navy, but he was rejected for physical reasons. In September 1941, after his father had contacted his friends in the military, he entered the navy and assigned to the Foreign Intelligence Branch of the office of Naval Intelligence in Washington D.C. Later, the navy moved him into Charleston, South Carolina, Navy Yard, then transferred him to the South Pacific and assigned him to patrol torpedo boat: the PT-109. He and his crew connected other PT boats to prevent Japanese destroyers from carrying goods and people in New Guinea. In August 1943, his boat was crashed by Japanese destroyers, and killed two navies. He was the Capitan of the PT boat, and he made a heroic action that saved the rest crewmen of the boat. For this, he was awarded and became a war hero.

His father's political ambitions were that one day Joe, the oldest son, would be president, but on June 6, 1944, Jack and his family lived the tragic death of Joe. After the loss of Joe, the political hopes placed on Jack's shoulders and this was his turning point to politics, but Smathers asserted that “he didn't like being a politician. He wanted to be a writer. He admired writers. Politics wasn't his bag at all”⁴.

¹ Michael Meagher and Larry D. Gragg. 2011. *John F. Kennedy A Biography* (Santa Barbara, Greenwood Biographies), p.05.

² Ibid.,08.

³ Sussan Muaddi Darraj.2003. *John F. Kennedy*(Chelsea House Publishers), p.19.

⁴ George, Smathersef.,Michael Meagher and Larry D.Gragg.2011. *John F. Kennedy A Biography* (Santa Barbara, Greenwood Biographies), p.26.

I.2 The Early Political Career

I.2.1 Kennedy the Congressman

In 1945, by the end of World War II, Kennedy started a new experience in journalism. He worked as a journalist for Hearst newspapers covering the United Nations conference in San Francisco. Kennedy interviewed many politicians and pundits. He also covered many political events, such as the British elections. After the press career, Kennedy turned his attention to politics and decided to run for congress. In 1957, Kennedy's father, in interview, explained that, "I got Jack into politics. I saw the one. I told him Joe was dead and that it was therefore his responsibility to run for congress"⁵.

On June 18, 1946, Kennedy won the democratic primary for the eleventh congressional district in Massachusetts. A few months later, on November 5, he earned elections to the U.S. House of Representatives for the eleventh congressional district, in Massachusetts, with more than 70 percent of the vote. Kennedy's ambition was more in politics despite the fact that he was reelected two times in the House of Representatives, in 1948 and 1950. He had focused on Massachusetts domestic affairs, while in 1951 he took extensive foreign trips to Europe, the Middle East, and Asia. According to his brother Ted, his object from the foreign trips was "to sharpen his awareness of Soviet colonial pressure in several nations"⁶. After his foreign trips, he reported that the U.S. should stand with the growth of Arab and Asian nationalism rather than colonialism.

I.2.2 Kennedy the Senator

After six years, on November 4, 1952, Kennedy won a seat in the U.S. Senate defeating incumbent Republican Henry Cabot Lodge. During the senate years, he faced two essential issues, which were prominent. The first one was the system of separating black and white Americans in education and public life. In 1954, the supreme court of the U.S., after the case of *Brown V. Board of Education of Topeka*, authorized the integration of schools. Darraj noted that "Jack consistently denounced racism and prejudice, perhaps because as catholic,

⁵ Robert DalleK.2003.*An Unfinished Life: John F.Kennedy, 1917-1963*(Little, Brown and Company), p.118.

⁶ Ted, Kennedy ef., Michael Meagher and Larry D.Gragg.2011. *John F.Kennedy A Biography* (Santa Barbara, Greenwood Biographies),p.35.

he understood the unfairness of prejudice”⁷. The other one was the ‘Red Scare’ issue which referred to the threat of Soviet Union or communism⁸. After the end of World War II, during the cold war, there was an ideological conflict between two superpowers, the United States, which supported capitalist system, and the Soviet Union, which supported communist system. Kennedy’s years in the senate witnessed the emergence of the Soviet threatening.

In August 1956, Kennedy focused his efforts on getting the nomination for vice president, Adlai Stevenson over his competitor, Estes Kefauver. He campaigned hard to win the nomination but Kefauver was the one who got it. Thus, he campaigned extensively for the Stevenson and Kefauver ticket, but the Republican nomination, Dwight D. Eisenhower and Richard Nixon won the election.

In January 1957, Kennedy served on the Foreign Relations Committee. By the mid-1950s, he denounced President Eisenhower’s attitude toward foreign issues, in particular, the independence movements. He gave a support to the emerging nations, in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia, for its self-determination.

Kennedy, during his years in the senate, earned a national attention. He became a popular when he had been awarded the Pulitzer Prize for his book *Profiles in Courage*. The book detailed the actions of six congressional representatives who fought for their unpopular ideals. Despite the fact that Kennedy reached significant position and had a notable influence in the American politics, his aspiration was to enter the White House as the president of United States.

I.3 Kennedy and the Presidency

I.3.1 Running for the Presidency

Four years later, after the senate years, Kennedy, on January 2, 1960, announced his intention to run for president. He became the Democratic nominee for the presidency. His opponent was Richard Nixon, the current vice-president of the United States.

⁷ Sussan Muaddi Darraj.2003. *John F.Kennedy*(Chelsea House Publishers), p.57.

⁸ “Red Scare” referred to the communists who were allied under the Red flag of the Soviet Union.It represented the fears of United States from communists. The term was created in 1950 by Washington post writer Herbert Block.(<http://www.history.com>).

During his campaign, he challenged serious obstacles that were Kennedy's religion, his father's questionable political and business reputation, as well as his health problems. The major one was the religion issue because he was a Roman Catholic who believed on the Christian church that is led by the Pope, in other words, influenced by the Vatican. America its previous presidents, before Kennedy presidency, were Protestant who deny the universal authority of the Pope, Thus the Americans feared that Kennedy would hold Pope's view above them.

Kennedy's campaign speeches focused more on the Cold War with the Soviet Union. In addition, he gave special attention to newly independent nations of Africa and Asia, and he noted the danger of Soviet's influence above them. He questioned why these nations found the Soviet Union not the United States representing the future as he said "why do they think the Soviets are moving faster than we are? Why do people in Africa, Asia, and Latin America begin to wonder whether the communist system represents the way of the future instead of our system?"⁹.

On November 8, 1960, Kennedy defeated the Republican, Nixon, in one of the closest presidential elections of the twentieth century. He, on January 20, 1961, was inaugurated as the 35th president of the United States. He was the second youngest president, as well as it was for the first time America under the administration of a Catholic Roman president.

In his inaugural speech, he said his well-known saying which called for the need of all Americans to help the nation and be active citizens, "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country." His presidential inaugural speech was addressed to the American nation, as well as to the world, and he called for creating a strong U.S. international relations "my fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man". Kennedy his period of presidency characterized by many events and challenges at home and abroad.

⁹ Michael Meagher and Larry D.Gragg.2011. *John F.Kennedy A Biography* (Santa Barbara, Greenwood Biographies),p.63.

I.3.2 Kennedy's Main Domestic and Foreign Challenges

The New Frontier was Kennedy's slogan that expressed his policy toward the coming challenges, "we stand today on the edge of a New Frontier, the frontier of the 1960s, the frontier of unknown opportunities and perils, the frontier of unfilled hopes and unfilled threats". In addition, he stated that, "... the New Frontier of which I speak, is not a set of promises, it is a set of challenges...". Kennedy confronted several domestic issues, particularly, those related to economy, social problems, and civil rights issues. The latter was a serious matter and a difficult internal problem.

The African Americans, during Kennedy's presidency, were still suffering from racial segregation and inequality with the white Americans. In the north the blacks had been lived unfair situation and racism because of discrimination in housing, employment, and education. In the South, they were much deprived from voting right and public facilities, as well as they were treated aggressively. Kennedy, during his early years in the presidency, has not given much efforts and attention to the civil rights issue because his primary interest was to maintain close ties with southern democrats¹⁰. Later, On November 20, 1962, he signed an executive order to eliminate segregating federally owned and financed housing. Moreover, after the Birmingham, Alabama crisis and the confrontation with Alabama governor George Wallace, on June 11, 1963, he addressed a speech, over radio and television, to the American people that clarified his attitude toward the necessity of civil rights reform.

In the speech, he expressed the issue as a "moral issue" and asserted that the Black Americans had rights and privileges like the White Americans as he said, "It ought to be possible, in short, for every Americans to enjoy the privileges of being American without regard to his race or his color. In short, every American ought to have the right to be treated as he would wish to be treated, as one would wish his children to be treated". He also requested congressional action to end segregation through legislation "we face, therefore, a moral crisis as country and as a people. It cannot be met by repressive police action.

¹⁰ Michael Meagher and Larry D.Gragg.2011. *John F.Kennedy A Biography* (Santa Barbara, Greenwood Biographies),p.106.

It cannot be left to increase demonstrations in the streets. It cannot be quieted by taken moves or talk. It is time to act in the congress, in your state and local legislative body and, above all, in all of our daily lives". Kennedy's civil rights proposal, after his assassination, in 1963, during Lyndon Johnson presidency, officially became a law on July 2, 1964.

Kennedy was also concerned with foreign affairs and global challenges. His presidency period, during the cold war, witnessed a crucial moment, in particular, with the Soviet Union. This latter, in the early 1960s, was under the administration of Nikita Khrushchev. There was an ideological struggle and different systems of government between the two nations. The United States supported democracy and capitalism, while the Soviet nation supported communism. Thus, Kennedy confronted a series of challenges, such as, Bay of Pigs and Vienna Summit, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and issues related to Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East.

Cuba was America's southern boundary which led by the politician and the revolutionary Fidel Castro. He had links and tendency toward the communist regime. Thus, the new communist regime of Castro made the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), under Eisenhower administration, to plan for an invasion for the island and overthrow Castro. When Kennedy came to the presidency authorized the invasion, but Castro forces defeated and failed the mission, on April 17, 1961. The failure put Kennedy and United States in a humiliated position.

After the Bay of Pigs disaster, in June 1961, Kennedy met Khrushchev, in Vienna, Austria, in order to discuss the Berlin issue and its future. Berlin, the capital city of Germany, was divided into two halves. The east half was under the communist government, while the west was under the democratic and capitalist government. The aim beyond the meeting was to find a resolution, but it failed because of the behavior and the threatening of Khrushchev as Meagher and Gragg stated in the following "Khrushchev's behavior in Vienna truly shocked Jack. Although he had been advised prior to the meeting of Khrushchev's threatening and boorish behavior, this did little to comfort the American president" (84)¹¹. The result of the meeting was that the Soviet had built a wall between the two halves of Berlin. Darraj stated that, "the Berlin Wall became the ultimate symbol of communism's threat , and when he

returned to the city in summer of 1963, Jack told a large gathering that he hoped the wall would be one day brought down and Berlin's citizens reunited''(75).

On October 1962, Kennedy again faced a crisis in Cuba which was the Cuban Missile Crisis. The tension between the two superpowers had increased when the Soviet Union placed its nuclear missiles at Cuba's port. In this case, his focus was on how he would solve the problem and remove the nuclear missiles from Cuba which threatened U.S. security. Kennedy called his closest advisors known as "ExComm", the Executive Committee of the National Security Council, to end the crisis.

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At first, on October 20, he imposed a blockade around Cuba to prevent further nuclear weapons. Then, on October 22, he addressed a speech, over television and radio, to the American nation as well as the Soviet's president demanding the removal of Soviet missiles. Afterward, he found negotiation's strategy the way to solve the crisis. On October 27, 1962, Khrushchev contacted Kennedy and told him that he would accept to remove the nuclear missiles, only if the United States would eliminate its nuclear missiles from Turkey. Kennedy accepted the offer with the condition that the plan would remain a secret ¹². After the missile crisis, on October 7, 1963, he pushed for the agreement between the nuclear powers, the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union to sign the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty which prohibited nuclear weapons testing in the atmosphere, under water, or in outer space.

¹¹ Ibid., 84.

¹² Michael Meagher and Larry D.Gragg.2011. *John F.Kennedy A Biography* (Santa Barbara, Greenwood Biographies),pp.99-100.

Moreover, Kennedy gave attention to the global challenges with the emerging nations in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East. In the Middle East, he asserted his support to Israel's right to exist, as well as he endeavored to create closer ties with Gamal Abdel Nasser who formed the United Arab Republic¹³. Kennedy's aid to Nasser aimed to distance him from the Soviet bloc and take a neutral stance in the Cold War. Furthermore, he sought to improve relations with Saudi Arabia. Through his Alliance for Progress, Kennedy in Latin America sought to provide assistance for the construction of roads, schools, hospitals, and the promises of land reform. Moreover, in Asia, he gave more attention to India, China, as well as Vietnam.

Kennedy, in Africa, was much concerned with the nationalist movements and the new independent nations. Kennedy's foreign policy, in Africa, was notable and different. His support played a significant role which raised the aspiration of independence in Africa.

Kennedy's presidency was a remarkable period in the US history. At that time, The US had lived, internally and externally, a serious moments and challenges. The African Nationalist Movement was one of Kennedy's major concerns which the next chapter will focus on.

¹³ Gamal Abdel Nasser was president of Egypt from 1956 to 1970. He supported the Arab revolutions like the Algerian revolution, as well as he played a key role in the Non-Aligned Movement. (<https://www.britannica.com>).

Chapter Two

Kennedy and the African Nationalist Movement

During an exciting and a sensitive Time “the Cold War”, Africa has seen a remarkable development in Liberal Movements. There were major factors that contributed to the rise of African Nationalism, for instance, the Second World War, the role of the African elites, the rise of Pan-African movement, and the ideological struggle between the Soviet Union and United States. From 1945 to 1963, the US witnessed three administrations: the Truman, the Eisenhower, and the Kennedy administration. This chapter focuses on the African Nationalism Movement after 1945, the Truman and Eisenhower policy towards Africa, and the attitude of Kennedy’s administration towards African Nationalism and struggle for independence.

II.1 The African Nationalism During the Cold War 1945- 1963

Africa, the Dark Continent, witnessed the European imperialism after the industrial revolution, which took place from the 18th to the 19th century. The European countries invaded and divided the continent for economic expansion, raw materials, and slave trade. Africa after a long period of western hegemony and colonialism, in the second half of the twentieth century has seen the emergence of strong and strict nationalist movement.

The term nationalism refers to the desire to achieve a nation-state from colonial rule by a large group of people who share common language, culture, and history. Thus, The African Nationalism was the will of the Africans to terminate the European domination to build political, economic, and social freedom. The African colonized countries, during the 20th century, claimed by both dialogue and army for its self-determination right¹⁴. The latter, stresses the free choice of sovereignty and international political status without external compulsion. The aspiration of independence in Africa rose due to the political actions and the ideological elements. These elements aimed to enhance the status, the rights and position of Africans in the emerging society and in the world, as well as it aimed to create the ideal of nation.

¹⁴ During World War Second, Woodrow Wilson listed Self-determination as a political principle which expressed peace.

II.1.1 Main Factors of the Evolution of African Nationalist Movement After 1945

There were factors that inspired the Africans and influenced the rise of African nationalism, such as, the Second World War, the rise of African elites, the Pan-African movement, the rise of communism in Union Soviet Socialist Republics, as well as the rise of United States as a leading capitalist nation.

The Second World War from 1939 to 1945 brought major changes which strengthened the African nations to struggle for independence. They participated, as soldiers, during World War one and two, on the side of their colonial European masters, while the Second World War was effective and marked a turning point in the progress of African nationalist movement. The war made the Africans connected people enjoyed freedom and struggled against imperialism. Besides, it helped them gain more military experience. The participation gave them spiritual insight to create their own nation state. South Africa, Kenya, Zambia, Algeria, and Ghana were among the African countries that witnessed a remarkable development in the national movement.

The rise of the African elites was also an important element that influenced the African Nationalist Movement. The nationalist educated leaders have contributed to made the Africans more aware about freedom and democracy real meaning. There were prominent leaders who made efforts for the independence of their nations, for instance, Gamel Abd Nasser in Egypt, Nelson Mandela in South Africa, Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana, Jomo Kenyatta in Kenya, Patrice Lumumba in Congo, and other leaders in other countries. They formed political parties, organizations, and leagues that aimed to promote the interests and the unity of the African nations. Ghana witnessed the first wave of independence on March 6, 1957 led by Nkrumah.

The Pan-African Movement or the Diaspora influence was another factor that developed the desire for independence. This movement stressed a set of ideas and ideologies that called for the unity and the solidarity of all Africans who shared common experiences, culture, and common history. It encouraged the Africans to work together throughout the world. There were number of activists who represented this movement like W. E. B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, Sylvester Williams, and Nkrumah. The intellectual African American activist

Du Bois, in 1961, renounced his U.S. citizenship to Ghana. In addition, in 1963, Nkrumah formed the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

The USSR and USA also contributed to the rise of African Nationalism¹⁵. After the end of Second World War, the world politics witnessed a rivalry between two blocs, the East bloc and the west bloc. In order to expand their ideological influence, the two blocs sought to exploit the colonial territories in Africa. The USSR adopted Marxist theory as a tool to oppose the capitalist US ideology¹⁶. They encouraged the African colonies with military power as well as established alliance with the revolutionary forces to fight the western colonialism and the US expansion and exploitation.

During the African nationalist movement, America emerged as a leading capitalist nation after World War two. After 1945, the foreign policy of US administrations toward the process of decolonization changed due to the international situation ‘Cold War’.

II.2 US Policy Toward African Nationalist Movement during the Cold War

The United States was anti-colonialism and generally supported the concept of national self-determination as Thomas J. Noer noted in his book *Cold War and Black Liberation (1985)*, “Since its overthrow of British rule in 1783, the United States has repeatedly proclaimed its opposition to colonialism and its support for the self-determination of all people”¹⁷. In addition, at the end of 1953, the National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) found out the emergence of African Nationalism as an important movement, which could be a source for US strategic implication¹⁸. Furthermore, the NIE noted that independence for European colonies, “No longer a purely domestic issue between the European colonial power and their dependencies”¹⁹.

¹⁵ USSR : the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was a former communist constitutional state whose borders encompassed most of the area of the Eurasia region between 1922 and 1991.(<https://www.britannica.com>).

¹⁶ Marxist Theory is a theory of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels which formed the philosophical basis for the rise of communism in the early 20th century.It is an economic system characterized by collective ownership of the means of production.(<https://www.britannica.com>).

¹⁷ Thomas J.Noer.1985.Cold War and Black Liberation:The United States and White Rule in Africa,1948-1968 (University of Missouri Press,Columbia), p.15.

¹⁸ Shai A Divon and Bill Dermon.2017.United States Assistance Policy in Africa-Exceptional power (Routledge Exploitation in Development Studies , p. 109.

¹⁹ Ebre Naubani.2003.The United States and the Liquidation of European Colonial Rule in Tropical Africa,1941-1963,(Cahiers d’Etudes africaines,XLIII 3.171), p. 518

II.2.1 The Truman's Administration and African Nationalism

America, from 1945 to 1963, witnessed different foreign policies of three different administrations: Harry S. Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and John F. Kennedy. The Cold War, the Civil Rights Movement, and the birth of nonaligned movement have made US foreign policy toward Africa more significant²⁰.

The United States had closer ties with the European countries and they were allies through North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)²¹. Thus, the Truman administration from 1945 to 1953 considered the “colonial question” as essential element of United States national security interests. The administration asserted that the policy of supporting the western colonial forces would serve the US national security interests. George McGhee, assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern, South Asian, and African Affairs, in 1951, pointed out that the western colonial rule protected the African colonies from the Soviet threat “communism.” In addition, he argued that the Europeans “regard their African territories as essential to their economic well-being, their military security, and their political position in the world community. Since the Second World War, Africa’s importance to them has been greatly enhanced”²². From this perspective, according to McGhee, the United States should not stand a side with the process of decolonization. Truman’s administration considered the African colonies a European concern. Besides, America’s strategic interests were based on the power of the European economy, for this, the United States assumed that Europe needed to exploit the African markets, natural resources, and foodstuffs²³.

Furthermore, the United States consul general in Dakar, in February 1950, confirmed to the State Department that, “peoples in Black Africa are basically primitive rather than backward due to racial characteristics and environmental influence”²⁴. He asserted that the Africans were not ready for managing their independence.

²⁰ Marc J. Selverstone.2014. A Companion to John F.Kennedy (Wiley Blackwell Companions), p.347.

²¹ NATO is a military alliance of European and North American democracies which formed after World War II.(<https://www.dictionay.com>).

²² Ebre Naubani.2003.The United States and the Liquidation of European Colonial Rule in Tropical Africa,1941-1963,(Cahiers d’Etudesafricaines,XLIII 3.171), p.519.

²³ Ibid., 520.

²⁴ Ebre Naubani.2003.The United States and the Liquidation of European Colonial Rule in Tropical Africa,1941-1963,(Cahiers d’Etudesafricaines,XLIII 3.171), p.521.

II.2.2 The Eisenhower Administration and African Nationalism

In 1953, the America's administration was under Dwight D. Eisenhower. During the Eisenhower presidency, Africa remained under European control. He also confronted the international issue of decolonization or nationalism. He gave little attention to the process of decolonization due to several arguments.

The attitude of the Eisenhower administration toward the "colonial question" was clearly defined by Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles. He declared his opposition toward the independence movement which goes back to the 1945 San Francisco Conference. He had the same view with Acheson who believed that Europe was foundational part of United States diplomacy²⁶.

According to Philip E. Muehlenbeck's article *John F. Kennedy's Courting of African Nationalism*, (2004), the administration of Eisenhower had not considered the transfer of power to Africa a topical issue for several reasons. First, because of the fact that the African nations were unprepared for independence and self-government "The African is still immature and unsophisticated". Second, Eisenhower believed that U.S. Third World support would cause a rift in his relations with NATO allies. Third and finally, his little interest was for economic reasons, the Eisenhower administration favored the use of African resources to strengthen the economy of the Western countries. Assistant Secretary of State Henry Byroad informed that, "a sudden break in economic relations between Europe and Africa might seriously injure the European economies upon which our Atlantic system depends."

As a result, the Eisenhower administration has not given a serious interest toward the African Nationalist Movement. After the end of Eisenhower presidency, Kennedy came to the floor of the presidency from 1961 to 1963. Kennedy took a new and serious policy toward the African Nationalism.

²⁵ Ibid. , 521.

²⁶ Ibid. , 526.

II.3 Kennedy's Courting of African Nationalism

Kennedy during his presidency confronted several international issues and challenges. The African struggle for independence was one of his major concerns. He had devoted more time and efforts to the emerging nations for its self-determination right. The writer Ronald J. Nurse asserted, in his work *Critic of Colonialism: JFK and the Algerian Independence* (1977), that Kennedy adopted the belief that the United States and the emerging nations of the third world shared common experience of fighting imperialism and colonial domination.

During the presidential election 1960, his campaign speeches and actions reflected his advocacy to the third world. Besides, he repeatedly criticized the Eisenhower administration for neglecting the “sleeping giant” of African Nationalism and stated the following: “We have lost ground in Africa because we have neglected and ignored the needs and the aspirations of the African people, because we failed to foresee the emergence of Africa and ally ourselves with the causes of independence”²⁷.

In spite of the difficulties that Kennedy faced due to the Cold War with the Soviet Union, he attempted to court African Nationalism because of the belief that the Cold War could be won or lost on the African continent²⁸. The motive behind this belief was the Nikita Khrushchev's speech in January 1961. The speech titled “Wars of National Liberation” which confirmed Khrushchev's pledge to the African nationalist movement in order to put an end to the Western colonial rule:

A remarkable phenomenon of our time is the awakening of the peoples of Africa...communists are revolutionaries, and it would be unfortunate if they did not take advantage of new opportunities and did not look for new methods and forms that would best achieve the ends in view²⁹.

The administration of Kennedy sought to follow a new and serious policy towards Africa. Kennedy has appointed G.Mennen Williams as Assistant Secretary of state for African Affairs. Williams had the same view with Kennedy that pledged the African continent and opposed the European colonialism. He declared a controversial statement “Africa for the

²⁷ Sleeping giant: is one that has great but unrealized or newly emerging power ([https:// www.merriam-webster.com](https://www.merriam-webster.com)

²⁸ Marc J. Selverstone.2014. A Companion to John F.Kennedy (Wiley Blackwell Companions), p.347.

²⁹ Philip E. Muehlenbeck. 2004.John F.Kennedy's courting of African Nationalism (Madison Historical Review, vol.2,no.1),

Africans” which created uproar among the press and Europeanists within the administration and the congress. Kennedy defended Williams’s statement in March 1, 1961 and said, “I do not know who else Africa should be for”³⁰.

Moreover, Kennedy’s African policy approved African Cold War neutrality and disagreed with the belief of John Foster Dulles who argued that neutralism was a “transitional stage to communism.” Kennedy stated, “we shall not always expect to find them non-aligned countries supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom”³¹.

In addition, during his presidency, he gave more attention to Four African issues: Congo, South Africa, Ghana, and Angola. At the summer of 1961, Kennedy’s administration tried to force the Portugal to terminate its domination over Angola and advocated its self-determination right. Besides, the courting of African Nationalist leaders characterized Kennedy’s African policy. He, from 1961 to 1962, met with twenty-eight African leaders and befriended them. Guinea’s SèkouTourè noted that Kennedy “best friend in the outside world” and asserted that, “Guinean people now regard America as their best friend”³².

Furthermore, Kennedy focused on the importance of raising the African standards of living through US assistance. He suggested that through modernization, Africa would achieve a political and economic awareness. Kennedy’s aid was for the reason of improving America’s image in the Third World.

Scholars, such as ,Thomas Noer, Peter Schraeder, David Dickson, and Gabriel KolKo asserted that Kennedy’s policy toward African affairs was more rhetoric and changed nothing in US foreign policy towards Africa. They considered that his policy aimed for maintaining the unity of NATO and standing with the European countries, as well as gaining the Cold War³³.

³⁰ Ibid., 9,12.

³¹ Ibid., 12, 13.

³² Ibid., 14, 17

³³ Marc J. Selverstone.2014. A Companion to John F.Kennedy (Wiley Blackwell Companions), p.349.

Despite that there were who faulted Kennedy's efforts in the African continent; there were who found out that Kennedy made a deep change in US relations with Africa. Thompson, in 1969, noted that 'with Kennedy's death went the U.S.'s Africa policy'³⁴.

Kennedy's advocacy to the African Nationalism came out before he even reached the presidency. His earliest support remarked on the floor of the senate, when in 1957 announced a controversial speech Titled "Facing Facts on Algeria." Algeria was among the African nations that struggled for its self-determination right in which the next chapter seeks to highlight .

³⁴ Thompson ef., Marc J. Selverstone.2014. A Companion to John F.Kennedy (Wiley Blackwell Companions), p.363.

Chapter Three

Kennedy and the Algerian Self-determination

Algeria from 1830 to 1962 was colonized by the European country France. On November 1, 1954, the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) declared a revolution against the French authority. One of the aims of nationalist leaders (FLN) beyond the revolution was to internationalize and catch the support of the world. On 2 July, 1957, the American president John F. Kennedy, as a senator, had supported the Algerian independence through a speech titled “Facing Facts on Algeria.” This chapter seeks to highlight the Algerian Revolution 1954, the controversial speech of John Kennedy, and the internal and external reactions toward it.

III.1 The National Liberation Front (FLN)

The twentieth century was a century when the colonized countries started uprising against colonial rule of European countries. By the late 1920s, the Algerian nationalist movement emerged against French colonialism. The desire for Algerian autonomy and independence arose from those educated Algerians and those who had served in the French Army during the First and the Second World War. Also, the Algerians were influenced by the Arab Nationalism of the 1920s and 1930s. After the 1st world war, three main anti-colonialist movements emerged in Algeria.

In 1926, the Star of North Africa was established by Ahmed MessaliHadj who was the first one who called for the independence of Algeria³⁵. In 1930 was the foundation of the Federation of Elected Muslims led by Ferhat Abbas who called for representation in the French parliament³⁶. In 1931, Ben Badis formed the Association of Algerian Muslim Ulama who focused on the importance of Islam as part of the Algerian identity with the logo: “Islam is my religion; Arabic is my language; Algeria is my country”.

In 1946, the Star of North Africa reemerged as the Movement for Triumph of Democratic Liberties (MTLD; Mouvement pour le triomphe des liberties). In 1954, it became known as the Algerian National Movement (ANM; Mouvement National Algèrien) and appeared the National Liberation Front (FLN; Front de LibèrationNationale).The FLN consisted of twenty two revolutionists who had believed on liberated Algeria by force of arms.

³⁵ Messali Hadj was the first Algerian national leader who claimed for independence from France. He has supported political struggle and opposed any armed activity ([https:// www.britannica.com](https://www.britannica.com)).

³⁶ Ferhat Abbas was an Algerian politician leader of the national independence movement . he was the first who president of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic([https:// www.britannica.com](https://www.britannica.com)).

On 8th May, 1945, France was celebrating the end of Second World War “The Victory of Europe Day ” while the Algerians had been massacred by the French police. At that day, in different regions like Sétif, the Algerian nationalists organized marches with Algerian flag and with logos asking for independence and free MessaliHadj. The French military killed a hundred Algerians as Matthew Connelly asserted “these quickly turned into bloody clashes in which French forces massacred from 6,000 to 45,000 Algerians” ³⁷. French actions and growing of Algerian Nationalism led to the liberation movement and declaration of a revolution organized by the FLN on 1st November, 1954.

On 1954, the FLN leaders started meetings in order to prepare plans for an armed revolution. After the revolutionary structure, on 1st November, 1954, the FLN declared the Algerian Revolution and announced a proclamation. The latter, calling for the basic rights and principles of the Algerians, and it also tried to convince the Algerian people and militants to fight for national independence.

III.1.1 Proclamation of National Liberation Front (FLN), November 1, 1954

The proclamation included points explained the Algerian National movement and the internal and external goals of the FLN. For the internal goals, the FLN claimed for the restoration of Algerian state and democracy within Islamic principles, while the external aims focused on the “Internationalization of the Algerian Problem” and get support for the self-determination of Algerian people from other nations like the “United States” and stated the following:

The National Liberation Front will have two essential tasks to pursue from the beginning and simultaneously: an interior action as much on the political level as on the level of action itself, and an exterior action with the support of our natural allies to make the Algerian problem a reality for the entire world. This is a crushing task which requires the mobilization of all national energies and resources. It is true, the fight will be long, but the outcome is certain ³⁸.

³⁷ Matthew Connelly.2001. *Rethinking the Cold War and Decolonization: The Grand Strategy of the Algerian War of Independence* (International Journal of Middle East Studies, vol.33, no.2), p. 222.

³⁸ Matthew Connelly.2002. *A Diplomatic Revolution : Algeria's Fight for Independence and the Origins of the Post-Cold War Era* (Oxford University Press), p. 69.

The Algerian revolutionary, Hocine Ait Ahmed, was the one who inspired the FLN to liberate themselves by force of arms. He was the one who focused on the importance of internationalizing the Algerian question. Ait Ahmed asserted the following:

The isolation has lasted too long. The party that has the heavy responsibility of liberating Algeria must break this isolation ... This is an imperative, essential at this decisive stage of preparation, which will make our revolutionary strategy one of expansion and of opening into the world ³⁹.

Ait Ahmed, Mohammed Khider, and Ahmed Ben Bella were the FLN's first external delegation. Their objectives were to internationalize the Algerian problem at United Nations and international conferences. Also, they aimed at challenging France which considered Algeria as an internal affair and an integral part of France. In 1957, the Algerian nationalist leaders received a response and a positive attitude from the American senator John F. Kennedy.

III.2 Kennedy's speech "Facing Facts in Algeria"

John Kennedy, as Senator and Chairman of the Foreign Relations Sub-committee on United Nations Affairs, criticized French policy in its colonies. Kennedy first criticism to French colonialism started with Indochina during the period 1951-1954 than with Algeria through a speech on 2 July, 1957.

Kennedy's support to Algerian self-determination came in 1957 with a speech titled "Facing Facts on Algerian." The speech gave Kennedy the nickname "the senator from Algeria" because he was the first American politician who supported the Algerian Independence openly. He proclaimed that the French colonialism as well as Eisenhower administration's assistance to French policy incited the emerging nations to stand against America and would be influenced by the communists. Selverstone noted in the following:

Kennedy charged that, by ignoring the aspirations of Africans to govern their own independent nations, the Eisenhower administration was pushing the people of the underdeveloped world toward anti-Americanism and into the hands of the communists ⁴⁰.

³⁹ Hocine, Ait Ahmed et., Matthew Connelly. 2002. *A Diplomatic Revolution : Algeria's Fight for Independence and the Origins of the Post-Cold War Era* (Oxford University Press), p.39.

⁴⁰ Marc J. Selverstone. 2014. *A Companion to John F. Kennedy* (Wiley Blackwell Companions), p.351

III.2.1 Kennedy's Remarks in the Senate, July 2, 1957

Kennedy's speech contains remarks and arguments that clarify why he denounced French colonialism in Algeria, and suggested how the Algerian problem would be resolved. In the introduction, he addressed the speech to President Eisenhower and opened it with the ideology of Imperialism the Enemy of Freedom. He stated that American foreign policy endeavored to challenge the Soviet Imperialism as well as western Imperialism which constrained man's desire to be free. Kennedy considered him-self concerned about the failure of challenging the forces of imperialism. He mentioned cases which reflected the clash between imperialism and independence. He took Poland as an example of Soviet Imperialism and Algeria as an example of Western Imperialism, namely, French imperialism. Then he noted that his speech was going to study the failures and the future of United States in Algeria and North Africa.

Kennedy asserted that he was reluctant to get involved in the Algerian case and criticized France publicly due to the reason that France was the oldest and first ally of the United States. Also, he was reluctant because of the contributions of France in the American Independence and its attitudes concerning world events. He was, he declared, neither anti-France nor anti-nationalist. Then, he stressed that the French leaders and people them-selves asserted what he dealt in his speech and said, "I say nothing today that has not been said by responsible leaders of French opinion and by a growing number of the French people themselves."

Kennedy argued that Algeria for several years concerned as an internal French issue, but the African Nationalism and the growing crisis in Algeria had made it an international issue and American concern. Moreover, he pointed out the reasons that considered the Algerian matter an American concern. First, France had been weakened and exhausted the NATO forces as he said, "the war in Algeria, engaging more than 400,000 French soldiers, had stripped the continental forces of NATO to the bone". Thus, it affected negatively their relations with Tunisia and Morocco which shared common aims with Algerian leaders. Second, the policy of France in Algeria, had also endangered the foreign programs of U.S.A and aid, like the Eisenhower Doctrine for the Middle East, thereby weakening Western European defenses against the Soviet Union. Finally, the war in Algeria stripped, too, their oldest and most significant allies and confirmed that "No, Algeria is no longer a problem for the French alone-nor will ever be again."

Kennedy said that there were difficult issues in Algeria which could not be ignored in United Nations or in NATO. He illustrated the actions of French policy that failed the attempts of negotiations with Algerian nationalists for resolution and settlement. He mentioned the event when French government under Prime Minister Mollet without even his knowledge, had captivated, on air, the Algerian rebel leaders between Rabat and Tunisia. Thus, that event destroyed all hopes to cease fire between France and Algerian leaders. In addition, he pointed out the attempts of Bourguiba, Prime Minister of Tunisia who tried to convince nationalist representatives to accept the principle of internationally controlled elections, subject to safeguards, if the French would remain by the results, but Mr. Mollet cut out the efforts⁴¹. Furthermore, he stated that how France considered Algeria as an integral part, while it had not truly appreciated Algerians as French citizens.

In the speech, Kennedy spoke about the obstacles to an Algerian solution and stated four obstacles. The first obstacle was that Algeria considered, legally, as integral part of metropolitan France but he asserted that the Algerian question became an international issue which must be discussed in the United Nations. The second obstacle was that the French population, in Algeria, who asked for their rights and property as French citizens, but he argued that they should focus on settlement and move forward. The third obstacle was that terrorism that interpenetrated the nationalist movement, and he pointed out that United States seeking to gain the friendship and respect of nationalist leaders. The fourth and final obstacle was that ,the Algerians were not ready for leadership and ruled a country due to the fact that French government had deprived the Algerian natives from educational opportunities .Besides, France illegalized their political parties and activities.

In Algeria Kennedy saw the same problem that he had remarked in Indochina. He feared that Washington's uncritical support for the French policy in this new area of conflict would affect the future of United States and the West in North African and Arab countries. Kennedy while delivering his speech suggested the French elements of a settlement in Algeria. The first suggestion was the implementation of pacification policy. Through the pacification policy, he declared, the Algerian nationalists would rebel in a pacific way and avoid using military forces. He

stressed that the rebellion in Algeria was active because of the involvement and the help of Colonel Nasser, Morocco, Tunisia, and communist meddling. Then he argued that the goal of the rebellion was to catch the attention of the United Nations. The second suggestion was the social and economic reforms in Algeria, which it related to the improvement of Algerian and Muslims' life through providing employment opportunities and lands. The third suggestion was political union between Algeria and France. In this element he introduced political rights to the Algerian nationalists to reach the union.

Kennedy continued his speech and pointed out that the American government had to regard the Algerian question as American matter. He said that its time for United States, as leader of the free world in United Nations, in NATO, in the administration of aid programs, and in the exercise of their diplomacy to find a resolution for the Algerian problem.

Kennedy introduced two resolutions called on the Eisenhower government to find a solution to the Franco-Algerian conflict. The two resolutions would be through either NATO machinery or the good offices of Prime Minister of Tunisia, Bourguiba, and the Sultan of Morocco. Also, Kennedy's proposal concerned the national interests of Algeria, United States, as well as France. He noted that he preferred to continue French influence in North Africa that could be saved when Algeria achieved its independence, thus would allow economic interdependence with France. Besides, he remarked that United States could not maintain friendly relations with Arabs, Africans, and Asians through participate in a popular competition, or by means of billion dollars foreign aid programs, or rely on gifts. As well as America, he declared, could not obtain their hearts by describing the dangers of communism or prosperity of United Nations or limiting its relations with military conventions. He asserted that the strength of their appeal to this large population was the philosophy of freedom and independence for all people everywhere.

Kennedy ended his speech with the assertion that if no significant progress had been achieved at the next session of the United Nations General Assembly, the United States would support international efforts to find a basis for the joint achievement of Algeria's independence. Kennedy's speech was controversial as it caused political disputes at home and abroad. There were those who agreed and those who criticized it.

III.3 Internal and External Reactions Toward Kennedy's Speech

III.3.1 Internal Reactions

For Democratic party senators JohnCarroll, Dennis Chavez, Joseph Clark, Henry “scoop” Jackson, Mike Mansfield, and Richard Neuberger supported Kennedy's proposal which was a resolution for Franco-Algerian conflict, while Republican senators Dirksen and Thruston Morton criticized Kennedy's support for the Algerian independence. Dirksen noted two reasons behind his criticism. First, the significance of France as an ally to American security and asserted that nothing be done to fight France. Second, he argued that even if Kennedy's proposal was accepted, the method was unsuitable⁴¹.

Kennedy's speech attacked the support of US foreign policy. He criticized the US attitude toward France. Among the institutions which were severely criticized, one finds the Department of State, the Council of Foreign Relations, as well as the New York Times. The New York Times denounced Kennedy's remarks and noted “perhaps the most comprehensive arraignment of Western policy toward Algeria yet presented by an American in public office.” Also, President Eisenhower as well as Secretary Dulles and other Republicans commented that Kennedy's intervention would complicate a compromise solution⁴².

In Washington, the French ambassador, HervèAlphand, called on Secretary of State Dulles to react to the speech in order to make its effects on France less harmful. Dulles held a press conference and urged that if Kennedy wanted to oppose French colonialism, he should focus more on communism rather than France. He said that Algeria is, basically, a French question and Kennedy would be very regrettable to see the Algerian problem as American issue⁴³.

Adlai E. Stevenson, a prominent fellow of Democratic party, and former Secretary of State Acheson also denounced Kennedy's criticism toward French policy. Acheson, as one of the architects of NATO, considered Kennedy's speech as strange and naïve. Besides, he declared “it will not help for us to snap impatient fingers at people who were great before our nation was dream of”⁴⁴.

⁴¹ Ronald J. Nurse. 1977. *Critic of Colonialism: JFK and Algerian Independence* (The Historian, vol.39, no.2), pp. 313, 314.

⁴² Ibid., 314.

⁴³ Ibid., 314, 315.

III.3.2 External Reactions

Externally, most of the French were angry at Kennedy's intervention and claimed that his proposal prompted Algerian rebels to continue the fight. The French Minister for Algeria, Robert Lacoste, attacked the speech and said that the United States should focus on its Negro Problem before telling France how to control and deal with the Moslems, While, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., welcomed Kennedy's speech with Jean-Jacques Servan-Schrieber who printed full speech in L'Express⁴⁵.

The majority opinion of nation's press disagreed with Kennedy's support Algerian self-determination. Most liberal newspapers and periodicals congratulated him, however conservative publications criticized his position on this issue, for instance, Time magazine described Kennedy's speech as "all bang and no benefit", in other words, everything good but useless⁴⁶.

On July 8, Kennedy replied on the criticism and the attack of the French government and State Department. He said that he believed that the Algerian uprising had a serious international significance, which had caused the participation of the United States. Kennedy pointed out that if the conflict continued between France and Algeria without a new approach, the Algerian Nationalists who were with a "pro-Western orientation" would be unable to control the extremists. He asked how the Algerians would look out to America when they obtained their independence, while America assumed neutrality and at the same time provided weapons to their enemies. Then, he urged that the world fighting imperialism and the scale of nationalism was the most powerful element for foreign policy.

The resolution of the conflict came with De Gaulle government who offered a hope and a promise that solve the problem in Algeria. De Gaulle encouraged negotiations and settlement with the Algerian nationalists in spite of the strong resistance from France, Algeria, and especially the French army. As a result, in 1962, Algeria got its independence and De Gaulle hoped to maintain the relationship between Algeria and France. Besides, he hoped that the settlement would become a model for relations between European industrial country and its former colony⁴⁷.

⁴⁴ Jeffrey A. Lefebvre. 1999. Kennedy's Algerian Dilemma: Containment, Alliance Politics and the 'Rebel Dialogue' (Middle Eastern Studies, vol.35, no.2), p.62. ⁴⁵ Ronald J. Nurse. 1977. *Critic of Colonialism: JFK and Algerian Independence* (The Historian, vol.39, no.2), p.319

⁴⁶ Ibid., 317. ⁴⁷ Ronald J. Nurse. 1977. *Critic of Colonialism: JFK and Algerian Independence* (The Historian, vol.39, no.2), pp.322,323.

John Kennedy, as a president, after the proclamation of Algerian independence on July 3, 1962 congratulated the Algerian people and leaders, as well as their French colleagues for the achievement of self-determination and said the following statements:

This moment of national independence for the Algerian people is both a solemn occasion and one of great job. The entire world share in this important step toward fuller realization of the dignity of man. I am proud that it falls to me as the President of the people of the United States to voice on their behalf the profound satisfaction we feel that the cause of freedom of choice among peoples has again triumphed. We Americans who at this time are celebrating the anniversary of our own independence, a freedom achieved only after great difficulties and much bloodshed, feel with you the surge of pride and satisfaction that is yours today on this momentous occasion. We congratulate your leaders and their French colleagues on the wise statesmanship, patience and depth of vision they showed in paving the way for this historic event. As one who has been interested in the future of the Algerian people for many years, it is with special pride that I extend the good wishes of the American people to the people of Algeria. In the coming days, we wish to strengthen and multiply the American bonds of friendship with the Government and people of Algeria. We look forward to working with you in the cause of freedom, peace and human welfare.

General Conclusion

John F. Kennedy, the American politician who served in both the U.S. House of Representatives 1947-1953, and U.S. Senate 1953-1960 before becoming the 35th president of United States of America in 1961. Once he reached the presidency, President Kennedy faced a serious internal and external challenges. The civil rights issues were one of the major domestic challenges that made him devoted much time to find a solution for the African Americans who claimed for equal rights. Kennedy was a “Cold Warrior” who confronted several foreign policy crises and challenges with the Soviet Union, like, the Cuban and Berlin crisis, the Bay of Pigs invasion, and important issues related to the Third World... During his presidency, Africa witnessed strong and strict Nationalist Movement. The desire of building an ideal nation state made the Africans resisted strongly against European colonial rule.

Kennedy encouraged the African nations to get their independence and manage their own government. Algeria was among the African nations that struggled for its political, economic, and social freedom from French imperialism. The Algerian revolutionaries devoted their efforts to make the Algerian question a foreign issue that must be discussed and taken into consideration in international forums. Kennedy took the Algerian question a serious matter and declared a controversial speech opposed French colonialism and Eisenhower policy toward Africa. Because of this fact, this research paper has intended to highlight the reasons and the interests of Kennedy beyond his support to the Algeria self-determination while France was the oldest ally of America through NATO. The expansions and the influence of communism ideology and to maintain the unity of NATO were the potential hypotheses that justified his position for the Algerian independence.

In order to answer our research questions and confirm or reject the given hypothesis, we have divided this paper into three chapters. The first chapter has included an overview of Kennedy’s life from childhood to presidency. He served as senator and president during an exciting period “Cold War”. The second chapter has held his challenge, as president, with the African Nationalist Movement. It has represented Kennedy’s reasons behind his advocacy to African right of self-determination. IN the third chapter we have taken Algeria as an African nation that witnessed a support from Kennedy before even becoming a president.

The data provided by this research have revealed that his position toward the Algerian self-determination was for maintaining a united and strong NATO, protect the interests of its first ally France, as well as to distance the influence of Soviet Union's ideology "communism".

Kennedy's support to the Algerian independence as senator was a significant, controversial, and historical event, which confirmed Kennedy's awareness of communism impact over the emerging nations like Algeria. Besides, Kennedy's position reflected that the Algerian nationalist leaders achieved an essential goal which was internationalizing the Algerian question.

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