

The Tripoli Congress (27 May– 7 June 1962), the Future of the National Liberation Front, and Its Relationship with Liberation Forces in Africa

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Abstract :

The outcomes of the Tripoli Congress, held in the Libyan capital between 27 May and 4 June 1962, were not limited to addressing internal issues related to the post-revolution period and the organization of the newly sovereign Algerian state. The congress also affirmed the international dimension of the Algerian Revolution, particularly within its African context. It confirmed Algeria's firm commitment to supporting liberation movements across the world, particularly in Africa. This support included different forms of political, military, and logistical assistance to peoples who were still under colonial rule.

The study shows that this policy was closely linked to the experience of the Algerian Revolution itself. It represented a natural continuation of the spirit of solidarity that had characterized the revolutionary struggle. The Algerian leadership sought to transform the country into a space that supported the struggles of African peoples and into a center for coordinating the efforts of liberation movements.

Article info

Received:

20/03/2026

Accepted:

27/04/2026

Keywords

- ✓ Independence
- ✓ Liberation
- ✓ Solidarity
- ✓ Revolution

Introduction

The Tripoli Congress, held in the Libyan capital between 27 May and 4 June 1962, represents a pivotal moment in the development of the Algerian Revolution and its political and military transformations. The congress took place in a delicate and challenging context, following the signing of the Évian Agreements, which paved the way for the restoration of national sovereignty and the end of colonial rule. During this period, the leaders of the National Liberation Front (FLN) convened to outline the anticipated structure of the Algerian state, define the foundations of its political and administrative organization, and determine its foreign policy direction, particularly toward African countries to which Algeria is geographically and historically linked. These connections constitute strategic ties, positioning Algeria as a natural extension of the continent and a vital actor in its liberation and development trajectory.

The congress provided a crucial opportunity to unify the ranks of the FLN and its military forces and to address disagreements that had emerged during the years of armed struggle. The participating leaders concentrated on several sensitive issues, including defining the nature of the forthcoming political system, determining the role of the military institution within the future Algerian state, and regulating the relationship between political authority and military leadership in order to ensure unity of decision-making and complementarity of functions. The congress also made it possible to formulate a comprehensive national vision for Algeria's future, rooted in the ideological and political principles that had guided the liberation revolution and translated into practical measures for state-building in the postcolonial era.

Through the Tripoli Program and its outcomes, Algeria reaffirmed its principled stance in support of peoples living under colonial domination, especially African countries striving for self-determination. This commitment was expressed through the mobilization of all available means financial, political, military, diplomatic, and logistical in order to establish Algeria as a support base and center of assistance for liberation movements.

This orientation drew on Algeria's own revolutionary experience in confronting French colonialism, which served as both a model and a practical reference for many liberation movements in Africa and beyond.

To fully understand the significance of the Tripoli Congress and its role in the transition from revolution to statehood, it is necessary to analyze its impact on shaping the postcolonial phase. This includes examining the political and organizational challenges Algeria faced at the time, as well as its effect on consolidating the logic of African revolutionary solidarity. Furthermore, it requires exploring how Algeria translated its commitments into concrete support for liberation movements within a historical context in which colonial powers still exerted influence over several African states. From this perspective, the central question arises: to what extent did the Tripoli Congress guide the trajectory of the Algerian Revolution in the postcolonial period, and how did this influence Algeria's relations and role vis-à-vis African liberation movements?

Several subsidiary questions emerge from this central issue, relating to the various dimensions of the study. First, how did the political and military situation of the Algerian Revolution evolve between 1954 and 1962? What were the transformations affecting the structure of leadership and the relationship between political and military authority? How

did the outcomes of negotiations and the Évian Agreements pave the way for the necessity of convening the Tripoli Congress?

Second, what were the internal and external contexts surrounding the congress? What were the main issues and disagreements raised during the sessions? How did the Tripoli Program articulate a vision for the future of the National Liberation Front and the Algerian state? To what extent did the congress's decisions actually influence the trajectory of the FLN in the postcolonial period? Did they contribute to unifying its ranks, or did they reveal new balances of power within the state? Finally, what were the ideological and political foundations that guided Algeria's foreign policy after the recovery of sovereignty? How were these transformed into a support base for African liberation movements? And to what extent did the Tripoli Congress serve as an organized reference for this approach?

This study aims to analyze the structural transformations experienced by the Revolution prior to the recovery of sovereignty, to interpret the political framework that gave rise to the Tripoli Congress and its Program, and to assess the impact of its resolutions on shaping the Algerian state. In addition, it seeks to highlight the African dimension within the political thought of the liberation Revolution and to examine the relationship between internal state-building and the definition of Algeria's external position within its continental environment.

Methodologically, the study primarily relies on a historical-analytical approach, tracing the development of events within their chronological and political context. It also employs content analysis to study the texts of the Tripoli Program and the documents of the National Liberation Front, extracting their key concepts. Comparative methods may be used when necessary to situate the Algerian experience within a broader African framework. In this way, the study integrates its central problem, objectives, and methodology to address a topic that seeks to explain a pivotal moment in Algeria's contemporary history, marking the transition from the logic of revolution to that of statehood, and from a national framework to the broader African liberation space.

1. The Political and Military Situation of the Algerian Revolution, 1954–1962

The Algerian Revolution broke out on 1 November 1954 after a long period of resistance to French colonial rule, which had lasted for more than one hundred and twenty-five years. Its principal objective was to bring colonial domination to an end and restore national sovereignty. The course of political and military struggle continued for seven and a half years, during which the revolution underwent successive organizational, military, and diplomatic developments, culminating in the recovery of sovereignty on 5 July 1962. At the outset, the National Liberation Front launched the armed struggle through the Proclamation of 1 November, while the National Liberation Army carried out military operations on the ground. The first attacks targeted military and economic installations, as well as colonial symbols, in several regions of the country. In its early phase, the revolution faced major challenges, notably the shortage of military resources and the severity of the French response, backed by substantial military capabilities, in addition to campaigns of repression, arrest, and execution directed against both combatants and civilians. Yet the Algerian people's broad support for the revolution enabled it to endure and gradually extend to most parts of the country. (Bougrioua 2013, 15).

As the revolutionary struggle expanded, the Algerian Revolution entered a more organized phase during which the leadership sought to establish administrative and political structures capable of directing the armed struggle more effectively. The country was divided into six historic wilayas, with particular emphasis placed on the primacy of the internal front over the external front and on the precedence of political action over military action, so as to ensure coordination among the various revolutionary units. At the same time, the colonial authorities intensified their military operations in an attempt to contain the revolution, launching large-scale campaigns against units of the National Liberation Army and constructing defensive lines along the eastern and western borders, such as the Morice and Challe lines, in order to prevent the arrival of external support. Despite these measures, the revolution succeeded in developing its leadership institutions: the National Council of the Algerian Revolution became the highest body vested with sovereign authority, while the Committee of Coordination and Execution assumed responsibility for organizing revolutionary activity and linking the internal and external fronts, thereby contributing to the expansion of military operations and to the strengthening of the revolution's political dimension. (Kheither 2006, 167).

In a later phase, the Algerian Revolution moved to strengthen its political and diplomatic presence on the international stage. On 19 September 1958, the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic was established in Cairo with the aim of representing the Revolution politically and unifying the various national forces under the leadership of the National Liberation Front. This government succeeded in securing recognition from a growing number of states, particularly in Asia and Africa, thereby contributing to the internationalization of the Algerian cause and enhancing its visibility in international forums. (Ihaddaden 2003, 58).

As military operations continued within the country and international pressure on France mounted, negotiations were initiated between the Provisional Government and the French authorities. These talks culminated in the signing of the Évian Accords in March 1962, which provided for a ceasefire and the organization of a referendum on self-determination. This process was ultimately crowned by the proclamation of Algeria's sovereignty on 5 July 1962, marking the end of colonial rule and the beginning of the construction of the sovereign national state. (Harbi 2003, 230).

2. Circumstances Preceding the Tripoli Congress

Between 1954 and 1962, the Algerian Revolution underwent significant political and military transformations prior to the Tripoli Congress of 1962. During this period, the battlefield gains achieved by the Revolution were closely intertwined with political challenges, particularly the need to unify the leaders' vision regarding Algeria's future in the postcolonial period.

Although the Tripoli Congress, held between 16 September 1959 and 18 January 1960, emphasized the necessity of overcoming internal divisions to ensure unity, sustain the revolution, and protect its institutions, disagreements regarding operational procedures and organizational issues in both political and military spheres combined with the escalation of French military operations ultimately led to the decision to establish a General Staff as a unified command. This body aimed to reorganize the army and boost the morale of the fighters, which had been low during that period. (Belaalia 2018, 339-351).

During the sixth session of the National Council of the Algerian Revolution in Tripoli, disputes resurfaced among certain factions. Such disagreements were natural and recurring in most liberation movements, often arising from ideological differences and divergent visions. These tensions brought all pending issues to the fore, resulting in what became known as the “Summer Crisis of 1962,” which nearly threatened the achievements secured during seven and a half years of armed struggle. The crisis was ultimately contained thanks to the intervention of the leaders and wise figures, who called for restraint and prioritized national unity over internal conflicts and personal disagreements, thereby safeguarding the gains of the people and their revolutionary struggle (Ahmed Massoud 2001–2002, 46).

3. The Tripoli Congress (27 May–4 June 1962): Background, Events, and Decisions

The Tripoli Congress was convened in the aftermath of the signing of the Évian Accords on 18 March 1962 in the French town of Évian-les-Bains, which brought the war between Algeria and France to an end. Held in the Libyan capital, Tripoli, the congress sought to define the political and economic framework of the future Algerian state. It focused on outlining the broad orientations of the political system and laying the foundations for an economic and social policy capable of responding to the aspirations of the Algerian people after more than a century of colonial rule. At the same time, the political and military leaders of the Revolution sought to preserve the unity of the Algerian people under the leadership of the National Liberation Front and to ensure the cohesion of the emerging state. After lengthy deliberations, agreement was reached on the broad outlines of building a sovereign state founded on a strong national economy attuned to the requirements of development and removed from inherited colonial patterns, while also promoting the modernization of economic structures in line with the challenges of the postcolonial period. (Bachrir 2015, 140-141).

The congress emphasized ensuring fairness in the election of officials at all levels and organizing regular meetings between the people and the authorities. It also defined Algeria’s relations with Western countries while stressing the active participation of citizens in all state affairs to guarantee the success of the revolution and the fulfillment of its core objectives.

The congress underscored the need to combat favoritism and all forms of corruption that undermine justice and equality, and to facilitate direct communication between the people and public officials. Foreign investment was to be subjected to strict oversight, with conditions designed to protect national security and ensure economic autonomy. The congress also aimed to eliminate preferential systems that reinforce disparities among individuals and companies, promote the public sector, and prevent monopolies and economic exploitation. (Ouslim 2013, 162–163).

The congress placed great importance on supporting citizens unable to work due to exceptional circumstances and providing them with economic, social, and cultural assistance. It sought to alleviate the suffering of the widows and children of martyrs, as well as of the disabled and the elderly. Additionally, the congress addressed the situation of refugees in Tunisia and Morocco, aiming to integrate them socially and economically, secure income and housing, and facilitate their reintegration into society.

The congress also focused on achieving social justice through reforms in education, healthcare, and agriculture. It aimed to transform the National Liberation Front from a

liberation movement into a political party capable of leading the country, while establishing the principle of a single party to ensure stability, define its revolutionary role, and uphold its commitment to the principles of the popular democratic revolution.

In terms of foreign policy, the congress emphasized strengthening Algeria's regional and international role and supporting liberation movements in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. It adopted a foreign policy based on the principles of non-alignment and respect for the internal affairs of other states . (Taqiya 2010, 586).

3.1. Internal Challenges of the Tripoli Congress

Following a series of meetings, consultations, and political disputes both well-intentioned and otherwise the discussions at the Tripoli Congress focused largely on general matters, without delving into certain detailed issues of ideological or intellectual nature. The debates extended over many hours, and in the end, all the texts under discussion were publicly approved, with some amendments. Ultimately, the Tripoli Charter was adopted unanimously by all participants, regardless of their previous orientations or affiliations (Haroun 2003, 26). The congress witnessed disagreements among the leaders of the revolution, particularly between the Provisional Government and the General Staff regarding the distribution of authority. These disputes can be summarized in two main aspects:

- Psychological tensions between leaders operating inside and outside the country.
Personal disagreements among certain individuals (Belaalia 2018, 181)

3.2. Internal Tensions

Algeria experienced tensions between the political wing, led by the Provisional Government, and the military wing, led by the General Staff. These tensions later contributed to the events of 19 June 1965.

Despite the difficulties and obstacles faced by the Algerian authorities, both during the transitional period and immediately after the recovery of sovereignty, the state succeeded in defining the core directions of the Tripoli Program by presenting the constitution for a referendum. Although Ferhat Abbas, President of the Constituent National Assembly, expressed reservations about it, the Political Bureau announced the nomination of Ahmed Ben Bella for the position of President of the Republic on 10 September 1963, coinciding with the announcement of the referendum on the country's constitution. (Belaalia 2018, 182)

4. The Future of the National Liberation Front after Independence

The Tripoli Congress defined the primary objectives of the National Liberation Front (FLN) in the postcolonial period. These included building a strong national economy, raising the standard of living through effective social policies, improving domestic conditions, and adopting a foreign policy based on national sovereignty and opposition to imperialism.

Maintaining Algeria's unity and cohesion was one of the most significant organizational challenges faced by the FLN after independence. Having endured the hardships of colonialism and achieved liberation through armed revolution and popular organization, the FLN, through the Tripoli program, called for supporting liberation movements and providing assistance to peoples striving for the independence of their countries. Particular attention was given to Angola, South Africa, and East Africa (Al-Zubairi s.d., 184–191).

The National Liberation Front faced significant challenges in transforming itself from a liberation movement into a political organization capable of governing a newly sovereign state of continental scale. It launched extensive programs of social mobilization and economic reform, while seeking to consolidate its authority in order to build institutions and confront both internal and external challenges. However, following the Tripoli Congress, the primary focus was.

on mobilizing the masses and rallying the population to reject the continued presence of settlers, confront the colonial legacy, and nationalize vacant properties, including residential and agricultural lands previously seized by settlers (Belaalia 2018, 182).

Following the recovery of sovereignty, the Algerian Republic embarked on a path of nation-building, with a focus on strengthening national identity, adopting a socialist system to ensure justice and the equitable distribution of wealth, and advancing a popular democratic revolution aimed at establishing a robust national economy. Algeria also prioritized engagement in international affairs based on opposition to colonialism and support for liberation movements. This principle was enshrined in the country's constitution, which outlined the fundamental directions that the Republic sought to achieve in the postcolonial period.

The National Liberation Front derived its legitimacy from its historical role in leading the Algerian Revolution and guiding the country through a pivotal period in its struggle for national liberation. It declared itself the sole political party in Algeria. Researchers Jean Leclaire and Jean-Claude Fattane argued that Algeria's liberation and the FLN's legitimacy did not emerge from a formal popular consultation; rather, they resulted from the revolutionary history itself. The FLN's legitimacy as a single party was historical in nature, and elections did not add to it. The process through which it acquired authority differed fundamentally from the conventional methods of classical democracy. (Benjamin 2012, 24).

5. The Impact of the Tripoli Congress on the Course of the National Liberation Front

The document of the Tripoli Congress included a set of key decisions that aimed to define the future of Algeria in the economic and social fields. It called for the nationalization of natural resources, especially oil. It also proposed agrarian reform programs to redistribute land to peasants. In addition, it stressed investment in education and health as basic pillars of development.

The document also emphasized the strengthening of central authority in order to ensure political stability. This orientation gave the National Liberation Front a central role in shaping the Algerian state. Later, it contributed to the emergence of internal opposition among some leaders who rejected the dominance of the army over political decision-making.

Despite certain internal divisions, the Front maintained a visible level of cohesion. It became a symbol of national unity because of the difficult conditions experienced by the country. Over time, it also served as an instrument for implementing wide economic and social policies. The Front gained strong popular legitimacy due to its close association with the struggle for national liberation (Benjamin 2012, 40-47).

The Tripoli Congress witnessed conflicts and divergent positions among the participating parties. Since Algerian society had suffered from division and fragmentation under colonial rule, there emerged an urgent need to establish the necessary foundations

for a future economic, social, and political agenda in the postcolonial period. This would enable the Algerian people to build their sovereign state and lay down its institutional foundations. Consequently, the congress became a source of inspiration for both the people and the state, guiding domestic and foreign policy during the early years following the recovery of sovereignty . (Saghir 2012, 109).

5.1.The Transformation of the National Liberation Front from a Revolutionary Liberation Movement to the Ruling Party

Immediately after independence, the National Liberation Front became the country's ruling political party and established a one-party system, justifying it as necessary to preserve the unity and stability of the people. Despite disputes, disagreements, and internal conflicts, these tensions occurred privately within the Front. The presence of French colonialism as a shared enemy enforced silence and fostered cooperation and cohesion among the leaders, which in turn shielded the masses from awareness of these disputes.

These internal conflicts ended swiftly, first through military victory during the Revolution and later through political success following the signing of the Évian Accords. This allowed the Front to rely on nationalists to advance steadily and decisively, supported by mass participation in mobilization and development. National sovereignty thus became both the guiding principle and the political program for the people and the Front alike. (Al-Sheikh 2003, 487).

6. Algeria's Foreign Policy after Independence

After independence, Algeria's foreign policy focused on key objectives to consolidate national sovereignty, build a strong economy, and restore the country's position on the international stage. It aimed to establish close ties with peoples seeking liberation across Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Given Algeria's history as a colonized nation and the threats to its stability, its foreign policy prioritized the fight against colonialism and imperialism. It also sought to strengthen partnerships with socialist countries that supported the liberation struggle, reinforce the Non-Aligned Movement, promote unity among Arab and African nations, and support liberation and resistance movements. Relations with other countries were based on principles of equality and mutual respect for national sovereignty (Ben Hamouda 2012, 596).

Immediately after the recovery of sovereignty, Algeria joined the Charter of the Organization of African Unity at the Addis Ababa Summit in May 1963, which brought together around thirty African states. The organization played a significant role in supporting the aspirations of African peoples to liberate their nations. This membership represented a crucial step in Algeria's early postcolonial history, strengthening its standing on the African continent and globally, and earning it considerable recognition among African leaders. (Benjamin 2012, 29).

Algeria adopted a clear approach from the outset, based on the bonds forged between its liberation revolution and African liberation movements. It consistently supported the continent's causes and upheld the right of colonized peoples to self-determination. This commitment was evident in the policies of the country's highest political leadership, which provided material, political, and military support to African nations, viewing Algeria as an integral part of the Maghreb and Africa while adhering firmly to the principles of continental solidarity.

This stance was reflected in statements from the top echelons of Algerian authority, emphasizing the country's steadfast commitment to supporting the continent's causes and the self-determination of its colonized peoples. A notable example is the speech of President Ahmed Ben Bella, who stated, "Algeria achieved its freedom thanks to the support of our brothers in Guinea, Mali, Nigeria, and others." During his tenure, Algeria extended extensive assistance—material, political, and even military—consistent with its identity as part of the Maghreb and the African continent, as enshrined in Article Two of the Algerian Constitution. (Abdelkarim et Nweiser 2024, 624).

Algeria, through its army and the National Liberation Front, actively sought to accelerate the process of ending colonialism across the African continent. It provided assistance in various fields to peoples struggling for their liberation. The sovereign Algerian state regarded this as a vital duty and focused on showing solidarity with friendly African countries such as Zimbabwe, Angola, South Africa, and nations in East Africa. This approach aimed to broaden the front of resistance and support liberation movements in those oppressed countries.

7. Algeria's Role as a Support Base for African Liberation Movements

Following the recovery of sovereignty, Algeria found itself occupying a pivotal position within the African liberation movement, as its Revolution came to be regarded as an extension of the emancipatory principles embraced by the peoples of the continent. It therefore continued to support African liberation movements out of a firm belief in the shared destiny of struggle among African peoples. This support was not limited to financial and military assistance or political backing; it also included the transfer of combat experience and tactical expertise, which gradually turned Algeria, from the late 1950s onward, into a rear base for the activities of African liberation movements. In this context, Algeria sought to transmit its revolutionary experience to African countries in recognition of the sacrifices made by the Algerian people in their struggle against French colonialism. A number of African leaders were deeply influenced by the Algerian Revolution, which came to be regarded as a model of resilience and perseverance in the struggle for freedom despite repression, imprisonment, and torture. (Hadjersi 2021, 380)

Algeria also established a special body affiliated with the National Liberation Front, headed by Jalloul Malaika, to coordinate relations with African liberation movements. Its headquarters were located in Villa Boumaâraf, which became a center for receiving the leaders of these movements and organizing their political activities. Algeria likewise played an active role within international organizations, particularly the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, by internationalizing African liberation issues and helping secure resolutions condemning colonialism in several parts of the continent, in addition to supporting armed struggle aimed at bringing colonial rule to an end. This role was further reflected in Algeria's active participation in, and support for, the African Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity, as well as in its adoption of a policy of economic and diplomatic boycott against colonial powers, most notably Portugal and the apartheid regime in South Africa. (Hadjersi 2021, 381)

Algeria provided a significant model of resilience and determination, drawing strength from the liberationist ideology that underpinned a monumental project. This project exacted a heavy toll, with numerous martyrs lost from the period of resistance through the Revolution and up to the recovery of sovereignty. Yet Algeria acquired the

strength and resolve to undertake the reconstruction of the state in concrete terms. Immediately after the recovery of sovereignty, it embarked on new phases of action, placing the liberation of peoples and the support of African liberation movements at the center of its concerns. Algeria thus earned the nickname “the Mecca of revolutionaries,” in the belief that its own liberation would remain incomplete until the rest of Africa had also been freed from domination and the imposed realities of colonial control. (Allawi 2017, 67).

During the Algerian War of Liberation and in the years following the recovery of sovereignty, Algeria became both a logistical and an ideological base for supporting liberation movements in Africa, in line with its anti-colonial principles and its commitment to strengthening solidarity among peoples striving for freedom. This support took various forms, including material and moral assistance, political and ideological guidance, and military training, alongside the use of diplomacy and the media to promote a discourse of solidarity with African causes.

The Algerian experience became a source of inspiration for a number of liberation movements across the continent. Prominent political leaders such as Joshua Nkomo in Southern Rhodesia were influenced by the Algerian model and invoked it in their militant discourse, viewing armed struggle as the decisive path toward freedom and self-determination. In doing so, they pointed to the resilience of the Algerian people in the face of French colonialism and to their ability to achieve victory despite the severity of repression.

The Algerian Revolution also left a profound mark on Nelson Mandela’s political thought. In his memoirs, Mandela noted that the Algerian experience served both as a source of inspiration and as a warning with regard to the future of the struggle in South Africa. He emphasized that the model of the Algerian National Liberation Army, born out of the very heart of battle, had a greater impact on him than any conventional military display, thereby strengthening his conviction in the effectiveness of armed struggle as a path toward freedom and self-determination. (Ghanem 2018–2019, 234-244)

Nelson Mandela recalls that, during his visit to the rear bases of the Algerian Revolution in Morocco, he met a number of militants affiliated with African liberation movements, including activists from Mozambique, Angola, and the Cape Verde Islands, in addition to Algerian revolutionaries. The leadership of the Algerian National Liberation Army had established Rabat as the center of its external activities, and Mandela spent several days with Algerian fighters, during which he met officials of the revolutionary mission in Morocco. This visit allowed him to observe at close range the conditions of armed struggle, as well as the methods of training and organization within the Revolution. He also benefited from the guidance of its leaders and from their experience in managing revolutionary action. Mandela further noted that the situation of the Algerians in their confrontation with colonialism closely resembled that of his own people in South Africa, as both were facing a colonial system that sought to control the destiny of the indigenous population and restrict their political rights.

He further recounts that, during his travels between Rabat and Oujda, he attended a military parade held in honor of the Algerian leader Ahmed Ben Bella following his release from colonial prisons. Mandela describes this parade as fundamentally different from conventional military displays, since its purpose was not to project outward form

through elegant uniforms or ceremonial appearance, but rather to evoke the course of the Algerian struggle in its various stages. The fighters appeared in simple, traditional clothing, having spent long years on the battlefield. In Mandela's view, these men embodied the model of a revolutionary army rooted primarily in field experience and a spirit of sacrifice rather than in military pageantry, which he regarded as one of the factors behind the success of the Algerian Revolution in confronting colonial power. (Mandela 1998, 286-287).

This description likewise reveals the African dimension of the Algerian Revolution, as its rear bases became spaces for communication and cooperation among liberation movements across the continent. In this way, the Algerian experience emerged as a source of inspiration for numerous African liberation leaders, among them Mandela, who drew on this experience in developing methods of struggle against the apartheid regime in South Africa.

The African continent was deeply influenced by waves of liberation, anti-colonial movements, and the spread of emancipatory ideologies. It became essential to establish shared means to resist and condemn colonialism, advocate for its complete eradication, and defend the rights of African peoples to freedom, dignity, and self-determination. This commitment was also reflected in the celebrations marking the recovery of sovereignty in several African nations.

The First Accra Conference was held in the Ghanaian capital, Accra, on April 15, 1958. Its convening marked a significant turning point in the history of African liberation movements. All participating countries declared their principles, affirmed their loyalty to the Bandung Conference, and expressed solidarity among nations across Asia and Africa. This date thus became one in which the African continent celebrated and honored its struggle and liberation efforts (Joubia 2019, 83–84).

Within the framework of African solidarity, the Tripoli Program emphasized the need to establish closer cooperation between the countries of North Africa and those of sub-Saharan Africa through strengthened coordination among African governments, participation in regular meetings, and the harmonization of political, economic, and diplomatic objectives and programs in support of liberation causes across the continent. Following the recovery of sovereignty, it further stressed the importance of confronting imperialism in all its forms and rejecting involvement in alliances associated with it, while consolidating the Algerian state's orientation toward an autonomous foreign policy founded on support for liberation movements. This orientation was clearly reflected in political discourse that underscored sovereign Algeria's readiness to provide full support to peoples struggling for their freedom, while safeguarding its own national sovereignty.

At the practical level, Algeria provided direct support to African liberation movements, particularly in Angola, where training centers for fighters were established between 1960 and 1970 under Algerian supervision. This support also included financial, military, and logistical assistance, as well as the dispatch of officers to train combatants in their struggle against Portuguese colonialism. Arms shipments were also sent to several African regions, reflecting Algeria's concrete commitment to its revolutionary choices. President Ahmed Ben Bella reaffirmed this orientation in his speeches, calling on African peoples to draw inspiration from the Algerian experience in confronting colonial

domination and stressing that struggle remained the decisive path toward freedom and self-determination. (Ghanem 2018–2019, 284–285).

The Algerian activist and historian Mohamed Harbi offered a unique experience in documenting the history of the Algerian Revolution. This appears clearly in his book *A Life of Challenge and Resilience*. In this work, he recounts his experience as an intellectual who lived through the most sensitive moments of the Algerian Revolution and the years that followed.

The book presents a careful analysis of the relations between the Algerian Revolution and the countries of the African continent. Harbi approaches this subject from a personal and realistic perspective. He highlights the African dimension of the Algerian Revolution, its charters, and its broader vision of liberation that went beyond national borders.

In describing this experience, Mohamed Harbi notes that he carried out diplomatic activities in several African countries, including Ghana, Guinea, Mali, and Nigeria. He had already become familiar with many aspects of these countries during his studies in Paris. At that time, he learned about their social problems, political upheavals, poverty, and difficult living conditions before they moved toward greater stability.

The experience of Mohamed Harbi shows the value of historical documentation based on the testimony of a direct witness who lived through the events. For this reason, his work remains an important source for understanding the different dimensions of the Algerian Revolution and the broader struggle of the Algerian people (Lousif 2019, 238).

The influence of the Algerian Revolution went beyond the borders of the country and reached the African continent. Its impact stemmed from the strength of the struggle and the legitimacy of its cause. It encouraged many African peoples to challenge colonial and authoritarian systems in their own countries.

The revolution's effect extended far outside the national sphere. It created hope in several African societies and strengthened the desire for liberation and independence. This occurred despite the clear imbalance in military power between colonial authorities and liberation movements. In this context, Algeria became a symbol of freedom in the African continent. It also came to represent a broader model of resistance across the world.

In this way, the Algerian Revolution acted as a spark that awakened many countries of the continent from a long period of political stagnation. It helped revive national awareness in several African states. Many of these countries later regained their independence during the nineteen-sixties (Khaled 2019, 278).

8. Algeria's Role in Supporting African Liberation Movements through Assistance and International Engagement

Algeria played an active role in supporting liberation movements across the African continent. Its contribution had a clear impact on the struggle for liberation in several African countries. Algerian support assisted liberation movements in Angola, Namibia, and Zimbabwe, among others.

These policies strengthened African solidarity. They also reinforced the idea of cooperation among African states. At the same time, they highlighted Algeria's position as a leading country in supporting just causes and defending human rights. (Algeria s.d., 55-60).

Algeria was among the African states that raised a strong voice in the United Nations in support of African liberation movements. Algerian representatives used the annual

meetings of the United Nations General Assembly to call on colonial powers to implement international resolutions related to the right of peoples to self-determination.

Among these representatives was the Minister of Foreign Affairs at that time, Abdelaziz Bouteflika. He used these international forums to defend the cause of African liberation and to emphasize the legitimacy of independence movements.

Algeria focused its diplomatic efforts on several major issues. These included the liberation of Angola and Namibia. It also supported the rights of Black people in South Africa under the system of apartheid.

Reports issued by the United Nations documented Algeria's clear and active positions on these matters. These reports highlighted its role in supporting just causes and in encouraging peaceful solutions in some regional conflicts (Ruedy 1992, 192–195).

Algerian support for liberation movements helped unite many African states around a common goal. This goal was the end of colonial rule in the continent. Algeria also strengthened its position within the Organization of African Unity, which served as a framework for collective action among African countries.

This support contributed to the development of a broader African strategy against colonial domination and the system of Apartheid in the continent. As a result of its liberation policies, Algeria established strong relations with many African states after independence. These relations later encouraged economic and political cooperation. They also made Algeria a strategic partner for several African countries.

The political, diplomatic, military, and material assistance that Algeria offered to colonized African societies reflected its commitment to revolutionary principles. It also expressed its effort to strengthen international solidarity against colonialism. Over the years, this support showed that a newly independent state could still play an important role in shaping international politics.

This experience remains one of the most significant moments in modern Algerian political history. It also stands as an example for many countries of the Global South that seek an active role in international affairs.

CONCLUSION

In light of the analysis developed in this study, it is clear that the Tripoli Congress, held between 27 May and 4 June 1962, represented a decisive transitional moment in the history of the Algerian Revolution. Its significance was not confined to addressing the arrangements of the postcolonial period and laying the foundations of the national state; it also contributed to defining the broad contours of Algeria's external orientation, particularly in its African dimension. The findings further show that the congress took place within a highly sensitive political context following the signing of the Évian Accords, which made the unification of the political and military leadership, the organization of the state, and the formulation of a comprehensive vision of Algeria's place within its regional and international environment central priorities.

The available evidence confirms that the Tripoli Congress contributed directly to orienting Algerian foreign policy toward support for African liberation movements by enshrining the principles of anti-colonialism and non-alignment with international alliances serving the interests of the major powers. This orientation evolved, after the recovery of sovereignty, from a purely theoretical framework into a strategic option adopted by the Algerian state, one grounded in support for the right of peoples to self-

determination and in the expansion of cooperation between the countries of North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa. In so doing, it reflected the Algerian leadership's awareness of the country's African depth and of the shared destiny linking it to the peoples of the continent.

The study further shows that this orientation was not confined to political discourse, but was reflected in concrete practices at the diplomatic, military, and logistical levels. Algeria played a significant role in supporting liberation movements in Angola, Zimbabwe, South Africa, and other parts of Africa through the provision of military training, financial assistance, and trained personnel, as well as through hosting several African revolutionary leaders. In parallel, Algeria adopted clear positions on major international issues, notably its opposition to apartheid in South Africa, its support for the Palestinian cause, and its contribution to regional mediation efforts. These engagements consolidated Algeria's position as an influential diplomatic actor both on the African continent and in the wider international arena.

Accordingly, the Tripoli Congress constituted an important intellectual and political framework for the direction of Algerian foreign policy after the recovery of sovereignty. It helped shape a distinct African vision grounded in solidarity, anti-colonial commitment, and the affirmation of Algeria's place within the wider network of African liberation movements. The study also demonstrates that this orientation went beyond political discourse and was translated into the creation of a tangible support structure for liberation struggles. As a result, Algeria became both an ideological and a material base for anti-colonial movements, thereby strengthening the autonomy of its political choices and consolidating its regional and international position.

In conclusion, the congress was not merely an organizational milestone associated with the end of the Algerian Revolution; rather, it marked the starting point for a broader political project that combined internal state-building with the expansion of Algeria's external role. Within this framework, the national and African dimensions were integrated into a single strategic vision that made Algeria a central actor in the course of African liberation and a pillar of anti-colonial solidarity in the postcolonial period.

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