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Sudan's Position on the Algerian Liberation Revolution 1945-1962

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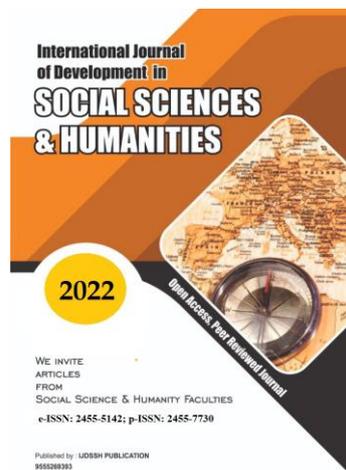
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ABSTRACT

The study came in order to shed light on Sudan's efforts to support the Algerian revolution in its struggle for independence and liberation from French colonialism during the period 1945-1962 AD and the circumstances experienced by the Algerian national movement and the reasons and motives that led the leaders to strike in 1954. The position of the Sudanese government and people on the revolution and the reasons that the Algerian revolutionaries helped define their cause in world public opinion, the efforts made by the successive Sudanese governments within the corridors of the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Organization and African organizations, and how the Sudanese people contributed to supporting the revolutionaries with money and weapons and ending the state of disagreement between the Algerian national leaders and the French reactions to this position.

Keywords: *Sudan - Algeria - Revolution - Liberation Movement - Africa.*

INTRODUCTION

The study came in order to shed light on Sudan's position on the Algerian issue, the governmental and popular role in the issue, and the extent of Sudan's contribution to all its sects and nationalities to support Arab causes and support liberation movements in the Arab world. The problem lies in the lack of information that dealt with this aspect of the study and documented those attitudes and the effects that had on Sudan as a result of those attitudes, so the researcher sought to follow those positions and roles as much as possible. She benefited from her experiences to support and support the peoples of the Arab region in order to gain independence, so the Algerian issue was the most prominent issue on the political scene. This support was launched by introducing Arab and international public opinion to the Algerian issue within international forums, which was at the forefront of the United Nations and

African organizations, which adopted in its platform the support of the countries of the world aspiring to independence and liberation, which entered it into a dispute with France and left negative effects on the economic reality. The Sudanese people, with all their social spectrums and classes, did not forget to support Algeria by pressuring the government to provide support and support to the Algerian National Front, to provide weapons and foodstuffs, and to launch statements of condemnation against the unfair French methods against the Algerian people in international forums. Through his study, the researcher tried to trace the role of Sudan and its relationship with Algeria in the various political and social aspects that befell the Algerian people in the darkest stages that a country may go through on the way to obtaining independence represented by the stage of the end of World War II and the emergence of liberation issues on the global political scene, which There is almost no

previous study on the subject. The research is divided into four axes, an introduction and a conclusion. The first axis dealt with the Algerian issue after World War II and the internal and external conditions that helped Algeria to carry out the general strike and its impact on the future of the country. The Sudanese Foreign Ministry proceeded since its establishment, while the third axis included the role of Sudan within the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Organization and the roles it played in order to support Algeria and its struggle against the French colonizer. While the fourth axis talked about the Sudanese popular position on the liberation revolution and the support of Algeria with money and weapons and its impact on the future of the relationship with France.

LITERATURE REVIEW

First: - The impact of World War II on the Algerian case

In the aftermath of World War II in 1945 AD, all international balances changed and led to the emergence of new powers and the demise of colonial countries that had long suffered from the Arab and African world alike, which was at the forefront of the emergence of the United States of America on the political scene. The American President Woodrow Wilson put forward an initiative to invite The peoples of the world

for liberation and self-determination, which aroused the enthusiasm of the Arab peoples succumbed under the yoke of colonialism, led by the Algerian revolutionaries, and motivated them to raise the issue to the corridors of international organizations. (Al-Obaidi, 2008, pg. 55) In light of this, the French government tried to split the national line by spreading the distinction between the currents of the national movement, which in turn split into two parts. Likewise, the Movement for the Victory of Democratic Liberties. (Harbi, 1994, pp. 80-82) At the same time, the national movement was able to overcome its internal crisis and partisan differences for a period of time, taking the losses of France in the Second World War and the decline of its power in the world as a basis for walking the path of independence after it succumbed under colonialism for more than a century, and it was crowned These efforts led to the armed revolution at the end of 1954 and the establishment of the so-called National Liberation Front in Egypt. (National Center for Historical Studies, 1985, pages 31-33) The front broadcast its first statement in November of 1954 criticizing the French policy and the reasons and objectives of the Algerian revolution, and clarified the goals of the revolution and called on the countries of the world to support the Algerian cause, and not to give up the demands and achieve national

sovereignty and the evacuation of the occupier, (The Basic Texts of the November 1954 Revolution, 2008, pages 9-13) and announced the birth of the National Liberation Army. (Al-Salihi, 1959, p. 36) On the other hand, the French administration responded to the revolutionaries' statement by issuing the Governor-General an order for the immediate execution of the revolutionaries who were captured, and the adoption of a policy of collective punishment against the areas that proved their sympathy with the revolutionaries, and the evacuation of the population from the rural areas from which the revolutionaries moved and the establishment of the so-called In shelters to separate the rebels from the population. (Born, 1984, pp. 108-109) The French brutal methods provoked the revolution government, which accused the French administration of applying the Nazi approach towards the Algerian people and renounce French policy, which contributed to the formation of a wide popular base for the revolution through the implementation of the general strike and boycott of the French administration. (Al-Sharifi, 1955, pages 5-6) At the same time, the front suffered major setbacks during its armed action, represented by the lack of military support, the lack of coordination between the national and military leaders, the internal conflict between the Liberation Army and the Liberation

Front, and the great French military support that arrived in Algeria, and their brutal methods in Confronting the rebels and the areas of resistance. (Harbi, 1994, pages 81-82) As a result of that division over the conduct of military operations inside the country and the failure to present the issue and its deliberation within the United Nations, the divisions almost ended the revolution after the dispute reached between Messali al-Hajj and Muhammad Yazid, the leader of the Liberation Army, and Moulay Rabah and Farhat Abbas The leader of the National Front, to the extent of armed confrontation and division in attitudes after raising the issue to the United Nations, which prompted Sudan to enter a mediating party in the crisis, but he failed to reach a consensus formula between the national leaders. (Farhat, 2010, pp. 208-209) Meanwhile, the French government tried to remedy the situation by inviting representatives of the Algerians and foreign residents in Algeria to consider reforms and solutions in order to eliminate the revolution in an attempt to distance the leaders of the National Front from negotiations, but it failed in its endeavor. (Brahmieh, 2004, p. 122) The leaders of the Front turned to Arab and African countries in order to obtain their diplomatic support despite repeated failures to include the issue on the agenda of the United Nations during its session in 1955 and

the second session of 1956, and the authority contented itself with issuing a recommendation to solve the issue by means Peace and non-interference as an internal French issue, which was rejected by the representatives of Algeria, Arab and African countries. (Harbi, 1994, pp. 85-90) The French government, through its foreign minister, also responded in explaining the causes of the Algerian revolution as a kind of activity that the communist tide tried to exploit in the African continent in an attempt to change the orientations and ideas of Western countries about supporting the issue as it poses a threat to the its strategic security. (Bin Sultan, Ammar; and others; 2007, p. 155) The matter was further complicated by the French government's hijacking of the Moroccan plane on the 22nd of October 1956, as Ahmed Tawfiq Madani mentioned in his memoirs about the kidnapping incident the non-resisting leaders who are each of Ben Bella Muhammad Khedir and others, representatives of the Algerian delegation in a tripartite Moroccan-Tunisian-Algerian conference with the aim of finding a way out of the Algerian crisis, but at gunpoint they were forced to go down to Algiers airport and taken to prison, (Madani, 1981, pages 215-217) as this incident destroyed the efforts made In order to find a peaceful solution to the crisis and increased the popularity of the revolution, the

arrested revolutionaries became a symbol of the armed struggle. (Fadil, 1999, pp. 13-15) At the same time, the efforts of the national leaders who took it upon themselves to continue their political activity in support of armed action joined forces in an attempt to find some kind of global support for their cause and pressure the French government to accept the fait accompli and submit to the aspirations of the Algerian people by visiting the country And they attended seminars and conferences supporting the liberation movements, so they had a clear presence in the activities of the Tangiers Conference in 1958. (Harbi, 1994, pages 90-95)

Second: Sudan's position on the Arab world

Sudan was not isolated from the Arab reality, but rather kept pace with the developments that were taking place on the African continent by virtue of the bond of blood, destiny and common history through international organizations and conferences that were held to discuss issues of liberation, especially within the Non-Aligned Organization. It took place in 1954 in the Proceedings of the Bandung Conference, which emphasized the non-interference in the conflicts between the capitalist and socialist poles and the support of the Third World countries in getting rid of the colonial yoke" (Al-Mahdi p., 2015, p. 262), confirming this

position in a press interview with the newspaper Al-Mujahid stressed the keenness of the Sudanese government and the people to support the Algerian cause and the hostility of all colonial regimes on the African continent. (Al-Mujahid, 1958, pages 10-11) As soon as he gained independence, he joined the League of Arab States in 1956 and became active in the sessions held, accompanied all its activities and activities, and worked to maintain and implement its programs and decisions. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Democratic Republic of Sudan, 1973, p. 48) At the same time, Sudan maintained a foreign policy that supported all Arab issues and was in close contact with the Arab League and the Islamic world and was keen to increase the bonds of Islamic Arabism and work to help the peoples of the region obtain rights. (Mohammed, 1996, pages 10-12) The successive Sudanese governments after independence have kept pace with Arab developments and taken a liberal approach by supporting Arab liberation causes and supporting the peoples' right to independence and getting rid of the colonialism that has been ingrained in people's hearts for a long time. (Enad, 2012, p. 32) At the same time, the Sudanese Foreign Ministry focused on building a strong relationship with the neighboring African countries with the aim of strengthening the bonds of friendship and

love and working to establish peace with the Arab and African neighboring countries. (Mohammed, 1996, p. 14) With the arrival of the army to power, Sudan announced its support for the African countries seeking liberation and independence, and they lived a difficult and unfair life under the use of all its resources, stressing its fraternal duty to provide support and assistance. (Al-Sahafa, 2012) From that standpoint, Sudan participated in the United Nations sessions and discussed Arab and African issues, in the forefront of which was the issue of Palestine and Algeria, and expressed supportive positions within the corridors of the General Assembly, rejecting the French policies and their unfair methods against the Algerian people, which have always tightened the screws on the Algerians by various political means. It prevents him from communicating with the Arab world in general and the African world in particular. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry Information Department, Statement No. 1/22/560, July 6, 1957) In light of this, the Sudanese Foreign Ministry followed with concern the hijacking of the plane that killed the Algerian national leaders and imprisoned them through the reaction of calling for a general strike and boycotting the French government on the eighteenth of October 1956 (Juppe, 2011, p. 116). With the formation of the interim government of Algeria, Sudan's position

evolved to a broader one by declaring the adoption and support of all liberation movements in the Arab world, supporting the Algerian revolutionaries with money and weapons, and establishing camps to train fighters inside Sudanese territory (Ayman, 2000, pages 149-152). As a result of this, the French Foreign Minister attacked the Sudanese government after that declaration, accusing it of harboring the rebels because of its positions on the Algerian issue within the sessions of the United Nations, in an attempt to preoccupy the Sudanese and Egyptian government by striking the most important economic hinge, the Suez Canal, in addition to arranging the aggression against Egypt and cutting off the export of Sudanese cotton (Brahmi, 2004, p. 129). On the basis of this, the international bloc within the United Nations has become clear. The Arab countries support and support Algeria's right to independence, and the Western countries support France and try to find justifications that prevent the issue from being discussed within the United Nations, which they did not find a legal justification for (Brahmieh, 2004, pages 130-132).

Third: Sudan's position within international organizations

A- United Nations:-

Sudan, like the rest of the Arab countries, succumbed to the brunt of colonialism, but it

was able to achieve its complete independence from Britain after vigorous efforts, and this was crowned by joining international organizations, at the forefront of which was the United Nations, which he joined on February 6, 1956, after he joined the League of Arab States in January of The same year (Al-Shujairi, 2018, p. 83). The national enthusiasm stirred the Sudanese political parties that began to appear with the formation of the Sudanese government after independence, which took upon itself to adopt the Algerian cause with the arrival of news about the brutal methods practiced by the French occupier towards the people and the abuse, and this position culminated in adopting the issue at the level of international forums within its foreign policies (Khudair, 1980, pp. 330-331). Sudan began its first stances towards Algeria and criticizing the French government, and the Sudanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued its statement on the sixth of July 1957, which condemned the arbitrary French methods towards the Arab peoples and support for Algeria's cause within the United Nations after the Tunisian Foreign Ministry also rushed to present the issue to the Security Council (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Information Department Ministry Statement No. 1/22/560, July 6, 1957). The leaders of the national movement rushed to submit the case to the United Nations in October 1957,

but the French government refused to include the issue on the commission's agenda and considered it an internal affair, in addition to rejecting the Tunisian and Moroccan mediation, which affected the relationship between the two sides (Africa, 1957, p. 44). Sudan's activity and support for the Algerian cause within the United Nations has led to the tension of Sudanese-French relations and the latter's severing of its relations with the government of Ismail al-Azhari, on July 6, 1957, under the pretext of Sudan's support for the Algerian revolutionaries with weapons (Al-TaHER, 2013, pp. 90-92). Despite the French government's refusal to discuss the issue, Sudan expressed its position during the United Nations session on the twenty-sixth of November, and the Sudanese delegate to the United Nations gave a speech in which he expressed the rejection of the French brutal methods and the need to grant peoples the right to independence and liberation (Mohamed, 1958, p. 32). With the formation of the military government headed by Lieutenant-General Ibrahim Abboud, in 1958, Foreign Minister Ahmed Khairu affirmed during his attendance at the United Nations sessions the support of Algeria and all African and Arab countries that aspire to achieve independence and liberation from colonialism and respect for all international charters and UN resolutions issued by international consensus

(Statement of the Sudanese Council of Ministers, 1958). The Sudanese government continued its stances in support of Algeria and continued criticism and disapproval of France and its policy towards the Algerian people by deliberating the issue for the second time at the United Nations session, emphasizing the legitimate rights of the Algerian people, and calling on the Security Council and international organizations to support the Algerian people and stop France's transgressions (Sudanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1957). In this direction, Sudan played a pivotal role in the United Nations session held in 1960 by urging Ethiopia to support Algeria's position during the session regarding Algeria's demand for a popular referendum under the supervision of the United Nations for self-determination (Al-Sahafa, 2012). The internal political developments in Algeria led Sudan to submit, along with members of the Arab countries supporting Algeria, an international resolution calling on the two parties to the conflict to enter into negotiations for the purpose of holding a popular referendum for self-determination (Sudanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1962). The position of Sudan and the Arab countries in support of the Algerian cause was praised and thanked by the National Liberation Organization to everyone who showed support and support to Algeria, the government and the people

inside and outside the corridors of the United Nations, which, according to the statement's description, reflects the fragrant and originality of the Arab fabric (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Democratic Republic of Sudan, 1973, pg. 33). Indeed, during the closing session of the Security Council, the Sudanese Foreign Ministry continued the call to document France's crimes and support the Algerian people (Sudanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1957), when the Minister of Foreign Affairs took advantage of the situation by submitting a protest document to the Council criticizing the French policy and its colonial methods in the African continent, its violation of human rights and the persecution of the Algerian people (Mohamed, 1958). Sudanese Foreign Minister Mohamed Mahjoub and his accompanying delegation also met with leaders of the national movement, headed by Farhat Abbas, stressing the need to renounce division and differences and to present the goal of independence over others in order to get rid of French hegemony and invite the delegation to learn the Arabic language and spread it within France as their national identity (Ali, 1957, pp. 54-55).

b- Non-Aligned Organization.

Sudan has been active in all international forums and has made wide imprints in all international organizations, at the forefront of

which is the "Non-Aligned Organization", since its establishment to ensure that Sudan stays away from military alliances and support countries that aspire to independence and liberation from European powers (Al-Mujahid, 1958, pages 10-11). Sudan participated in the activities of the Bandung Conference held in 1955 through Ismail Al-Azhari heading a large delegation after receiving the telegram of invitation, which was considered the first conference in which Sudan participated as a state. And moving away from the policy of military alliances that exist between the major countries (Fatah Al-Rahman, 2011, pages 17-18). Sudan's position was not limited to the Bandung Conference, but also followed up on issues of liberation at the (Accra) Conference, which was organized by African countries. Fourth, that the time has come to get rid of the oppression of European colonialism (M. M., Africaniyat, 1968, pp. 50-52). Sudan's position and activity in international conferences left the admiration and praise of the Algerian delegation, which expressed its appreciation and gratitude to the Sudanese government and people, which stood by the liberation movement and the interim government in every forum and expressed its support for Algeria's struggle (M.M., Arab Popular Positions, 1955). At the same time, France persisted in violating the Algerian people through the use of its nuclear testing

grounds, the use of internationally prohibited weapons, and the experiment of detonating a nuclear bomb in Western Sahara, which was initiated by the military government of Ibrahim Abboud 1958-1964. He declared Sudan's solidarity with African countries and the right to self-determination, preventing the establishment and manufacture of atomic weapons and limiting Of which, which aroused the discontent and indignation of the French government (Republic of Sudan, 1963, pp. 277-279). Whatever the case, the efforts of Sudan and the rest of the Arab and African countries culminated in the approval of the French administration to enter into negotiations with the interim Algerian government, which resulted in the achievement of independence achieved in 1962 (Republic of Sudan, January 1968). Thus, it can be said that successive governments, whether the first democracy and the military, did not neglect the support of the Arab cause, the preservation of the ties of love and brotherhood, and the support of the Arab and African brothers alike to express the concept of Sudanese Arabism.

Fourth: The popular position on the Algerian issue.

The echo of the Algerian revolution reached the ears of the Sudanese people and the educated class, which did not hesitate to provoke the enthusiasm of the people in

support of the Arab environment by encouraging the Sudanese government to adopt and raise the issue within the corridors of international organizations, and the news of the French massacres and the execution of Algerian militants continued (General p., 1956). The Sudanese educated class accompanied the international publications of newspapers, magazines, and brochures that documented the ugliness of the French colonialism by playing its national role and preparing the minds of the Sudanese people and introducing them to the Algerian issue (Juppe, 2011, pages 98-100). The Sudanese popular position at home also stimulated the arrival of a delegation representing the Algerian National Front to Sudanese lands in order to explain the situation inside Algeria and the French methods of suppressing the revolution and asking for support and support for the Sudanese brothers in their revolution (Ayman, 2000, pages 152-155). The popular position culminated in widespread demonstrations, in which most of the Sudanese people participated in supporting the Algerian people and calling for an exceptional session inside the parliament to discuss the issue of the French aggression against the Algerian people in 1956 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Democratic Republic of Sudan, 1973, p. 50). The Sudanese government also intended not to send weapons to the Algerian revolutionaries by

sea, which exposed some of them to arrest by the French forces on the sixteenth of October 1956, and some of them were sentenced to ten years imprisonment (Bin Sultan, Ammar; et al., 2007, p. 159-160). The Sudanese press did not neglect the exercise of its cultural and national role in broadcasting bulletins and news that described torture and brutal French violations against the Algerian people and the injustice practiced by the occupier (in 1957). The Sudanese position culminated in the visit of an Algerian delegation to Sudan and met with Prime Minister Ibrahim Abboud, who delivered a speech in which he stressed, "Although we are financially poor, we do our duty beyond our capabilities," referring to Sudan's capabilities, and the Algerian delegation expressed its thanks to the Sudanese government and the masses who took to the streets to welcome them. And calling on the government to stand with it in its revolution (Mahjoub, 1973, p. 97). Following the visit, an office of the Algerian Liberation Front was opened in the capital, Khartoum, which resulted in holding seminars and explaining the Algerian case to the Sudanese intellectual class, which resulted in students and university professors leaving to express the support of the Algerian government and people in their struggle against the French occupier (Al-Shujairi, 2018, pages 85-87). Some traders and wealthy owners took the initiative to buy

weapons and transfer them along with their trade through Libya and Egypt to the Algerian revolutionaries in an attempt to express their national positions towards their Arab surroundings and their support for their revolutionary brothers (Bin Sultan, Ammar; et al., 2007, p. 158). The national leaders have exerted all their capabilities in support of the Algerian cause by donating sums of money within the framework of the Arab League initiative at the government level and at the personal level. Foreign Minister Mohamed Mahjoub donated five thousand pounds to the Algerian victims in an attempt to highlight Sudan's solidarity with all its material and moral capabilities to support the people The Algerian who was subjected to persecution and injustice and worked to draw the attention of international and Arab public opinion to the extent of the suffering experienced by this people (General p., 1956). Following Sudan's popular and political stance on the Algerian issue in being subjected to an economic blockade and boycott by European countries and the French government by banning the import of cotton and groundnuts, which in turn affected the Sudanese economy as a whole and paralyzed the nerve of Sudanese life (Abdul Karim, 1970, p. 478). Despite the scourge that befell Sudan, the Sudanese people did not stop celebrating the anniversary of the Algerian revolution in 1954 in order to

improve the morale of the revolutionaries and denounce the brutal French methods (Al-Shujairi, 2018, pp. 88-90)

CONCLUSION

The post-World War II phase was characterized by intellectual maturity, national activity, and the rising voices calling for independence and liberation from colonialism. The period from 1945-1962 was the last era of the French presence in Algeria, which culminated in independence. The defeat of France in World War II and the methods and laws applied by the French colonialists had a clear impact on the launch of the revolution, which suffered major setbacks as a result of internal divisions and the lack of coordination between national leaders. As a result, Sudan played its pivotal role in supporting the issues of the Arab and African region alike by declaring a foreign policy based on friendship and love with the African neighboring countries. The Sudanese Foreign Ministry made all possible endeavors in order to make the Algerian revolution a success and prove its presence in the Arab world. The efforts of the Sudanese Foreign Ministry to unify the national ranks and end the dispute between the national leaders have left to positive results, which culminated in the establishment of an interim government in exile, which gave hope to the Algerian people, who realized that military

action was the best way to the success of the revolution and liberation. The Arab people in Sudan did not neglect the support of the Algerian people in their plight, despite the political and economic conditions they went through with all the material and moral capabilities that helped them through donating arms and money. It is worth mentioning the reason for Sudan's national and popular position in its tense political and economic relationship with France, and the latter's boycott of the import of cotton and groundnuts, which affected the country's resources materially, although it did not deter it from its national positions towards the issues of the Arab nation. These efforts reaped their fruits in the end, and the Algerian people achieved the achieved independence and lifted the curtain on the dark era that had covered the rest of the country since 1830 with Arab efforts and sincere popular endeavors.

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