The American Declaration of Independence (1776)
and the Algerian Proclamation of Independence
(1954): A Comparative Study

A ‘Mémoire’ Submitted to the Faculty of Letters and Languages,
Department of English in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of

Master in Anglo-American Studies

by

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2013-2014
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Abstract

This Mémoire is a comparative study between two major documents in world history: the American Declaration of Independence and the Algerian Proclamation of Independence written in 1776 and 1954 respectively. More specifically, it examines the main similarities as well as differences between both documents. Our research shows that the two documents share some aspects but at the same time they differ in others. In addition, the Mémoire demonstrates that the main reasons that make the Algerian Proclamation of Independence less important and little known in world history than the American Declaration of Independence are the struggle for political power among the Algerian revolutionary leadership after achieving independence in 1962. The stated aims of the proclamation, i.e.: ending French colonialism and establishing a socialist Algerian state, and eurocentricism. However, the main reasons that make the American Declaration of Independence a still-living and distinguished document in world history are its conveyance of universal values such as life and liberty as well as its reproduction in the documents of other nations, particularly the most recently independent developing countries. Therefore, the American Declaration remains a major source of inspiration and a model for contemporary world documents whereas the Algerian proclamation fell into forgetfulness. Finally, this study seeks to appreciate Algeria’s Proclamation of Independence and to show the originality.

Key words:

The American Declaration of Independence, the Algerian Proclamation of Independence.
ملخص

هذه المذكرة عبارة عن دراسة مقارنة بين وثائقتين رئيستين من تاريخ العالم وهما إعلان الاستقلال الأمريكي و إعلان استقلال الجزائري الذي تم كتابتهما في عام 1776 و 1954 على التوالي. وبشكل أكثر تحديدا، هذه الدراسة تعالج أوجه التشابه و أوجه الاختلاف بين هاتين الوثائقتين. يظهر بحثنا أن الوثائقتين تشاركا في بعض الجوانب ولكن في الوقت نفسه تختلفا في جوانب أخرى. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، توضح هذه الدراسة أن الأسباب الرئيسية التي جعلت إعلان الاستقلال الجزائري أقل أهمية وغير معرف في تاريخ العالم من إعلان الاستقلال الأمريكي هي الصراع على السلطة السياسية بين قادة الثورة الجزائرية بعد تحقيق الاستقلال 1962، الأهداف المعلنة للبيان، أي إنهاء الاستعمار الفرنسي، الاشتراكية، والأوروبية المركزية. أما الأسباب الرئيسية التي جعلت من إعلان الاستقلال الأمريكي أهم وثيقة، تأثيرها المستمر إلى الآن، ومعروفة في تاريخ العالم هي تأكيدها على القيم العالمية مثل الحياة، العدالة، والحرية، فضلا عن إعادة صياغتها في الوثائق الدولية الأخرى، وخاصة الدول النامية المتحصلة على استقلالها في العالم في الأونة الأخيرة. وبالتالي فإن إعلان الاستقلال الأمريكي لا يزال مصدرا رئيسي للإلهام ونموذجًا عالميا في حين أن إعلان الاستقلال الجزائري تم نسبه. أخيرا، تسعى هذه الدراسة إلى تقدير إعلان الاستقلال الجزائري وإظهار سلامة وأصلية مبادئه الثورية.
Résumé

Ce Mémoire est une étude comparative entre deux documents importants dans l'histoire du monde : la Déclaration D'indépendance Américaine et la Proclamation D'indépendance Algérienne écrite en 1776 et 1954 respectivement. Plus précisément, il examine les principales similitudes ainsi que les différences entre les deux documents. Notre recherche montre que les deux documents partagent certains aspects, mais en même temps ils diffèrent dans d'autres. En outre, le Mémoire démontre que les principales raisons qui font que la proclamation d'indépendance algérienne est moins importante et peu connu dans l'histoire du monde que la Déclaration D'indépendance Américaine sont la lutte pour le pouvoir politique au sein de la direction Révolutionnaire Algérienne après la réalisation de l'indépendance en 1962, les objectifs déclarés de la proclamation, à savoir: mettre fin au colonialisme français et l'établissement d'un Etat algérien socialiste, et l'eurocentrisme. Cependant, les principales raisons qui font que la Déclaration d'Indépendance Américaine est encore un document vivant et distingué dans l'histoire du monde sont ses valeurs universelles telles que la vie et la liberté ainsi que sa reproduction dans les documents d'autres pays, notamment les pays les plus récemment indépendants. Par conséquent, la déclaration américaine demeure une source majeure d'inspiration et un modèle pour d'autres documents mondiaux contemporains alors que la proclamation algérienne est tombée dans l’oubli. Enfin, cette étude vise à apprécier la proclamation d'indépendance algérienne et de montrer l'originalité.
Dedication

I dedicated this memoir first, to my lovely parents who have supported and encouraged my work; to my dear husband Ali who has been the best partner anyone can ever wish to have because he always supported and encouraged me with patience and generosity; to my sweet daughter Nourssine and to all my family and friends who used to wish me always a good luck and best things especially Chahra and Monira.
Acknowledgment

Firstly, all praise be to Allah who helped me accomplish this study, since, without his assistance, I would not have succeeded. Secondly, I would like to express my grateful thanks to my supervisor Dr. Fatima Maameri for her advice, feedback and generosity, especially during her weekly sessions. I owe grateful thanks to all my teachers: Filali, koussa, Ghenam, and Bouri without whom I would not have reached this stage. To my husband who helped me and Supported me physically and morally. To my best friend “Monira” who really encouraged me and helped me and provided me with sources, I really thank her for her encouragement and support even she was occupied with her Mémoire.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ALN</td>
<td>National Liberation Army (Armée de Liberation Nationale)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AML</td>
<td>Friends of the Manifesto and of Freedom (Amis du Manifeste et de la Liberté)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNBV</td>
<td>Bureau National des Biens Vacants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRUA</td>
<td>Revolutionary Committee for Unity and Action (Comité Révolutionnaire pour l’Unité et l’Action)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FFFLN</td>
<td>National Liberation Front Federation of France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLN</td>
<td>National Liberation Front (Front de Libération Nationale)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPRA</td>
<td>(Gouvernement Provisoire de la République Algérienne)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MTLD</td>
<td>Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>(Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Démocratiques)</td>
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<tr>
<td>NAS</td>
<td>North African Star</td>
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<tr>
<td>OS</td>
<td>Special Organisation (Organisation Spéciale)</td>
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<tr>
<td>PPA</td>
<td>Party of the Algerian People (Parti du Peuple Algérien)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UDMA</td>
<td>Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto (Union Démocratique du Manifeste Algérien)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UGTA</td>
<td>General Union of the Algerian Workers (Union General des Travailleurs Algériens)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulama</td>
<td>Doctors of Moslem Law</td>
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General Introduction

This research work examines two important documents in world history which are the American Declarations of Independence (1776) and the Algerian Proclamation of Independence (1954). The American Declaration of Independence (ADI), on the one hand, is a statement adopted by the Continental Congress July 4, 1776. This document came after a long period of discontent among the British settlers of the North American thirteen colonies. During this period the British thirteen colonies faced different problems which forced them to write their Declaration in order to get their independence and to decide their future.

On the other hand, the Algerian Proclamation of Independence (API) is a manifesto adopted by the National Liberation Front (FLN) November 1, 1954. This proclamation is also an important document because it launched the Algerian Revolution and put an end to France’s colonization of Algeria. Also, this document came after more than a century of French colonial oppression and exploitation of the Algerian people. Indeed, the API is a great historical document that served all the country and built its future.

Moreover, the ADI and the API are two important documents which ended a colonial condition and build new nations by achieving independence. Both documents, however, are interpreted differently by historians and commentators:
the ADI is always interpreted as an important document ever written and is considered as an exceptional document in the entire history of the world. This importance resulted from the transformation of its values into a political system that is still functioning. Today, the USA is still ruled by those same rules as set by the Founding Fathers. The API is also an important of its time written for the same reasons. Critics and analysis, however, view it differently: for them, it is a document which succeeded in achieving independence but its values and principles were either ignored or changed after 1962.

This Mémoire aims first at stating the importance of the ADI and the API by analyzing the historical context, providing definitions, and outlining reasons. It will also attempt to show the most of their impacts on the country, in particular, and on the entire world, in general. Second, this Mémoire provides a general interpretation of both documents and stresses their similarities and differences. Finally, this Mémoire aims at showing the main reasons behind the absence of the values stated in the API in contemporary world documents and tries to outline the most reasons that made the importance of the ADI and caused its subsequent adoption throughout the world.

Our research work strives to answerer the following questions: What are the main reasons that motivated the drafting of the two documents? What are the main similarities and differences between the two documents? What reasons could possibly explain the weak impact of the Algerian Proclamation? Contrary to this, why the American Declaration is more important, visible, and inspiring in world history? Finally, what are the lasting legacies of both documents in Algeria and in USA respectively?
The methodology followed in writing this Mémoire is the analytical and historical method. By analyzing the historical context and content of the documents, this work predicts some answers to the previous questions. Perhaps, the most outstanding reasons that caused the doom of the Algerian Proclamation are the subsequent actions undertaken by the Algerian revolutionary leadership. In 1956, the FLN held a conference in Tripoli which ended by drafting a new document: the Tripoli Charter. The charter acted as a replacement for the Proclamation and caused the latter to fall into forgetfulness. Contrary to this, the American revolutionary leaders preserved the values of their Declaration of Independence and incorporated them in their post-independence Constitution. Hence, the values of the American Declaration were translated into actual actions and policies which collectively form the American system of government and preserve the natural rights of American citizens. We believe that the preservation of those natural rights and the vision of a representative government gave the ADI its universal dimension.

Various sources have been used in writing this Mémoire; they include original documents, books, and articles. The most important two documents are the ADI (1776) and the API (1954). These two documents are the main sources and my Mémoire developed around them. Second, Rabeh Lounissi’s book *Studies about the Ideology of the Algerian Revolution* (2008) is an important source. The book provides an interpretation of the Algerian proclamation and tackles sides from the American declaration. David Armitage’s book *The Declaration of Independence: A Global History* (2012) provides various interpretations and analyses about the American declaration and shows different views and attitudes towards it. In addition to those two books, *Modern Algeria: the Origins and...*
Development of the Nation (2005) by Ruedy John covers important phases in Algerian history from the origins to independence. This book gives important information about the background and reasons which led to the drafting of the proclamation. The book was most useful for the drafting of the second chapter because it accounts for the collapse of the Algerian proclamation. In addition to this, other sources such as Cliffs Quick Review: U.S. History (1998) by Paul Soifer and Abraham Hoffman and The Annotated U.S. Constitution and Declaration of Independence by Jack Rakove helped me by providing important historical data.

It should be noted here that when working on this Mémoire, I have faced many difficulties, most important among them is the almost total absence of sources about the Algerian proclamation. Very few works were published which constituted a handicap for my research. This impelled the use of non-English sources; hence, the heavy task of translation. Worse, none of the published works provided a comparative study between the American declaration and the API. Therefore, this Mémoire is a result of personal analysis and interpretation.

Structurally, the Mémoire embodies two chapters: The first chapter tackles the general background, causes, phases, and outcomes of both documents. The second chapter is a comparative work about the ADI and the API. In its first part, the chapter tries to show the similarities and differences between the two documents. The second part of the chapter is an attempt to answer the stated research questions, particularly why the ADI is important today and why the API is always ignored and absent. In conclusion, my Mémoire views that the Tripoli Charter out shadowed the Algerian proclamation while the incorporation of the values of the American declaration in the U.S. Constitution strengthened it and made it a universal document.
Chapter One:

The American Declaration of Independence and the Algerian Proclamation of Independence

Introduction:

The American and the Algerian revolutions are two great wars undertaken by two different nations as a step for achieving their independence and building their sovereignty. These two revolutions are very famous because both of them left a profound impact in world history. Both revolutions relied on the same instrument for announcing their independence: a written document. The American Declaration of Independence and the Algerian Proclamation of Independence played a great role in making the war of independence possible and changed the destiny of the two countries.

On the one hand, the ADI is of great importance by its content and the way in which it was written. The document was adopted by the Second Continental Congress July 4, 1776 and signed by fifty-six delegates from all thirteen colonies. It played a significant role in the American war of independence from Great Britain, especially by providing justification for the necessity of declaring war. The Declaration also emphasizes human rights and liberties, such as life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, and the necessity to protect and respects them. The key
importance is that it represents the first step that transformed the British thirteen colonies from dependent colonies to Great Britain to independent states that formed what is known today the United State of America.

On the other hand, the API is the main automotive of the Algerian Revolution and a political statement which was adopted by the National Liberation Front (FLN) on November 1, 1954. The Algerian Proclamation is the most important document written in Algerian history that enlightens the Algerians for their rights and for restoring their independence and built their sovereignty. In addition to that, the Proclamation is a justification submitted by Algerian revolutionaries to the world, in general, and to the Arab World, in particular, in which they listed their main reasons for declaring independence from France.

This chapter is divided into two parts: the first part provides a general background about the American Declaration, definition, stages, and outcomes. Then it moves to explore the reasons and the factors that led the Americans to write it. This part ends by discussing the influence and the impact of the Declaration. The second part covers the Algerian Proclamation through definitions and states purposes and perspectives. In addition, it tackles its history and deals with the different stages that led to it. Finally, this part examines the reasons and circumstances that pushed the Algerians to write it and then concludes by stating its impacts.

1. The American Declaration of Independence

1.1 What is The American Declaration of Independence?

The Declaration of Independence is a formal statement by representatives from the British Thirteen Colonies in North America in which they announced
their separation from Great Britain and the birth of the United States of America. It could be considered as the first political step undertaken by those American thirteen colonies for breaking the relation between them and Great Britain. This achieved when they made a joint decision declaring themselves as a single and independent state from the British monarchy. It may also be defined as a first step for creating a new form of federal government for the newly proclaimed United States of America. The ADI was approved and adopted by the Continental Congress July 4, 1776, through which a total political separation between the American thirteen colonies and Great Britain had been achieved. Therefore, the Declaration was a document whose historical importance can hardly be exaggerated (Armitage 4).

The ADI was often seen as the first historical document that was written for the purpose of making a separation between a country colonized by another imperial one (Armitage 4). The Declaration was the most influential document that reached a turning point in the ten-year tension relation between Britain and her colonies; it justified and explained the main reasons that pushed the American thirteen colonies to declare their independence from Great Britain. The Declaration then is the first document that made the birth of new kind of political writing in the world (13). The ADI is a “Declaration of Rights, and a Manifesto” (14). First, it is a manifesto because it contains its features in which it showed to the world and justified the reasons for declaring their separation; and it is a Declaration of rights because it emphasized the human rights and called for the respect of mankind (14-15), especially in its second famous part: “We hold...self evident” (ADI).
Historically speaking, the Declaration of Independence is a public document drafted by the Continental Congress in order to declare that the latter had the power to pass and issue such documents and make decisions as the British parliament did (Armitage 30-31). Legally speaking, Sir William Blackstone, an English lawyer, stated in 1765 that “the Declaration, narration, or account” was the form “in which the plaintiff sets forth his sense of complaints at length” (qtd. Armitage 31). In contemporary diplomatic phraseology, the Declaration, however, is an international document adopted by the thirteen colonies to the entire world by an official person or to a particular institution (32). Others consider it as the final gesture that ended the series of tensions in the relation between the American thirteen colonies and Great Britain before 1776 (33).

The Declaration of Independence embodies four main parts:

1- The Preamble calls those seeking their independence to justify and explain their reason.

2- The Declaration of rights which is the most famous section written in the Declaration: “we hold these truths to be self-evident… facts be submitted to the candid world.” This part states that all people are created equal and they hold natural rights which are “life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness” and the government is the responsible body for protecting those rights; but if this government threatened them, it is the right of the people to abolish and change it.

3- The list of indictment part, the longest paragraph in the Declaration. This part is a list of grievances, abuses, and injuries committed by King George III over the colonies and used by the thirteen colonies as evidences and
Proofs to justify and explain to the world their reasons for declaring war on Great Britain.

4- Finally, the statement of independence which emphasizes their total separation from Great Britain (Rakove 16, 26-27).

When writing the Declaration, the American Founding Fathers were inspired by many documents. First was the Philosophy of Enlightenment of John Locke’s theory of government. They applied John Locke’s idea of unalienable rights possessed by the people that should be protected by the government. However, if this government threatened them, the people must abolish it (Gomez 52). In addition to that, they put the same words of Richard Henry Lee’s Resolution of Virginia which was submitted to the Continental Congress two days before drafting the Declaration. This resolution asserts that “these united states colonies are, and of right ought to be free and independent states: that they are absolved from all allegiances to the British crown and that all political connection between them and the states of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved.” (qtd. Armitage 34-35). As a result, the Continental Congress formed three committees; one of them was for drafting the Declaration.

The ADI was written for many purposes. The most important one was that the thirteen colonies desire to create an American united nation under the name of USA and one system of government. In addition to that, the Declaration aimed at establishing the international sovereignty of the USA as Thomas Jefferson recalled in May 1825: An appeal to the tribunal of the world was deemed proper for our justification. This was the object of the Declaration of Independence: not to
find out new principles, or new arguments never before thought of, not merely to say things which had never been said before; but to place before mankind the common sense of the subject, in terms so plain and firm as to command their assent, and to justify ourselves in the independent stand we are compelled to take. Neither aiming at originality of principle or sentiment, nor copied from any particular and previous writing, it was intended to be an expression of the American mind (qtd. 21).

1.2 Stages of Drafting the American Declaration of Independence:

1.2.1 The First Continental Congress:

The drafting of the American Declaration of Independence passed through three main stages. The first stage was the forming of the first Continental Congress. After the crisis of the Coercive Acts that were enacted by the British parliament as a response to the Boston tea party, the American thirteen colonies took a joint decision to form the first Continental Congress in October 1774; twelve of them sent representatives for a convention in Philadelphia. The delegates in the first Continental Congress supported the “Massachusetts Suffolk Resolves” which, in addition to its rejection to the Coercive acts, decided to prepare their militia and declared their disagreement with the British parliament for its ignoring the rights of the colonies. As a result, they send a petition in which they asked for the repeal of all the previous acts enacted by parliament starting from 1763 (Soifer, Hoffman 46-47). The Continental Congress at this stage was searching for independence from parliament but not from the Crown. The representatives thought that they had a good relation with the King and that parliament had made a tyrannical legislation (Rakove 8). As a reaction, the
Continental Congress ordered the colonies to cut all economic relations, including exportation, importation, and consumption, with Great Britain. This step was important because the Congress became able to make decisions for all the colonies (Soifer, Hoffman 47).

To prevent an economic crisis, the British parliament started negotiating with the colonies. However, they failed because the events in Massachusetts walked in the opposite direction when the crisis of Lexington and Concord sparked between Great Britain and the colonists, and later at Bunker Hill. Finally, the colonies decided to break all the ties with Great Britain by declaring their final independence (Armitage 13).

1.2.2 The Second Continental Congress:

After the Lexington and Concord crisis, the American colonies declared that that step for claiming their independence was necessary and their desire for separation increased. The Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia in 1775. During the convention, the delegates send a petition in which they required King George III to stop the bloody war and negotiate. The king, however, rejected it and declared the colonies in rebellion, with the closing of trade for all them. As a reaction, the colonies agreed to form their Continental Army and their navy with European support, such as France which sided with the American colonies (Soifer, Hoffman 48-49). Things were not easy as the American colonies were facing many problems: the shortage of troops, food, medicine and even the Continental Congress was not able to provide the needs of the colonies. The most notable problem was the rejection of the war by most Americans as many of them were still faithful to Great Britain (49). As a result, the final decision of the
Declaration of Independence came a year after the war started between the colonies and Britain (50).

### 1.2.3 The Committee of Five:

After reading Richard Henry Lee Resolution, the Continental Congress now called for forming a committee for the sake of drafting the Declaration and deciding which kind of government could govern their country (Rakove 34). A Committee of Five was formed June 10, 1776 by five important figures: John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sharman, Livingston, and the official writer Thomas Jefferson. In the final draft, some modifications were made by John Adams and Benjamin Franklin concerning the idea of slavery and slave trade. Thus, the final draft was adopted by the Continental Congress on July 4, 1776 (Soifer, Hoffman 50-51).

### 1.3 Reasons behind Drafting the American Declaration of Independence

The writing of the Declaration of Independence was a culmination of a series of conflict between Great Britain and her colonies, and was a document of new laws and principles for a new society and nation. The Declaration was the outcome result of many events and reasons.

After the Seven Years’ War in 1763, Britain had accumulated a great post-war debt and was unable to finance the acquirements of new lands. As a solution, Britain took the American Colonies as a new source to solve at least a part of debt, and to gain a new financial source, especially because most of the colonies supported her during the war (Soifer, Hoffman 41). The Proclamation of 1763 was
the first step Britain initiated to gain and practice control over her colonies. The Proclamation aimed at separating the American thirteen colonies from the Ohio Valley. But, the colonies rejected it claiming that it threatened their lands. In addition to that, Britain had imposed a lot of taxes to raise her revenue and as a way to finance her acquired lands.

Nevertheless, the main reason that made the first step of drafting the Declaration was the Stamp Act of 1765. This act aimed also at raising taxes by requiring the American thirteen colonies to use stamps on legal documents and newspapers. The Stamp Act was the first internal taxes imposed by parliament; this act caused a great crisis in the colonies because they refused to pay taxes without their representation in the British parliament. They also rejected the Prime Minister George Grenville’s argument that the members of parliament were representing all the British subjects among them the American colonies because they thought that without including their members in parliament, they could not know their interests. As a response, the House of Burgesses passed a resolution submitted by Henry Patrick which required the British parliament not to impose taxes with the rejection of the use of stamps in addition to the boycott of all British goods. British manufactures and merchants were distressed and they called for the repeal of the Stamp Act. The parliament abolished the act in 1766, but enacted another one at the same time to affirm that the parliament still had the right to legislate for the colonies (Soifer, Hoffman 42-43).

The second factor is the Townshend Act which imposed taxes on a number of goods among them; paper, glass, and tea. Protest against the illegal imposition of taxes increased because the colonies now were taxed for both internal and external goods. This act again raised the question of taxation without
representation. As a response, the colonists in the second time organized a boycott for British goods which forced the parliament in 1777 to abolish the laws for all goods except tea (Soifer, Hoffman 45-46).

Furthermore, this reason was followed by another one that also increased the desire for a separation which is the Boston Massacre. This factor was the result of protest and rebellion in Boston that reflected refusal of the high taxes and rejection of enacting taxes without their representation. This led the British troops to intervene in Boston to regulate and restore stability. However, this raised tension between the Bostonian and the British troops, especially in 1770, when the British troops killed five of the demonstrators (Soifer, Hoffman 44).

Third, the Tea Act of 1773 that was imposed by parliament to lower the tea price despite the taxes and duties that paid for it. This reason exalted the crisis between the American colonies and the British parliament, especially when the colonies required for tea shipment without paying taxes. But, this was rejected by the British government, what led to the destruction of the British tea by fifty men disguised as Mohawk Indians. This event, called the Boston Tea Party, was in December 1773; it increased the tension more and more between Great Britain and her colonies (Soifer, Hoffman 45-46). As a response to the Boston Tea Party, parliament passed the Coercive Acts in 1774.

The Coercive Acts is another important factor that led to the drafting of the Declaration. The Coercive Acts were a list of punishments enacted by parliament on Massachusetts, in particular, and on the thirteen colonies, in general. First, the laws closed the port of Boston until the colony paid for the tea destroyed in the harbor. The parliament repealed half of the Massachusetts’ charter and passed
another two acts instead, which were the Quartering Act of 1774 in which Britain required the colonists to provide houses and food for the British troops and all what they need, and the Quebec Act which was a religious act that made Catholicism the official religion for Quebec (Soifer, Hoffman 46).

In addition to the previous reasons which are considered as economic reasons that forced the thirteen colonies to write the Declaration of Independence, there were military causes or factors that pushed the colonies to decide their independence. The battle of Lexington and Concord was a military conflict between Great Britain and her colonies. During this battle, General Thomas Gage, the military governor of Massachusetts, began fortifying Boston in the Fall of 1774 and the colonists started preparing their military defense. They organized small groups, called minutemen, for quick action. Gage tried to stop the rebellion and to arrest those who caused it. On April 19, the two sides faced each other in Lexington what caused the dead of eight colonists. The crisis increased, the war started and the result was the Bunker Hill battle of June 17, 1775. This was the last event that pushed the colonists to declare their independence (Soifer, Hoffman 64-65).

Finally, the last factor that forced the American thirteen colonies to declare their independence was the publication of Thomas Paine’s Common Sense in 1776. The pamphlet was the most significant and important reason that convinced and inspired the American thirteen colonies to declare their separation from Great Brittan. In his words Thomas Paine wrote: “We have it in our power to begin the world over again.” Paine, “a ragged but independent refugee from the slums of London seemed to personify the promise of America as a new world.” It really
increased the American colonies desire for independence and a separation from Great Britain (qtd. Goetzmann 3).

Thomas Paine’s *Common Sense* showed the American moral possibilities and their revolutionary vision and ideology that the entire world was inspired with. According to William H., Thomas Paine said that “the cause of the Americans is in great measure the cause of all mankind” and at the same time the cause of the entire continent. Paine’s pamphlet was the first step that pushed the Continental Congress to discuss the American thirteen colonies’ independence, war with Britain, and even their ability to seek European help and support. Paine’s pamphlet inspired all the Americans; it affected all the citizens because it called for human right and for the respect of mankind. In addition to that, it insisted on the creation of a new political society and democratic country (Goetzmann 4). *Common Sense* attacked not just the King but all the British monarchical system; in it, Paine reminded the Americans about all the injuries and abuses that were committed by King George III and parliament (Rakove 14).

In his pamphlet, Thomas Paine mentioned three main factors that formed the Americans identity:

1- He served as a profound myth-make;

2- He made clear some of the basic relationship of man, society, and government upon which the future republic was to rest;

3- He made the revolutionary heritage of Americans so overt as to be unmistakable for all future generations.

The publication of Thomas Paine’s *Common Sense* was the most significant event that made the American thirteen colonies’ final decision for
declaring themselves as an independent state and unique country far from the tyrannical rule of Great Britain (Goetzmann 4-5).

### 1.4 What are the impacts of the American Declaration of Independence?

After the issuance of the ADI by the second Continental Congress, the relationship between Great Britain and the thirteen colonies changed and moved from the parliament’s abuses over the colonies to the war in which both sides fought for their interests. The American colonies fought for their independence and Britain for exercising more control over them. The adoption of the American Declaration transformed the American Revolution to a war of independence with Great Britain (Soifer, Hoffman 52).

In 1776, the Americans surprised the British when they fortified the Delaware River. During this period, America gained many victories over Great Britain as the overwhelming clash of Princeton on January 3. This conflict made America stronger and more competent and it raised her morals and desire for the separation. In October 1777 at Saratoga occurred a military conflict between the American Continental Army and the British troops under General Burgoyne in which the Americans gained another victory (Soifer, Hoffman 52).

The adoption of the American Declaration affected even American foreign relations and helped the colonies to gain foreign support because the American thirteen colonies recognized that without foreign support they cannot win the war. At first, they tried to attract the support of France against Great Britain because at
the beginning of the war France and Spain were helping them by providing them with all what they needed.

Benjamin Franklin was the official representative for negotiations in Paris. He was chosen as an official delegate because of his wide popularity and his diplomacy in France. He convinced France to support them, particularly after the victory of Saratoga in 1777. France finally declared war on Britain in June 1778. France played a great role in the war as it helped the colonies through providing them with their needs (Soifer, Hoffman 53). Spain also played a significant role in the American war of Independence and with the Dutch republic they declared war against Britain in 1779. This helped in pushing Britain troops backward.

In addition to that, the ADI increased the colonies desire for winning the war and the troops to enter this war strongly and even British troops were unable to win over it especially after the support of France (Soifer, Hoffman 54). This military conflict did not reach its final point until the Yorktown battle in October 1781 and Congress made a peace treaty in 1782 in Paris. This treaty was made by Benjamin Franklin, John Adam, and John Jay. As a result, Britain was obliged to recognize the independence of United States with the Mississippi River boundary in the west, what gave the American thirteen colonies the right to fish. In addition, it called Britain to withdraw her troops from all American lands. Finally, after eight years of the war, the United States gained its independence (54-55).

Despite its negative impacts, the Declaration of Independence had many positive effects. The Declaration as a formal document had transformed the American thirteen colonies from dependent communities within Great Britain independent states. The Declaration established the thirteen colonies as a new
born united nation with a new formal government separated from Great Britain (Armitage 33). The Declaration affirmed the existence of one people and implied a form of government (19).

Moreover, the Declaration led to a great result which is American self-government and gave birth to a new government independent from Great Britain. As we said previously, Congress formed several committees, the first for drafting the Declaration and the second for achieving a kind of government that would govern their country after their independence (Armitage 35).

Importantly, after the recognition of all delegates that they needed a form of government to rule their country, Congress, in June 1776, formed a committee which asked for writing the Articles of Confederation as a first national government; it was drafted in 1777 and signed by all the state in 1781. These articles would work under one legislative house called the Confederation Congress and the government had the power to declare war, develop foreign policy, borrow money, and appoint officers to the army and navy…. These articles, however, had many weaknesses and were not appropriate to work as a government for a big country as the United States. Congress under these articles could not intervene into the internal affairs of the states; as well, it could not enact taxes. Also, Congress was dependent somehow to the decision made by the states; such as it could declare war but it could not raise an army. This led the delegates to think for creating another effective constitution that would be strong and appropriate than the Articles of Confederation (Soifer, Hoffman 59).

In 1787, most of the Americans recognized that the Articles of Confederation, the first national government of the American states, was not
suitable and unfit as a government (Rakove 24). James Madison of Virginia sent a report to Congress asking for forming another meeting for reconsidering the Articles of Confederation (Gomez 10). In May 1787 in Philadelphia, fifty-five delegates from twelve states under the chairmanship of George Washington made the revision of the Articles of Confederation and they decided to form a new government which is stronger than the articles (Soifer, Hoffman 59).

In comparison between the creation conditions of both Declaration of Independence and Constitution, there were differences. The former was the outcome of British abuses and injuries. However, the latter was created as a result of popular requirements for change. It was created by the intellectual members as a step to form a strong federal government (Armitage 24). Both documents became preserved texts of the Americans for decades and they continue to work until the present day and the American identity is defined by both declaration’s principles and the Constitution’s norms (72).

2. The Algerian Proclamation of Independence

2.1 What is the Algerian Proclamation of Independence?

The API was the most important document in terms of building an ideology for the future state after independence. It was the most significant revolutionary document written in Algerian history in comparison with other documents such as the Tripoli Charter and the Charter of El-Soumam because it was the only document that reflected the prevailing attitudes in society. In addition to that, the Proclamation was formulated in different circumstances in
which the writers needed to acquire a majority of the people on their side (Lounissi 79-80). (1)

The API was a revolutionary statement made by the FLN November 1, 1954 declaring a total separation from metropolitan France. The Proclamation was the Algerian manifesto which culminated from previous years of tension, oppression, and war between the Algerians and the French colonials. The Algerian Proclamation was written for many purposes; first, it justified the main reasons for its creation and foundation as stated in the document: our purpose in declaring this Proclamation is to enlighten you concerning the main reasons which have pushed us to act by revealing to you our program, the meaning of our action, and the cogency of our views the goal of which remains National Independence within the North African framework. Our wish as well, is to help you avoid the confusion maintained by imperialism and its corrupt political and administrative agents (API).

In addition to that, the proclamation’s principle objective was national independence by:

1- The restoration of the sovereign, democratic and social Algerian state within the framework of Islamic principles.

2- The respect of all fundamental liberties without distinction of race or religion (API).

The authors of the API wrote the document as a future plan and platform for the Algerian state. In this document, they listed the main principles, values, and laws which Algeria would be built on. In reading the Algerian Proclamation, we conclude that the drafters of the Proclamation
concentrated more on the religious side especially their desire for achieving a future country under Islamic principles and values.

According to Rabeh Lounissi, an Algerian historian, the API can be divided into three main parts. First, the preamble justifies the main reasons and circumstances that pushed the FLN to write it. The second part relates to the conflict with France and the conditions for negotiations. The last part was written for the future because it contains the main future purposes and values that Algeria would be built on (80-81).

The writers of the API were inspired by many previous ideas of many political leaders of the Arab countries especially those of the Arab Maghreb. Moreover, the writers of the API draw heavily from the ideas of contemporary national independence movements, the national movements in the Maghreb, and the leaders of those national movements (Bougrioua1).

Massali Hadj, an Algerian political leader, was one of the pioneers of unionist political thinking and a significant leader of independence in the Arab Maghreb countries. Even though he was against revolution, he played a great role in uniting North Africa in general and the Arab Maghreb in particular against France. His political ideas and ideologies affected greatly the Algerian nationalists. Additionally, he was the most significant representative and defender of the Algerian people’s rights as he had called for the independence and national sovereignty for the Maghreb countries since 1927 (Bougrioua 2).

In addition to Massali Hadj, the Algerians were inspired by the ideas of another nationalist leader, Abdul-Aziz Atha’alibi. Atha’alibi was one of the
pioneers of Tunisian nationalist movement and the founder of the Party of Young Tunisia and Tunisian Constitutional Party. He played a great role in unifying the Arab Maghreb countries and the best proof was his insistence for the unity and corporation between the Arab Maghreb countries; he also called for common struggle against France (2). As such, he was the most important figure as his ideas were well-received by the Algerian revolutionaries.

Moreover, the writers of the Algerian Proclamation were inspired by the ideas of the previous nationalist movements in North Africa as clearly shown in the document: The events in Morocco and Tunisia are significant in this regard and profoundly mark the process of the liberation struggle in North Africa. It is worth noting that for quite some time we have been, in this regard, precursors in the unity of action, unfortunately never realized among the three countries (API).

2.2 Stages of the Algerian Proclamation of Independence:

2.2.1 National Movements:

Since French colonialism entered the Algerian land, the Algerians had attempted to restore their freedom and sovereignty. Thus, the creation of the Algerian Proclamation of Independence passed through different stages. During the interwar period, three nationalist movements were formed by three prominent political leaders who had different viewpoints but with the same goal which is the freedom and independence of their country. Those groups were: the Ben Badis Religious movement, Massali Hadj’s Communist movement, and Ferhat Abbas’ Liberal movement (Matthews18-20).
First, Cheikh Ben Badis created the significant association of Ulema in 1931. This association’s motto ‘Islam is my religion, Arabic is my language, and Algeria is my country.’ Religion was the main concern Ben Badis because the French first failed to respect Algerians’ religion and beliefs. This association was rejected by many Algerian elites because most called for a complete integration between Algeria and France. But, Ben Badis refused the idea because he believed that Algeria was not France (Matthews 20).

Second, Massali Hadj was the leader of the North African Star (NAS), which he founded in 1927. The NAS was the most significant nationalist movement which played a great role in defending Algerian rights. That revolutionary movement called for Algerian independence. However, it was dissolved in 1929 because of the conflicts between its leader Massali and the communists (Matthews 18). After that, Massali reformed it under the name of the Party of the Algerian People (Parti du Peuple Algérien, PPA). The PPA asked for independence but it was not strong enough to achieve this goal; so, it was dissolved and replaced by another movement: the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties or (MTLD). The MTLD called for “the election by universal suffrage of a sovereign Algerian constituent assembly.” However, the attempts of Massali became obscure especially because when he opposed violence as a way of relations with France (Matthews 31).

Finally, the third prominent figure in the Algerian war was Ferhat Abbas, a nationalist leader from the elite who joined the Federation of Moslem Councilors formed by Dr. Benjelloul in 1930. His aim and hope was to see Algeria progress from the status of a French colony to that of a French province (Matthews 20).
In 1942, Ferhat Abbas issued a manifesto to the French authorities in which he said that the Algerian people could not wait until the end of the war to obtain their demands. This manifesto asked for liberty and equality with French citizens regardless of race or religion. Moreover, Abbas founded the Friends of the Manifesto and of Freedom (Amis du Manifeste et de la Liberté, AML) in 1944. The party included intellectuals and middle and working class people. Its aim was “to propagandize the idea of an Algerian nation and the formation of an autonomous Algerian republic federated to an anti-imperialist France” (qtd. Mathews 26). However, this party did not bring any change for the Algerians and it dissolved after the Sétif Massacre of 1945 (29). After that, he formed another party called the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto (Union of the Algerian Manifesto (Union Démocratique du Manifeste Algérien, UDMA) in 1945 (30).

2.2.2 Special Organization:

The events of May 1945 persuaded the Algerian people, in general, and the Algerian nationalist movements, in particular, that French colonial promises were just a lie and would not be achieved without an armed solution (Boumaaraf, Sergini 60). As a reaction to this massacre, the Algerian revolutionaries under the leadership of Hocine Ait Ahmed and Ahmed Ben Bella formed a new organization under the name of the Special Organization (Organisation Spéciale OS). This organization was formed in 1947 and its mission was to convince the other movements about a revolutionary armed action and to accelerate it. But, its objective was to recruit young men of little or no political connection in order not to compromise the political action of the movement. However, the OS was
discovered by the French police in March 1950 and it replaced with the CRUA in 1954 (Boumaaraf, Sergini 60).

2.2.3 The Revolutionary Committee of Unity and Action:

After the dissolution of the OS and because of tensions between the Centralists and Massalists, a group of young men including Mohammed Boudiaf, Mustafa Ben Boulaid and others met in Batna and formed a new party named the Revolutionary Committee of Unity and Action (Comité Révolutionnaire pour l’Unité et l’Action, CRUA) (Ruedy 155). This party aimed at achieving party unity and maintaining revolutionary principles through coordination between the Central Committee and Messali Hadj in order to embrace the idea of an armed struggle in the near future. The CRUA failed in persuading the two sides about party unity and the idea of an armed struggle. Therefore, the group decided to call for the members of the Special Organization who supported them (Boumaaraf, Sergini 74).

2.2.4 The Meeting of the Committee of the 22:

The committee was formed by five prominent revolutionary leaders: Mohammed Boudiaf, Mustafa Ben Boulaid, Didouche Mourad, Mohammed AL-Arbi Ben M’hidi, and Rabah Bittat. The meeting, held 25 July 1954, discussed a number of important points. First, it reviewed the Special Organization's history as well the significant works it achieved from 1947 to 1950. Second, it discussed the crisis of the MTLD and the main reasons that led to misunderstanding between the Massalists, Centralists and the reformist movements. Finally, they discussed the war in both Tunisia and Morocco (Boumaaraf, Sergini 75).
In this meeting the representatives agreed on declaring war on France and they put dates for many other crucial meeting for the final preparations of the revolutionary war. In another meeting, held 10 October 10 1954, they announced the birth of the National Liberation Front (Front de Libération Nationale, FLN) with its military wing the Army of National Liberation (Armée de Libération Nationale, ALN). In the final meeting, held 23-24 October 1954, they agreed about the final revolutionary statement which contains the main steps for the revolution; this was to be the Proclamation of Independence. The revolution was launched across all the national territory 1 November 1954 (42-43).

2.3 Drafting the Algerian Proclamation of Independence:

Many circumstances and factors preceded the API and contributed to its drafting. The writing of the Algerian Proclamation was surrounded by various international and national factors that helped the Algerian revolutionaries to take their final decision and to accelerate the drafting of the Proclamation.

On the one hand, the international factors witnessed an increase of the national movements in Asia and Africa. In Morocco, after the exile of the Sultan Mohammed V in August 1953, the revolution erupted. In Tunisia, the desire for achieving independence increased. Moreover, the signing of the Geneva Convention 20 July 1954 in which France recognized the independence of Vietnam after its defeat in the battle of Dien Bien Phu encouraged Algerian nationalists (Boumaaraf, Sergini 64).

On the other hand, the post-WWII conditions of France contributed to the drafting the Algerian Proclamation. At the end of the war, France faced great
problems: Economically, France faced a huge deficit because of the war cost; politically, it lost most of its colonies because of the spread of the nationalist movements as well as its position as a great European power (Boumaaraf, Sergini 64).

In Algeria, on the one hand, French policies were constantly marked by arbitrary colonial social and economic laws as well as ongoing ignorance of all nationalist demands. Besides, French rule in Algeria was widely characterized by oppression, ethnic discrimination and socio-economic frustration as well as French exploitation of the Algerian natural resources. On the other hand, the failure of other Algerian nationalist movements in obtaining rights for the Algerian natives precipitated revolution (Boumaaraf, Sergini 64).

The situation with the Algerian nationalist movement was even more difficult and dangerous. The crisis of the MTLD was caused of the dismantling of OS in 1950 and the conflict between the Massalists and the Centralists was worsening. Supporters split between pro-Massali Hadj and Centralists who backed collegial leadership (Loushen, Mnikher, and Hebal 164). This crisis led to the crucial decision of writing the Proclamation of Independence (Ruedy 145).

Finally, the last factor that really persuaded Algeria’s revolutionary leaders to proclaim independence was the post-WWII massacres of 8 May 1945. At the end of the Second World War and the defeat of Nazi Germany, the entire world came out for celebration and the Algerian people, like other people of the world, demonstrated while brandishing green and white flags with a red star and crescent. Banners calling on France to fulfill her promises and give Algeria the right of self determination were also brandished. But as a response, the French
army and colonials changed this peaceful demonstration into a bloody massacre with a great violence. The Massacres of May 1945 showed the horror of barbarism of France and convinced Algerians to struggle for independence (Ruedy 148-149). May 1945 was the real cause of the Algerian war of liberation and the event that marked a great turning point in colonial history. Moreover, the massacre made the 1954 Algerian Revolution possible and it was the determinant event that pushed the Algerian revolutionaries to take a crucial decision for their self-determination and their freedom (Boumaaraf, Sergini 54).

The drafting of the Algerian Proclamation was caused by different factors that helped the revolutionaries decide their future and their way of life. The previous factors played a great role in shaping the future of Algeria because they led to the birth of the most important document written in the modern Algerian history (Boumaaraf, Sergini 54).

2.4 What are the impacts of the Algerian Proclamation of Independence?

The Proclamation of Independence November 1, 1954 changed many things and many events took place. The declaration had opened the war and widened the gap between the Algerians and France. In addition, it was the most significant document that put an end to divisions within the nationalist movement and opened the door for independence (Ruedy 161-163).

At the announcement of the API the revolution started; shortly after, it spread all over Algeria. The Algerian Proclamation achieved the Algerian dream which is independence and changed a long insurrection period to a revolution. By August 1955, the revolutionary war took wider proportions as Youssef Zighoud,
leader of Wilaya 2 (Constantine), launched a large-scale offensive. The offensive was the first great phase and the main turning point in the Algerian war of independence. Therefore, as a final result, the API opened hostilities between the Algerians and France that had lasted for over seven years which cost Algeria a million and a half victims. More, the economic and social destruction was enormous and Algeria had to rebuild itself after independence in 1962 (Ruedy 161-163).

Moreover, the announcement of the Algerian Proclamation and the outbreak of the revolution on November 1, 1954 affected Algerian-French relationships greatly. France increased its troops in Algeria to approximately 50,000 men and widened military actions to the six wilayat. In addition to that, under the ministry of Pierre Mendès France, France imposed the status of “state of urgency” in order to control the Algerian people and to prohibit them from communicating with the Algerian revolutionaries (Ruedy 161-163).

Furthermore, on an international scale, the Proclamation of Independence brought a special status for Algeria within the Arab World and the Middle East. Importantly, Algeria became one of most significant founding and leading countries of “non-aligned” movement in a world that was split into a communist Eastern bloc and a capitalistic Western bloc. The Proclamation made the Algerian position in the foreign affairs stronger; since, Algeria occupied a respectable place within the Arab world, developing countries, and the world as a whole.

Finally, the API was a document that permitted Algeria to achieve total separation and independence from the French colonial domination on July 5, 1962. In sum, the Proclamation restored Algerian sovereignty and unity as an
Arab country embracing Islamic principles and values and achieved stability and peace for Algeria (Ruedy 193).

**Conclusion**

The ADI, on the one hand, is an important document that was adopted by the Second Continental Congress July 4, 1776. The Declaration is one of the most significant documents written in American history; it is the document that transformed the North American colonies from small communities dependent to Great Britain to independent and United States of America. It helped in the development of a new nation politically and ideologically according to its Founding Fathers.

The Declaration conveys democratic values and principles as clearly shown in its second section: “We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal… to alter their former Systems of Government.” In this part the Founding Fathers insisted on the respect of mankind and the protection of natural rights and a government as a responsible body for protecting them. More, it gives Americans the right to change this government if it threatened them. In reading this part, it seems that the government according to the American Founding Fathers should form through the opinion of the people. This is democracy which is for people and by people.

The ADI is the American thirteen colonies’ challenge to Great Britain and triumph over King George III and his abuses. In addition to that, it is the first written document that calls for justifying the reason for separation and declaring independence. For that, the Founding Fathers listed injuries and abuses committed by the King and his parliament in order to convince the world why they call for a
separation. Finally, the Declaration opened the way for another document, the Constitution, which became a source of inspiration for other world constitutions.

On the other hand, API is also the most significant document written in the modern history of Algeria. The Proclamation is a powerful weapon used by the Algerians against French colonialism. It played a great role in securing Algerian self-determination and independence within Arabic and Islamic principles. It also paved the way for Algeria to build its future independently from France.

The API is the most powerful document created by the Algerian people in order to prove to the world that they have direct reasons for declaring their independence; therefore, it justifies Algeria’s war of independence against France to the entire world. In addition to that, the Proclamation proves to the world in general and to the France in particular that Algeria is not France but it is assaulted by her and Algeria is completely different from her because it is an Arabic and Islamic country. The Algerian Proclamation affected greatly its situation abroad and empowered it within the Arab World. The Proclamation united the Algerian people and affirmed its existence; it transformed Algeria from an integrated part of France and a dependent colony to an independent country and built its sovereignty. Finally, the Proclamation became a significant model for other countries that were seeking independence from the colonial powers.

These two documents took a long time before they could be achieved and both of them were motivated by the same purpose and goal which is achieving independence. Indeed both documents had common goals and common reasons but did they differ in other aspects? This is what the second chapter attempts to answer.
(1) All the translations here included are my personal translation.
Chapter two

The American Declaration of Independence vs. the Algerian Proclamation of Independence

Introduction:

The American Declaration of Independence and the Algerian Proclamation of Independence are two important documents written in world history. Both documents were written for achieving independence and freedom. On the one hand, the ADI was adopted by the Continental Congress July 4, 1776 as a manifesto for achieving independence from Great Britain and building sovereignty. On the other hand, the API is a political statement adopted by the FLN in order to achieve independence from France and to build a sovereign state.

The ADI has a number of elements in common with the API as well as substantial differences. Therefore, this chapter is an attempt to find out elements which the ADI and the API have in common and the differences between them.

This chapter is divided into two parts; the first part entitled “Comparing the ADI and the API” discusses the main common similarities between the two documents. It also clarifies the main differences between them. The second part entitled “the Integrity of the American Declaration and the Algerian Proclamation” answers the main questions of this Mémoire peculiarly why the American Declaration is important today and why the API is not so?
1. Comparing the American Declaration of Independence and the Algerian Proclamation of Independence:

1.1 Similarities:

The ADI has a numbers of characteristics in common within the API. First, the most obvious similarity is a common reason that motivated the drafting of both documents. Both countries were colonized; the Americans rebelled against the British Crown and the Algerians rebelled against metropolitan France. Both of them desired freedom and wanted to achieve their independence and establish sovereignty. As a reaction to this colonization, both of them wrote their revolutionary statement in which they declared their independence and total separation from their colonized. The Americans wrote the Declaration of Independence as a political statement which was adopted by a Continental Congress July 4, 1776; in similar way, the FLN adopted the Proclamation of Independence November 1, 1954.

Second, the ADI and the API have the size in common because both of them are short documents. The American Declaration is a document that consists of nearly four pages and is 1400 words long; similarly, the Algerian Proclamation also consists of approximately four pages and is 910 words long (ADI, API).

Third, in content, both documents mentioned the main reasons that caused their drafting them. The ADI in its opening sentence listed those main reasons:

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature’s God entitle them, a
decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare
the causes which impel them to the separation.

In this opening statement, the Americans listed their reasons as evidences
for justifying their declaration of independence and the purpose of their revolution
for the whole world. In the same way, the Algerian revolutionaries opened their
Proclamation by listing the main reasons for writing their Proclamation as they
said:

To you who are called upon to judge us, the Algerian people in a general
way, the militants more particularly, our purpose in distributing this
Proclamation is to enlighten you concerning the profound reasons which
have impelled us to act by revealing to you our program, the meaning of
our action, and the cogency of our views the, goal of which remains
National Independence within the North African framework. Our wish as
well is to help you avoid the confusion maintained by imperialism and its
corrupt political and administrative agents (API).

In addition to that, both documents were adopted and signed by a group of
people: the American Declaration was drafted by a committee of five and adopted
by the Continental Congress and the Algerian Proclamation was also written by a
group of revolutionary leaders within the Committee of the 22 and was adopted
by the FLN. This common point between the two documents shows that
revolutionaries in both countries had a common commitment to the sovereignty of
their people and they agreed with the opinion of the group rather than the opinion
of one person. Because of this, both documents proved to have the same future
vision which is creating a form of government that takes its power from the
people. This means that both of them rejected colonization and wanted to create and decide their government by their own will. This was put into practice after independence because both countries, the USA and Algeria, chose a governmental system which derived its power from the people, i.e.: a democratic system.

The ADI greatly appreciated the human being and insisted on his respect and his rights. This was clearly stated in the Declaration’s second paragraph: “we hold these truths to be self evident… facts be submitted to the candid world.” This paragraph is very well-known and important because in it the American Founding Fathers stated that all people are created equal and that they have certain natural rights such as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and that these rights should be respected and protected by government. But, if this government formed a threat for these rights, people should change it and replace it with another one (ADI).

The same spirit prevails in the API which addresses the Algerian people. The Proclamation explains for the Algerian people the reasons of the planned insurgency, purposes and perspectives and gives them the right to decide and judge the leaders of the revolution. This is also stated clearly in the opening sentences of the Proclamation: To you who are called upon to judge us,” i.e.: the Algerian people, in a general, and the militants more particularly. The drafters of the Proclamation clarified too that they attempt to create a new government for protecting the people and defending their rights as they wrote: Our wish as well is to help you avoid the confusion maintained by imperialism and its corrupt political and administrative agents (API).
Thus, from this analysis, the ADI and the API have a common future vision of a government created by the people, which means a democratic system to be created by the people and for the people.

1.2 The Differences between ADI and API

Despite the similarities between the two documents, the American Declaration and the Algerian Proclamation differ in some aspects and principles, particularly in ideologies, conditions and reasons, and historical contexts shaping them.

1.2.1 Conditions:

After the analysis of the conditions and the main factors behind the drafting of both documents in the first chapter, it seems that the factors that motivated the founding revolutionaries were totally distinctive and different.

The adoption of the ADI was surrounded by many conditions that contributed in its creation. At the end the Seven Years’ War in 1763, Britain had accumulated a great postwar debt and needed to finance the administration of its newly acquired lands. As a solution Britain looked at the American colonies, which developed somehow during the Seven Years’ War, to assume at least part of that debt. At that time, Britain introduced new policies relating to the thirteen colonies which began with rising taxes through different acts such as the Stamp Act of 1765, the Townshend Act of 1767, the Tea Act of 1773, and the Coercive Acts of 1774 (Soifer, Hoffman 41-47).
However, in Algeria, the factors that preceded the drafting of the Algerian Proclamation were totally different from those of the Americans. In addition to arbitrary colonial policy relating to social and economic laws and the continuation of the policy of ignoring all national demands, the Algerians faced another great carnage in their history; which was the Massacres of May 8, 1945 that erupted after the end of the Second World War. The Massacres were horrible acts undertaken by metropolitan France against the rights of the Algerian people. The Massacres led to a great loss in human lives among the Algerian people estimated at over 45,000 deaths (Ruedy 148-149). In addition to that, the Algerian factors were characterized by the internal conflict between the Centralists and Massalists. This conflict affected greatly the attempts of national movements toward the independence in Algeria (Ruedy 154).

Thus, the factors in Algeria were unlike those in America. In America, even if the colonials were oppressed by Great Britain for a long time, they enjoyed some opportunities and rights because the Americans had self-government and they had the right to make some of their decisions. In addition to that, they had representative assemblies, like the House of Burgesses, as governing bodies. This gave them the right to revolt and reject arbitrary decisions made by the British parliament as seen in their rejection of taxes without being represented in the British parliament. (Soifer, Hoffman 41-47).

The Algerians, however, were denied self-government and were an integrated part of France. When they asked for self-government, France responded by the massacres of May 8, 1945 when the Algerians demonstrated as a form of celebration at the end of the war requiring France to fulfill her promises (Ruedy 148-150).
1.2.2 Historical Context

The ADI and the API stated the main reasons for declaring independence which was meant as a justification for the whole world. However, both documents even if they had common reason, they were written at different times. The Americans declaration was written in the eighteenth century while the Algerian proclamation was written in twentieth century. Thus, the two documents are separated by almost two centuries, therefore; they were distinctive in their historical background. So, what was the historical context during which both documents were written? And why Algerians waited until the twentieth century for writing the proclamation?

The ADI was written in the eighteenth century because it was surrounded by different circumstances that caused its drafting. At the time of the drafting the American declaration, there were many political writers and theorists whose ideas and thoughts played a great role in drafting the Declaration. First, the declaration was motivated by the passing of a resolution introduced by Richard Henry Lee’s Resolution June 7, 1776. The resolution stated that “these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved.” This resolution affected greatly the drafting of the ADI because it led to the creation of three committees by the Continental Congress of which the first one was charged by writing the Declaration of Independence. The other two had the task of drafting a model treaty of commerce and alliance and the Articles of Confederation (34-35).
Second, the Americans chose the age of Enlightenment as a significant time for writing their declaration because this age was called the age of rights and they knew that it would be received positively abroad. During this age, many philosophers, such as John Jack Roseau and John Lock, insisted on the natural rights of people and representative government. This age gave the American Founding Fathers a significant platform for creating their declaration as is clearly shown in the document itself. In its second paragraph, they wrote:

We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government (ADI).

In this second paragraph, the American Founding Fathers stated that all the people owned natural rights and that all people are created equal and the government should protect them; but if this government threatened them, they should change it and replace it with another one. In this paragraph, the Americans tell the world about what King George III had done to them. Because of these misdeeds, they decided to fight for their freedom. Thus, the Founding Fathers told the world and future generations the reasons that made them decide to separate from Great Britain. John Lock’s philosophy, particularly, made the Americans aware about the natural rights that no one could take from them. This philosophy led them also knew that without reasons they could not revolt against Great Britain and could not defend their rights (ADI).
Finally, and most importantly, the writings of the political writer Thomas Paine, particularly his pamphlet *Common Sense*, gave them good reasons for revolting against Britain. Thomas Paine’s influence and contribution to the American declaration was very significant. His writings were the most important surrounding fact that persuaded the colonies to declare their independence and to write their Declaration. Paine argued that “nothing can settle our expeditiously as an open and determined Declaration of Independence” (qtd. Armitage 36).

According to Thomas Paine, without independence, the American colonies could not negotiate peace with Great Britain and without declaring their independence they could not achieve their total separation and independence. He also argued that by declaring independence the Americans could win foreign support such as that of France and Spain because through the Declaration they would justify their reasons for doing so, as he said:

[a] Manifesto to be published, and dispatched to foreign Courts, explaining colonial grievances, the lack of redress, and the necessity of separation, at the sometime assuring all such Courts, of our peaceable disposition towards them, and of our desire of entering into trade with them. Until such a manifesto was dispatched, the custom of all Courts is against us, and will be so, until by an independence, we take rank with other Nations (qtd. Armitage 37-38).

Throughout his pamphlet *Common Sense*, Thomas Paine encouraged the American thirteen colonies to declare independence and revolt against Great Britain. His influence could be seen clearly during the spring and early summer of 1776. Paine’s *Common Sense* perception inside the American colonies was great
and his argument was echoed and sent by the colonies to the delegates at the Continental Congress. In April 1776, for example, North Carolina’s delegates decided to unite themselves with the delegates of the other colonies in declaring independence and forming a foreign alliance. The delegation of Charlotte country, Virginia, also decided to cut all ties with Britain and form a commercial union with the other colonies that had the same reasons (Armitage 37-38).

Thomas Paine was persuasive in his *Common Sense* which affected the drafting of the ADI. Two of his arguments were particularly well-accepted by the colonists: that the thirteen colonies should be independent and that they should overthrow monarchical rule (38).

The Algerians, on their side, wrote their proclamation of independence in the twentieth century because during this period there were many events and factors that helped in its creation. This period was characterized by a growth of nationalistic movements as was the case in Morocco and Tunisia. These movements inspired greatly the Algerian revolutionary leaders and encouraged them to declare their revolution. The Vietnam War, as well, was the most significant war that led to the destruction of French colonial power and cost France a great loss especially in the Dien Bien Phu battle. In addition, the success of the Egyptian Revolution played a great role in the Arab world, in general, and in Algeria, in particular. After the revolution of 1956, led by Jamal Abd-Al-Nassir, the latter promised that Egypt would be a fortification for the Arab world. Egypt was a key player in Algerian independence as it supported Algeria at different levels: political, diplomatic, military… (38-39).
1.2.3 Ideology

According to historian Revere, ideology is one of the main conditions of success and development, and it is the main conditions of stability and change. Indeed, ideology can provide many important things: it can serve a number of stabilizing functions, create solidarity, develop a sense of national identity, and it can legitimize policy. Moreover, Ideology is a framework for action, it prescribes a course of action and it tends to outline a new order or political culture for the future (480). So, how the ADI and the API ideologies were identified, and did the drafters of both documents possess a certain ideology during that time?

On the one hand, the ADI ideology was identified clearly in the document itself because the American Founding Fathers wrote their Declaration in order to create a new life after achieving independence. The ideology of the American Declaration was showed obviously when they listed the reasons of their revolution in their Declaration as evidences for the entire world and for the future generations so as they would not think that the American Declaration was created without a purpose. The ideology of the American declaration was stated directly in the second famous paragraph because in this paragraph the Founding Fathers’ ideology was drawn for future generations because they insisted on the protection of universal values and individual rights, with the creation of a strong government for the purpose. However, the long list of abuses and injuries committed by King George III stated their total rejection to the King’s government, particularly, and to the monarchy, in general, and they wanted to create their own government. Finally, the American Declaration ideology was identified in the last paragraph when they declared and confirmed that they were independent states (ADI).
Whereas, the ideology of Algerian proclamation was also for the future but was different from that of the American declaration. It can be identified by the declaration of war against France because the Algerians realized that without a military action they could not achieve their independence. In addition to that, they insisted on building a country under Islamic principles and values, as Revere stated: “The FLN ideology identified with guerilla revolution against colonialism everywhere, and saw the revolutionary struggle in Algeria as achieving not simply political freedom but freedom from European colonial repression of the Muslim Algerian spirit” (Revere 477).

2. The Integrity of the American Declaration and the Algerian Proclamation:

2.1 Why is the ADI Important Today?

The ADI is one of the most remarkable documents ever written. There is no question that the declaration was important at the time it was passed; this was because it played a great role in achieving American independence and building sovereignty by cutting all ties with Great Britain. This was known in 1776 but what about now? What are the reasons that continue to make the importance of the American declaration today?

The ADI is still important today because of many reasons; most importantly, its richest content. For this reason, it is necessary to study and analyze the content in order to discover its importance. The ADI consists of four parts and each part has preserved its importance.
The American Declaration is important today because it represents the essence of why the nations need to be free and possess self-determination and this was mentioned clearly in the first part when they said:

When in the Course of human Events, it becomes necessary for one People to dissolve the Political Bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the Earth, the separate and equal Station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent Respect to the Opinions of Mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the Separation (ADI).

In this paragraph the Founding Fathers insisted on two things: the first one they wrote that it is necessary for the other nations seeking independence to declare their main reasons for doing so. But the second one is their justification for declaring their independence from Great Britain, and they were telling the world that these are our reasons that we are separating from Great Britain.

However, what makes the Declaration so important and attractive around the world is its combination to the natural rights, individual rights, and positive law. Concerning the natural rights, the American Founding Fathers stated that all people are born equal and with natural rights as explained in the second paragraph:

We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of
Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government (ADI).

In this part the American Founding Fathers set a philosophy of human rights that could be applied not only to Americans but to people everywhere. Additionally, they insisted on the protection of these rights by a government, but if this government is not able to protect them, it is the right of people to change it. This part increased the importance of the Declaration because it proved that the Declaration insisted on the sovereignty of people. Moreover, the second part increased the importance of the Declaration because it shows a future vision of the Founding Fathers about the human and natural rights and the way of their protection. Abraham Lincoln’s speech of 1857 and this proves this: “The assertion that ‘all men are created equal’ was of no practical use in effecting our separation from Great Britain; and it was placed in the Declaration, not for that, but for future use” (qtd. Armitage 26).

But the third part, the longest part in the Declaration, is a list of injuries and abuses committed by King George III against the rights of the Americans. This acted, first, as a justification for their Declaration and, second, as a rejection of monarchy. This part increased the importance of the Declaration because it shows that the Americans wanted to choose their government by their own will, as was mentioned previously in the second part.

According to Rabeh Lounissi, the Algerian historian, the American Declaration is important because they applied its values and principles in their lives and they made it as source for their later documents and institutions (81). This was proved during their drafting of the American Constitution because they
referred to it in all cases. The Constitution is build around its principle. Indeed, the American Declaration is the heart of the Constitution. The declaration stated that all people possess certain natural rights and the government should protect them; for this reason, they drafted a Constitution which sets a government that could protect those rights as seen in the Bill of Rights. The Bill consists of ten amendments which insist on many rights as the freedom of religion and the freedom of expression. Moreover, the American Founding Fathers insisted on people’s sovereignty in the Declaration and the same thing can be found in the Constitution in the opening statement “we the people.” this means that in America, the power of government comes from the people. Thus, the American Declaration is the first source of the Constitution.

2.2. Critics of the ADI

In fact, the ADI was an important document because it stresses universal values such as life, liberty, and equality. But, these universal values were enjoyed just by American citizens, i.e.: Whites. What about the great paradox that America falls in concerning the enslavement of black people and the slave trade? The Americans after the revolution brought billions of black Africans into their country and they forced them to be servants and slaves for them. The Americans were very oppressive and unjust with Blacks because they always treated them as animals and considered them as mere property (Morgan 6-7).

The African blacks were always segregated and discriminated by white Americans; they were separated in schools and buses because of their black skin and origins. After achieving their independence, there were much contradictions
among Americans because, on the one side, they fought for their freedom, liberty, and equality with British citizens but, on the other side, they owned slaves and they took their freedom after they were free in their countries. Indeed, “the rise of liberty and equality in this country was accompanied by the rise of slavery” (Morgan 5).

In fact, most of the American spokesmen were searching for and asserting their country freedom and liberty as James Madison, George Washington, and Thomas Jefferson, who considered as the official author of the Declaration but they were all slaveholders. Those spokesmen said that all men are created equal and they possessed certain natural rights; however, these substantial words were just banners and slogans used by the Americans as evidences for attracting the attention of the world. Therefore, the ADI is a document that consists of negative as well a positive values and principles (Morgan 6-7).

2.3 What are the Reasons behind the Conversion of the Algerian Proclamation?

The study of the Algerian Proclamation document raises in front of the researcher several questions and problems; mainly, what are the reasons that led to the failure of Algerians to develop and enrich their Proclamation document in order to apply it on the ground as values, texts, and institutions as the Americans did. The latter were able to start from the Declaration of Independence values and created institutions and the Constitution which still works whereas the Algerian ignored their Proclamation. Many reasons are responsible for that ignorance;
outstanding among them is the struggle for power, the Tripoli Charter, and euracentrism.

2.3.1 The Struggle for Power:

The struggle for power in Algeria shows clearly in the fight between two main groups: first, between the FLN leaders and second, between former presidents Houari Boumediene and Ahmed Ben Bella. On the one hand, the Algerian FLN played a great role in the Algerian war of liberation with great successes especially after declaring independent which made it a very important leader inside Algeria and abroad. However, after declaring war against France, the FLN in its early years faced great difficulties in achieving consensus about revolutionary resistance strategies and institutions. Among those difficulties were the increase of group élites and different kinds of nationalist movements. Each of these groups believed that it was the most suitable group for leadership (Ruedy 180).

First, Massali Hadj, a communist and a non-violent leader, was against the idea of declaring war against France. He was in conflict with another leader, Ferhat Abbas, a democratic leader and a believer in the total integration with Algeria and France. Both of them were rejected by the FLN revolutionaries because they believed that they were not responsible and their movements did nothing for the Algerian people. Later, the officers of the ALN rejected the leadership of the historic revolutionaries because they believed that it was them who did everything for the success of the Algerian revolution. In addition to that, some bureaucrats and technocrats emerged seeing themselves as more educated,
competent, and understanding than those of the FLN. This led them to claim leadership and political power (Ruedy 180-181).

All these difficulties and problems made the building of consensus and understanding between the FLN and other nationalist movements very difficult. This widened a gap between them and resulted in continuing and increasing tensions and culminated in internal divisions and confrontations. Moreover, the difficulty that faced the FLN and increased the tension inside it was also because of the ideological differences between the leaders of the nationalist movements. The FLN contained a mixture of liberals with different perspectives, Marxist, Islamists, Communists and others. This created a great misunderstanding between them and resulted in a huge division within the FLN (Ruedy 181).

Furthermore, from 1958 onward, a conflict increased greatly between the Moderates of the former UDMA under Ferhat Abbas and the more Marxist radicals under Youssef Benkhada; each side believed that it was the sole leader of the revolution. Another conflict was between GPRA and the military because the leaders of the interior willayas (Two, Three, and Four) were greatly alienated from the political leadership. This raised tension greatly and increased the struggle for power by the early 1960s. Thus, many revolutionaries claimed leadership roles in the revolution and required a share in political power after 1962 (Ruedy 181).

Because of all these struggles tension between the different nationalist movements and the FLN leaders, the values and the principles of the Algerian Proclamation changed into a struggle for power and for self-interests (181). The Proclamation insisted on unity between the revolutionaries and attempted to avoid the struggle for power by committing itself to the sovereignty of the people; but
this was not respected. Sovereignty of the people was lost in the struggle for power.

First, this conflict increased greatly after the emergence of Houari Boumediene in the years 1957 to 1960; he later became the second president of Algeria. Boumediene was born Mohammed Ben Brahim Boukhoroba at Clouzel near Guelma. He had attended both French and Quranic primary schools as well as a conservative Madrasa. In addition to that, he deepened his Islamic education at Al-Azhar what led his attachment to an Arab-Islamic heritage better than of the FLN leaders. He was also a prominent officer in the emerging ALN (Ruedy 182).

Second, during the third meeting of the CNRA which convened at Tripoli on December 13, 1957, the members of this meeting faced a great difficulty because they disagreed about the conduct of the war. Belkacem Karim was attacked for his management of the ministry of war and his ministry was dismantled. It was replaced by a general staff which assumed not only operational but also political tasks. During this meeting, they gave all authority to the general staff under the presidency of a Boumediene and they maintained for CNRA just the role of oversight. This resulted in a revolt and rejection of Boumediene’s authority by interior willayas. In the following days, Boumediene formed an alliance with Ahmed Ben Bella, who together with Mohamed Khider and Rabah Bitat, announced the formation of the Political Bureau as a rival government to the GPRA which had installed itself in Algeria as the Provisional Executive (Ruedy 182).

Third, in January 1960, a new CNRA meeting promoted Karim Belkacem to the foreign ministry and reconfirmed Abbas as a president. This meeting is very
important because it was a success. In addition to that, a constitution ratified which stated that Algeria was not just conducting a war for national liberation but also a revolution. Finally, and for a first time the FLN, was designated as the sole political party. However, the question of leadership was still open (Ruedy 185).

After Algeria’s independence in 1962, the struggle inside the FLN increased and spread all over Algeria especially when the confrontation between the three main officers of the general staff: Colonel Boumediene, Major Ahmed Kaid, and Major Ali Mandjli. In addition to that, the general staff started consolidating its authority after entering Algeria and became the responsible body for making decisions (Ruedy 192).

On July 11, Ben Bella entered the country from Morocco and established his leadership in Tlemcen. The so-called “Tlemcen Group” consisted of the general staff and the officers of the exterior willayas in addition to the nominees of the Political Bureau; however, Mohammed Boudiaf and Houcine Ait Ahmed refused to serve with them in addition to the moderates Abbas and Benjelloul who were in tension with CNRA (192). In another side, the “Tiziouzou Group” which was formed by Benkhada and CNRA settled in the Kabily. This group was supported by Willayas two, three, and four and the FFFLN. Thus, the “Tlemcen Group” was almost totally Arab, however the “Tiziouzou Group” contained just Berbers (Ruedy 192).

Latter, the war of words started between the two sides and this because Ben Bella announced July 22 that the Political Bureau had decided to assume its responsibilities within the legal framework of the FLN and started leading the country in its search for institutions. The Political Bureau was supported by
Boumediene and the ALN whose bases were in Tunisia and Morocco. This forced
the CNRA on July 28 to accept the decisions proposed by the Tripoli program
concerning the Political Bureau authority. However, political power was not held
either by the Tlemcen Group or by the Tiziouzou Group because most of the
willayas groups opposed the Political Bureau, especially the general staff and its
chief Boumediene (Ruedy 193-194).

Moreover, the absence of political consensus between the different
nationalist movements which has existed for a long time before and after 1954
resulted in great political instability. Most political leaders viewed independence
as the real beginning of the revolution. This gave the opportunity to Ben Bella to
consolidate power. After independence, Ben Bella and his “Tlemcen Group” had
won supreme power as he became a dominant leader over all the nationalists thus
defeating all the leaders of the interior willayas who sided with Benkhadda and
the GPRA. After his victory over the “Tiziouzou Group,” Ben Bella was in a best
position to strengthen his power against his competitors and he and Khider
decided to bring the 300,000 members of the UGTA under the control of their
political party (Ruedy 197-198).

Furthermore, since Algerian independence, Ben Bella was attempting to
put himself at a head of most important movements. This is reflected in his
creation to the BUBV, a body to protect and regularize the workers’ committees
and the popularly-based system of production they represented. As a result, and at
the late winter of 1963, Ben Bella and Khider who worked together against the
UGTA were also struggling for power because each of them wanted to be the
leader of the party. As a reaction, Ben Bella issued the March Decrees which
“created a legal definition of vacant property, established a detailed system of
workers self-management to be applied to all such properties, and provided for a
system of profit sharing within each enterprise.” The March Decrees greatly
increased Ben Bella’s power and increased his supporters; this pushed Khider to
resign as a secretary of the Political Bureau. Thus political power fell totally to
Ben Bella who was elected to the presidency by popular vote. Ben Bella
combined the functions of chief of state and head of government with that of
supreme commander of the armed forces and the secretary general of the FLN.
However, the historic chiefs of the war were discarded from power: Khider,
Belkacem Karim, and Bitat went into exile and Mohammed Boudiaf and Ait
Ahmed were arrested (Ruedy 199-201).

Besides, the relation between Ben Bella and Boumediene worsened and
they became rivals because after Ben Bella consolidated his power, Boumediene
discovered that he wanted to overthrow his authority. This changed the relation
between them into a civil war. Boumediene believed that he was the one who
deserves power because he fought for Algerian independence whereas Ben Bella
believed that he fought for the revolution politically and diplomatically and he
played a great role in its success; for this, he claimed that he was the most suitable
person for power. As a result, Boumediene organized a ‘coup d’état’ and took
power from Ben Bella in June 19, 1965 and consolidated the state’s authority
(Ruedy 205-207).

2.3.2 Tripoli Program:

At the Tripoli meeting, organized in May-June 1962, the leaders of the
revolution planned to discuss the philosophy and role of the revolution. But, they
did not at all discuss the ways toward the establishment of the political institution
that govern the country after the independence. However, at this meeting the struggle for power dominated between the many political groups: moderates, radicals, general staff, six different willayas commanders, and the FFFLN and the UGTA (Ruedy 191).

During the Tripoli meeting discussions, the members concentrated on the adoption of the political agenda and the Tripoli Program. The Tripoli Program was written by the FLN intellectuals with the contribution and encouragement of Ben Bella. This program started with the analysis of the colonial legacy, the Evian accord, and post-independence Franco-Algerian cooperation. In addition to that, they discussed the conduction of the war and the leadership of the GPRA and willayas leaders. In this meeting, they criticized the leadership because of the lack of ideological firmness, formalism, paternalism, and *petit bourgeois* attitudes and even for anti-revolutionary tendencies. “The Tripoli Program called for a popular democratic revolution based upon the leadership of the rural masses, and assisted by the urban poor and middle class youth.” Most importantly, it gave all the authority to the state concerning the economic process planning and it rejected a private one. And they confirmed that “Algerian culture was to be national, revolutionary, and scientific, as well as Islamic in modern and progressive sense of that term” (Ruedy 191).

During this meeting, harsh criticism was given to the leadership, but no final decision was taken about political institutions and distribution of power because Ben Bella believed that he is the competent leader for this power, especially after his creation of the Political Bureau (Ruedy 192).
The Tripoli Program was a significant step made by the Algerian revolutionary leaders but, according to Lounissi, this program was the main and direct reason that led to the decrease of the importance of Algerian Proclamation principles and values. It replaced the proclamation’s principles with other principles and values which were very distinctive from those of the Proclamation. The Tripoli Program created a new system for Algeria, namely a socialist system, under a one-party political leadership. This new system was in complete contradiction with the principle of democracy and respect for basic freedoms expressed in the Proclamation (Lounissi 129).

2.3.3 Eurocentrism:

According to Lounissi, even eurocentrism played a great role in ignoring the Algerian Proclamation values because it always ignores everything produced by the Third World, in general, and Arabs, in particular. They always considered them as terrorists, barbarous, and uncivilized countries. France during the outbreak of the Algerian Revolution described it just as a terrorist action (Lounissi 129-130).

Conclusion:

The ADI and the API are two significant documents written in world history; both of them affected greatly their countries and the world as well. On the one hand, the American Declaration and the Algerian Proclamation has common similarities. First, both of them shared the same reason behind their foundation. Second, both documents are short documents. In addition to that, both documents have common commitment to the sovereignty of people and to the protection of the natural and individual rights.
However, the ADI and the API were founded in different conditions: the ADI was preceded by circumstances different from those of the Algerian Proclamation because the Americans were self-governing contrary to the Algerians who were integrated with France. The American Declaration’s ideology shows clearly in their insistence for the creation of a strong government for protecting the American citizens’ natural rights. But, the Algerian ideology identifies in their insistence for the creation of the future country under Islamic principles. Finally, the ADI was created under the influence of many theorists such as John Lock and Jean Jack Roseau. However, the API was created in the time when the nationalist movements increased and most of the countries struggled for achieving independence.

The struggle for power inside the FLN and between the nationalists after Algerian independence affected greatly the Algerian Proclamation’s ways and perspectives and changed its direction. After independence, the revolutionary leaders put away the Proclamation values and each one interpreted them according to his own interest, especially during the Tripoli meeting which ignored the Proclamation’s values and proclaimed an Algerian socialist country. This makes it different from that of the Americans because the Americans after achieving their independence applied the Declaration values and principle in their lives and they made it as a beginning of many documents and institutions. The best prove was their creation to the Constitution around the Declaration’s values.
Table 1: A comparative table of the American Declaration of Independence and the Algerian Proclamation of Independence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Differences</th>
<th>The American Declaration of Independence</th>
<th>The Algerian Proclamation of Independence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ideology</strong></td>
<td>The ideology of the ADI identified on their insistence for achieving a future government by a will of people which would protect them and their rights.</td>
<td>But, the ideology of the API identified on their assertion for achieving a future country under Islamic principles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Historical Context</strong></td>
<td>The ADI preceded with many theorists such as John Lock, Jean Jack Rousseau and Thomas Paine.</td>
<td>The API surrounded by many events as the defeat of France in Vietnam and the success of the Egyptian Revolution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Conditions</strong></td>
<td>The Americans during their writing of Declaration of Independence possessed some rights and were self governing</td>
<td>The Algerians Proclamation of Independence is written in difficult conditions, oppression, exploration, and during the time when Algerian considered as an integrated part of France.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Author</strong></td>
<td>Both documents adopted by a group of people. On the one hand, the ADI is adopted by a Continental Congress. On the other hand, the API is adopted by National Liberation Front.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Volume</strong></td>
<td>Both Declarations are short documents.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reason</strong></td>
<td>Both documents are written for a same reason which is achieving independence. In addition to that, both of them listed their main reasons for doing so.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>People sovereignty</strong></td>
<td>Both documents have a common commitment to the sovereignty of people and they wanted to achieve a kind of government which would take its power from them.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
General Conclusion

This study sets out to examine the main differences and similarities between the American Declaration of Independence and the Algerian Proclamation of Independence. After a long analysis, this Mémoire has come out with many conclusions. First, both documents interrelate in many cases and share many characteristics. The two documents are considered as significant documents written in world history. Both of them are written for the same purpose of achieving independence. The ADI is adopted by the Continental Congress July 4, 1776 for achieving the independence of the American thirteen colonies from Great Britain and the API is adopted by FLN November 1, 1954 for achieving Algerian independence from France. Moreover, both documents are a culmination of a long time of oppression and exploitation and both of them were very effective in achieving independence, building the sovereignty of both countries, and served the future of both the USA an Algeria. The American Declaration reestablished the thirteen colonies under a new name of the United State of America and the Algerian Proclamation built a new Algerian country under a name of the People’s Democratic Republic of Algeria. In addition to that, both documents have a common commitment to the sovereignty of the people.

Second, after investigation, this research work came out with the conclusion that the ADI and the API are different in some aspects and perspectives, particularly in conditions, ideologies, and historical contexts. This makes their interpretations completely different. The ADI is always considered as an important document ever written in world history and the only document that
conveyed human natural rights and universal values such as life and liberty. The American Declaration is a very important document which inspired almost all the world even though it is tarnished by the enslavement of the African blacks and the degradation of their freedoms and, worse, their humanity. Western attitudes also played a great role in appreciating the document and increasing its importance. Eurocentrism always rejects what produced by the others, especially the Arabs and this affected negatively the API and decreased it importance.

The API is less importance because Algerians failed to appreciate this historical document to its just value. After achieving independence, the Algerian revolutionary leadership concentrated on power rivalry and imitated imperialistic systems, i.e.: socialism, and neglected the proclamation. Therefore, they forgot about their Proclamation’s values and principles and did not apply them on the ground. This research suggests that it is better to return back to the Proclamation values and principles because it is the first originality of the Algerian state and the foundation of today’s country.
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Abstract

This Mémoire is a comparative study between two major documents in world history: the American Declaration of Independence and the Algerian Proclamation of Independence written in 1776 and 1954 respectively. More specifically, it examines the main similarities as well as differences between both documents. Our research shows that the two documents share some aspects but at the same time they differ in others. In addition, the Mémoire demonstrates that the main reasons that make the Algerian Proclamation of Independence less important and little known in world history than the American Declaration of Independence are the struggle for political power among the Algerian revolutionary leadership after achieving independence in 1962. The stated aims of the proclamation, i.e.: ending French colonialism and establishing a socialist Algerian state, and eurocentricism. However, the main reasons that make the American Declaration of Independence a still-living and distinguished document in world history are its conveyance of universal values such as life and liberty as well as its reproduction in the documents of other nations, particularly the most recently independent developing countries. Therefore, the American Declaration remains a major source of inspiration and a model for contemporary world documents whereas the Algerian proclamation fell into forgetfulness. Finally, this study seeks to appreciate Algeria’s Proclamation of Independence and to show the originality.

Key words:

The American Declaration of Independence, the Algerian Proclamation of Independence.
APPENDICES

Appendix 01: The American Declaration of Independence

Source: https://www.google.dz
Appendix 02: The Algerian proclamation of independence:

Source: https://www.google.dz