CHAPTER FOUR
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One of the key figures in the Algerian independence movement is Ahmed Ben Bella. He was born in Maghnia in the east of Moroccan border. He served in the French army during the Second World War as a master sergeant and was awarded the *Croix de Guerre* and the *Medaille Militaire*. However, when he returned to Algeria in 1945, Ben Bella heard of the uprising at Setif and the cruel French retaliations. He refused a commission in the French Army and joined the *Parti Populaire Algerien* (Algeria Popular Party), and in 1947, was elected a municipal councilor for Maghnia. In 1948, he was among the candidates put up for the Algerian Assembly by the *Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertes Democratique* (MTLD). A year later he led the party’s military wing, the Organization Secrete.

In 1950, following an attack on a post office near Ben Bella’s hometown, he was imprisoned in 1950, but two years later he managed to escape to live underground in North Africa and Europe. As an organizer of the *Comite Revolutionaire d’Unite et d’Action*, later the Front de Liberation National (FLN) in which Ben Bella was instrumental in the subsequent arm, revolted against French rule. He collected funds and materials for independent fighters in Algeria. However, in 1956, he was arrested by the French aboard a Moroccan airplane en route to Casablanca, and charged with procuring

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arms for the FLN. Ben Bella spent the next five years in the French jails. Following that, Ben Bella was appointed Prime Minister in 1962, and applied a Socialist agenda focusing on agricultural reform and education. A year later, he was elected president.

He allied Algeria with other Arab nations, and supported nationalist struggle all over the Third World. Ben Bella’s tendency to meddle in other government minister’s affairs alienated Boumedienne who deposed him, and placed him under house arrest for 15 years.

In 1980, Ben Bella lived in exile in Switzerland from where he continually attempted to instigate rebellion in Algeria. He founded the Mouvement pour la Democratie en Algerie to that end. He was finally able to return to Algeria and stood as a presidential candidate in 1990; however, most Algerians viewed him as a figure of the past and his political influence was limited.

4.1 Ahmed Ben Bella’s Foreign Policy

The revolution is realized through an international policy based on the principles of national independence and international cooperation as well as through the continuation of the anti-imperialist struggle and the granting of effective support to all movement fighting for the independence or the liberation of their countries.

The Algerian Constitution

Algeria was regarded by all African nations as one of the strategic nations because of the prestige it had won throughout the war for independence, and due to the role it promised to play under Ahmed Ben Bella. He actively propagated Algeria’s
socialism as a model for other countries to follow, and he was in the front line of the movement to form a front of African and Asian nations capable of standing up to the “imperialist” powers.

Ben Bella was following a line of action traced by the provisional government during the war, for instance, the commencement of “Bandung, FLN (National Liberation Front) representatives were present at every major gathering of African and Asian leaders in order to gain support for their cause”.

Algeria attended the constituent meeting of the Afro-Asian peoples’ solidarity organization (A.A.P.S.O) in Cairo in 1957, and the Belgrade Conference of Nonaligned Countries in 1961. It was also a founding member of the radical Casablanca group.

After independence, Algeria leaders, assumed that Algeria had to continue its policy of active involvement in Afro-Asian affairs, and Ben Bella expressed a point of view boosted by many Algerians when he declared before the United Nations General Assembly in 1962 that “the liquidation of colonialism in both its classic and disguised form will be the credo of our political and diplomatic line of action”.

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3. the Casablanca croup was founded at a meeting of five African chiefs of state held in Casablanca, Morocco, January 3-7 1961 to express support for Congolese prime minister Patrice Lumumba in his struggle with president Joseph Kasavubu. The member of the group were morocco, Egypt, Ghana, Gunia, Mali, and Algeria ( GPRA) Expect for Morocco, these were the most radical african governments at that time,
4. Ben Bella’s speech at the time of Algerian’s admission to the United Nations, October 9, 1962

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Ben Bella’s conception of Algeria’s role in the World was at once grandiose and simplistic. He stated that Algeria was a nonaligned country, but he gave a special moralistic meaning to the term “nonalignment”: we are not aligned with good and nonaligned with evil. He meant that Algeria was anti-western not because it was aligned with the communist bloc in the cold War, but because it was aligned with the countries of the third World in the struggle against “colonialism, neocolonialism, and imperialism.”

4.1.1 Ben Bella’s Foreign Policy in Africa

Among the states of Africa, Algeria strives as one of the most active actors in international politics. However, many politicians referring to the role that Algeria played in the post-independence, as Robert A. Mortimer argues, were “aware that many Third World states have not attributed the same importance to the international situation, Algerians have insisted that it is in the general interest of the Third World to its influence in World politics... Algeria has emphasized political consciousness as an instrument to defend the interest of the developing countries.”

Referring to Algeria’s involvement in regional politics, the author avers that; “Algeria’s involvement in Africa clarifies several significant aspect of contemporary

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5 Ottaway. David B., and Marina ottaway: Algeria, the Politics of Socialist revolution university of California press Berkley and Los Angles., p. 146
6 Ben Bella speech of April 15, 1965
inter-African politics. He illustrates general the nature of relation between moderate and radical Africa, and between Arab and black Africa.\textsuperscript{8}

On other hand, Ben Bella justified his involvement in the internal affairs of other African countries by expounding his own “domino theory”:

My dear brother, there is no isolated battle in Africa, and I would dare say there is no isolated battle in the World we know full well that if we do nothing, it well be Congo-Leopoldville that will fall [ to the imperialists] today Congo-Brazzaville tomorrow, Burundi the day after, then Tanzania, and Zambia, and why not Conakry, Bamako, and Cairo? And why not Algiers? We know it is the same struggle...

However, Ben Bella believed that the best way to overcome the interference of foreign power was unity of the Third World, and he underlined a principal goal of his foreign policy the development of closer cooperation in North Africa, the Arab World and Africa. Be Bella hoped to see African countries adopt a socialist system that would be the image of Algeria:

“with regards to our responsibility toward North Africa, Arab, and African unity, I must make it clear that Algeria does not envisage a political grouping similar to the fertile Crescent, but intends [to act] so that the same [socialist] experience that succeeded in our country succeeds in other countries. The independence of some countries that permit [trust] to take the place of the colonial power is no independence”\textsuperscript{9}

He also identified the interest areas of Algerian policy objectives both in the sub-region and domestically as follows:

1) To provide insights into the fate of pan-African as a political idea;

2) To give substance to ideological ties;

\textsuperscript{1}Ibid., p. 363-364
\textsuperscript{2}Ben Bella’s speech of November 1, 1

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3) To lead the postcolonial movement from economic and political exploitation, to economic sufficiency and political dignity. This sense of political missions had largely influenced former Algerian’s president Ahmed Ben Bella and the Houri Boumediene regime.

4) To identify and harness the Algerian special foreign policy in the Maghrib, the Arab World, and Africa.

These distinctive policy objectives, Robert A. Mortimer insisted “Algerian African policy particularly fruitful to our understanding not only of the inter-African sub-system but also of the potentialities and limitations of political ideology in influencing Africa’s place in the global international system.”

Ben Bella described Algeria as a country of multiple vocations that meant that Algeria had to play a role in North Africa, Africa and the Arab World. He believed that Algeria could and should back the other Africa states which were striving for their independence. However, he did not have the same ambition in Arab politics.

Ben Bella was more interested in establishing a place for Algeria in Africa’s politics. He was heightened in early 1963 by plans for the foundation of a pan-African organization; however by May 1963, a conference of African Chiefs states was to be held in Addis Ababa for this matter. Therefore, Ben Bella gave his whole support to the

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10 Ottaway. David B., and Marina ottaway: Algeria, the Politics of Socialist revolution university of California press Berkley and Los Angles., p. 162

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project and he was so convinced that the meeting would have good results that he deliberately provoked the collapse of the radical Casablanca group in order to eliminate one of the difficulties of African unity\textsuperscript{12}.

However, when he went to Addis Ababa, he gave an important speech in which he warned the twenty nine chiefs of state present in that summit that the first task of the organization of Africa Unity (O.A.U) was to aid the liberation movements since there could be no African unity until the whole continent was free: "we must all agree to die a little or even completely for the liberation of the people still under colonial domination, so that African unity will not been empty word." And when he returned to Algeria, he declared that: "The internal contradictions [of Africa], the consequence of a long colonial domination, were overcome at Addis Ababa. Henceforth, the evolution of Africa will be determined once again by an African dialectic, despite the differences of their political regimes, the independent Africa countries are facing the reality of their common problems"\textsuperscript{13}.

However, the creation of the African liberation committee\textsuperscript{14}, in which Ben Bella was very delighted of, and the function of which was to coordinate aid from the O.A.U members to the nationalist movements, and of which Algeria was one of the promoters of this committee, and most active members, immediately contributing $2000,000 to help

\textsuperscript{12} representatives of the Casablanca group were scheduled to meet in Marrakech, Morocco, on May 9, less than two weeks before the Addis Ababa meeting Ben Bella as the first to announce that he wouldn’t attend and forced the postponement sine die of the Marrakech conference, the Algerian were proud of having forced the dissolution of the group , considering it a proof of their attachment to African unity.
\textsuperscript{13} Ben Bella Speech on June 18, 1963
\textsuperscript{14} The African liberation committee, also known as the committee of Nine was based in Dar-Es-Salaam, Tanzania, and composed of represent sates from Algeria, the United Arab Republic, Guinea, Tanzania, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Congo-Leopoldville, Senegal, ad Uganda.
finance the committee activities\textsuperscript{15}. Furthermore, Algeria gave the support to many nationalist movements, for instance by September 1963, Algeria was training 1,000 guerrillas from Angola, Mozambique, and South Africa. Algeria also sustained many nationalist parties in Africa like the Angolan nationalist party, the \textit{Frente Nacional para Libertacao dan Angola} (F.N.L.A) led by Holden Roberto.

On the other hand, Algeria’s hospitality was extended to exiles and left-wing opposition groups from all over the world; “by the end of 1964, there were at least twenty-one such organizations represented in Algiers, many of them subsidized by the Algerian government Among those who received the most attention were the Vietcong, whose Algiers bureau was for a long time, the only bureau outside the Communist World.”\textsuperscript{16}

And among exiles who sought refuge in Algiers were opponents of Tunisia, President Habib Bourguiba and Moroccan King Hassan II, in which caused considerable tension between the two countries.

\textsuperscript{15} David B. Ottaway and Marina Ottaway: \textit{Algeria, the Politics of Socialist revolution}, P. 163
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., 165.
4.1.2 Ben Bella’s Foreign Policy in Maghrib

One of the major problems in Maghrib was the different political orientation of three Maghrib regimes. King Hassan II of Morocco was a conservative monarch, while Bourguiba president of Tunisia was a mildly socialist and benevolent dictator. However, “the cold attitude of the Ben Bella regime to Morocco and Tunisia is partly explicable by its anxiety to keep in With Nasser. Both from a political and an emotional point of view, it found it expedient to hail UAR as the savior of Algeria.\textsuperscript{17}

However, the major problem that emerged after Algeria’s independence was the Algerian borders; neither Morocco nor Tunisia was willing to accept that as established by the French. On the other hand, the king was trying to establish the situations between the two countries when he visited Algeria in 1963 to resolve the border issue. Instead relations between the three countries steadily deteriorated until war broke up in October 1963. In the same time, Algerian Kabyle rebellion had just broken out, and Ben Bella found it expedient to magnify the danger of a Moroccan invasion to distract public attention and rally support.

On the other hand, the king of Morocco was also under difficulty from the expansionist Istiqlal party and he hoped to gain from Ben Bella problems to profit concessions from Algeria.

\textsuperscript{17} Arslan Humbaraci, \textit{Algeria: A Revolution That Failed}, P. 133. published by Pall Mall Press LTD., 77-79 Charlotte Street, London WI., 1966
However, two days after the outbreak of the F.F.S (Socialist Front Force) rebellion, Ben Bella announced that Morocco troops were poised on the frontier, and accused the King of acting in connivance with the Kabyle dissidents.\textsuperscript{18}

The two governments held talk but without any results, and on October, the first battle of the War took place.\textsuperscript{19} The war lasted three weeks and with the mediation of President Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, arranged a cease-fire at a meeting in Bamako (Mali), which the Organization of African Unity subsequently tried to improve on. "While in Bamako, however, President Modibo Keita, whose sympathies were squarely on the side of revolutionary Algeria, made it plain to Ben Bella that did not welcome 'interference in the internal affairs of others'-the great fear of all newly independence black African countries."\textsuperscript{20}

Algeria-Tunisia relations was started with a clash "in December 1962, when a plot against Bourguiba's life was uncovered, and Tunisia cut off diplomatic relation with Algeria when the latter refused to surrender two of the accused plotters (Ghouchane and Tobal) who had sought haven with Ben Bella.\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{18} Ottaway. David B., and Marina ottaway: Algeria, the Politics of Socialist revolution, p. 166.
\textsuperscript{19} it has never been determined which side was responsible for the outbreak of the fighting, the Moroccans said that Algerian troops penetrated sixty miles in the Moroccan territory. On the morning of October 8, attacking the oasis of Hassi Beida and Killing ten. Moroccan auxiliary soldiers. The Algerian Claimed that Hassi Beida was an oasis in Algerian territory and that Moroccan troops had occupied it on September 26. After the local commander asked the Moroccans to evacuate the oasis in October 8 began to advance on A.N.P unit. According to the French news accounts, the Algerians attacked the Moroccans and took over Hassi Beida, but French refused to indicate whether they thought the oasis was in Algeria or Marocco.
\textsuperscript{20} Arslan Humbaraci, Algeria: A Revolution That Failed, P. 147
\textsuperscript{21} Gordon David C., The Passing of French Algeria, p. 120.London Oxford University Press. printed 1966 in Great Britain by Hazell Watson
On the other hand, the Algeria Tunisia frontier never came to a crisis, after a meeting between the two presidents. Tunisia’s president announced that: ‘the frontier question was a thing of the past and let it be known that the Algerian president had agreed to negotiate for the joint exploitation of any resources discovered in the contested area’\textsuperscript{22}. However, no talk was held after Ben Bella was overthrown.

In these tensions, the idea of a united Maghrib remained a political myth because of the difference of the ideology between these three states. However, during the conference of the Arab league and the O.A.U which was held in Cairo, Ben Bella, Hassan II, and Bourguiba did meet privately twice in that event, but nothing came of these meetings. The only concrete steps made toward Maghrib cooperation were the conclusion of a number of bilateral trade and technical agreement and the formation in November 1964 of a “permanent consultative committee” to which Libya adhered to.\textsuperscript{23} The reason of this Committee was to coordinate plans for industrial development of the four countries.

4.1.3 Ben Bella Foreign Policy in the Middle East

President Ahmed Ben Bella had only one close ally in the Arab World, Gamel Abdel Nasser of the United Arabs Republic (Egypt) because this friendship dated from the Algerian president’s long stay in Cairo at the beginning of the Algerian Revolution. The United Arab Republic (Egypt), “provided considerable help to Algerian nationalism

\footnote{Ottaway, David B., and Marina ottaway: Algeria, the Politics of Socialist revolution, p. 167}
\footnote{Ibid., 167}
during the war of independence. So it was entirely logical that Algeria and UAR should establish a close working entente 24 also Cairo was in fact, trying to penetrate into Africa under the cover of association with Algeria 25

Nasser and Ben Bella as Socialist leaders among predominating conservative Arab and African chiefs of state, each found in the other a natural ally; “however, the both aspired to leadership in the Afro-Asian community, but they did not become rivals because Ben Bella was primarily interested in Africa and Nasser in the Arab World.” 26

This close ties between Nasser and Ben Bella brought about wild rumors about an axis that aimed to dominate all of North Africa, for instance it was said “that Ben Bella was considering making Algeria a part of the United Arab Republic (Egypt) on that he and Nasser had secret plans to conquer and divide between them Tunisia and Libya”, but in reality, the alliance between the two states was much more limited in scope. They coordinated their policies towards the African liberation movement, and collaborated in the Afro-Asian peoples’ solidarity organization. An instance of cooperation between the two leaders was their joint forces against Congolese premier Moïse Tshombe. They excluded themselves from the second meeting of O.A.U chief of State and from the second conference of nonaligned countries, both held in Cairo in the summer of 1964. They supported the Congolese rebels by arms to overthrow him.

24 Arslan Humbaraci, Algeria: A Revolution That Failed, P. 153
25 Ibid., p.p. 154-155
26 Ibid., P. 168
Ben Bella was very much independent of Nasser. This independence and detachment made it possible for him to play a grand role of mediation in some Cases:

a) At the first conference of Arab chiefs of state, Ben Bella was able to reconcile with Syria which was pressing for immediate armed intervention in Israel.

b) His proposal that the Arab states helped the Palestinian refuges organize their own national liberation army to wage guerilla warfare against Israel was accepted by all parties and was adopted by the conference.

c) However, Ben Bella was unsuccessful in the mediation between Saudi Arabia and Egypt in the Yemeni war.

However, these friendships between the two leaders helped to emerge a temporary rapprochement between the East and the West of the Arab World, and to make possible the first meeting of all Arab chiefs of state. Indeed the first Arab Summit conference in January 1964 was an unprecedented success in Arab World politics. In that conference, all chiefs of states participated putting away their quarrels and differences and the three North African Leaders held their first private meeting on the site of the conference. Morocco established diplomatic relation with Egypt (U.A.R) that it had cut off during the Algerian-Morocco war. The final communiqué of the Conference announced that the Arab leader had agreed: “to put an end to their quarrels, to clear the atmosphere in the
Arab World by stopping attack [on each other] in the press and to strengthen ties among the entire sister Arab countries."

However, the spirit of the Cairo conference was short-lived like that of Addis Ababa. The only solidarity development in Africa and the Arab World in the early 1960s was that relating regimes with similar ideological orientations. For instance, the controversial issues debated at conferences of the Arab league and of the O.A.U whether to serve diplomatic relations with west Germany over its recognition of Israel, or whether to recognize Tshombe as the legitimate prime minister of the Congo helped to bring into the open the differences between moderate and radical government, and thus contributed to the formation of the bloc.

4.1.4. Ben Bella’s Foreign Policy with the Major Power

4.1.4.1 The West Bloc

Early Algerian foreign policy caused direct conflict with the Western powers as it struggled against colonialism. Since the late 1970s, however, Algeria has determinedly pursued a policy of nonalignment that has facilitated relations with the West. As part of his officially neutralist and no engaged position, he sought friendship with the Soviet Union, communist China, and Castro’s Cuba. His relation with France under president De Gaulle, while often strained, were on the whole good.

27 David B. Ottaway and Marina Ottaway: Algeria, the Politics of Socialist revolution, P169
28 Ibid., P.P. 169-170
4.1.4.2 France

Algerian foreign policy with France as a Western colonial country determined to keep an important attachment with liberal colonies, which was never assaulted by Ben Bella as an imperialist and new-colonialist power. For instance, Ben Bella denounced United States bases in Cuba and Viet-name, but he rarely mentioned French bases in Algeria. He also kept quiet when France sent paratroops to Gabon

Ben Bella was very realistic because he knew that Algeria depended almost entirely on the French Central Bank in order to maintain its financial stability and thousands of French teachers and technicians to keep its schools and administration operating.

On the other hand, the Evian agreements had guaranteed France a privileged position in independent Algeria in return for a great amount of aid. Furthermore, the Algerian leaders had been obliged to guarantee respect of French interest in the Sahara oil fields and protection of all other French properties in the country. They had also been forced to accept the presence of French bases, in one case, for as long as fifteen years after independence

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30 in February 1964 de Gaulle sent paratroops to Gabon to reinstate Leonmba, who had been ousted in a military coup in November 1964
31 the French aid program in Algeria during the last year before independence amounted to about one billion Franc ( $ 200 million) in technical and financial assistance Algeria was the principal recipient of French, technical assistance for years after its independence, for example, in 1964. out of the 46,121 " technical assistants France sent abroad, 19,555 were working in Algeria of those, almost 15,000 were teachers
4.1.4.3 United States

The United States for Ben Bella was the symbol of imperialist; however, one of the first foreign policy decisions Ben Bella had made concerned Algeria’s relations with the United States and Cuba. One of the two countries had invited him to make a state visit after his appearance in the United States in early October. It was evident that Washington, which planed to give considerable aid to Algeria would be annoyed if Ben Bella visited Cuba; however, Ben Bella feared that only to visit Washington would be interpreted as a symptom that Algeria had chosen a pro-Western line in its foreign policy.

Ben Bella and the majority of his cabinet decided that the trip to the United Nations should be followed to the White House and Cuba. Ben Bella described his meeting with John Fitzgerald Kennedy as follows:

“I was invited to the White House on the morning of October 15, 1962, and had a frank and heated discussion about Cuba with the president, John Fitzgerald Kennedy. I asked him point blank: Are you heading towards a confrontation with Cuba? His reply left no doubt about his real intentions. “No”, he said, “If there are no Soviet missiles. Yes, if there are. “Kennedy tried hard to dissuade me from flying to Cuba direct from New York. He even suggested that the Cuban military aircraft that was to fly me to Havana might be attacked by Cuban opposition forces based in Miami. To these thinly veiled threats I retorted that I was a fellah who could not be intimidated by harkis, whether Algerian or Cuban.”

However, after being warmly received by President John F, Kennedy in Washington, he flew to Havana on October 16 for a thirty six-hour visit. The

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32 http://www.hartford-hwp.com

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consequences of this visit to United States changed his approach toward Algeria. Thereafter, plans for a substantial aid program were dropped. Ben Bella in his speech of April 14, 1963 declared: "we will never accept a piece of bread in exchange for the freedom of others, and above all for that of Cuba".

A few days later, after President Kennedy’s vigorous measures to halt the Soviet military buildup in Cuba, the Algerian Political Bureau made public a declaration assuring the "Valiant Cuban People of its fullest sympathy and solidarity. In this document the United States Blockade of Cuba was labeled as aggression and as a violation of international law".

All these incidents placed a heavy strain on relations between Algeria and America. On November 26 1962, Foreign Minster of Algeria Khemisti told the Algerian National Assembly that: "I ought to mention that I received Mr. Porter [William J. Porter, then United States Charge D’Affairs in Algiers] recently and we agreed that discussion ought to open very shortly, which will facilitate United States aid to Algeria." However in the Following days the relations between Algeria and United States became to reconver

34 Ibid., p. 171

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4.1.4.4 The East Bloc

The extensive and well-publicized overtures that Ben Bella and the Communist countries made to each other had deflected "the attention of many foreign observers from the true relationship between Algeria and, on the one hand, Moscow and its associates, and, on the other, Peking."\(^{35}\)

The two leaders of the communist block, the Soviet Union and China, had initially taken different stands towards Algeria’s post-independence. The Soviet Union was uncertain about the political orientation of Ben Bella’s regime. However, China on the opposition, never showed any reservations and hailed Algeria as a "beacon Country" whose victory over the French had been "an enormous" contribution to the struggle of the Chinese people against imperialism\(^{36}\)

On the other hand, China was the first Communist Country to recognize the G.P. R.A (the provisional wartime government of the Algerian nationalists). Meanwhile, Soviet Union had waited to recognize Algeria until after the conclusions of Evian peace agreement, because the Soviet Union had good relations with the France.

However, the rivalry between China and Soviet Union at that time began to pay better attention to Algeria in the fall of 1963. Thus Ben Bella remained neutral in

\(^{35}\) Arslan Humbaraci, *Algeria: A Revolution That Failed*, P.179

\(^{36}\) Ottaway, David B., and Marina ottaway; *Algeria, the Politics of a Socialist Revolution*, p. 157

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their dispute. In September, the relation between Algeria and the Soviet Union was enhanced when Algeria obtained 90 million Ruble ($100 million) loan in purchasing credit; and the Algerian government had a desire to buy arms from the National People Army (A.N.P) and also from the Soviet Union, especially when western countries like France and United States refused Algeria’s request for getting arms from them. Thus, Algeria turned to the Soviet Unions.  

On the other hand, Ben Bella’s Algeria became the second largest recipient in Africa of Soviet aid (after Egypt). In December 1962, “Moscow granted a first loan of 500 million French franc, and signed an agreement to enter into Commercial exchanges during 1964. a varied sequence of agreement followed in 1964, of which the most important was the granting of a second loan of 625 million Algerian Dinars to allowed the completion of the Annaba (Formerly Bone) steel work, which to have an annual Capacity of 380,000 tons of steel”. However, during Ben Bella’s visit to Soviet Union, in May 1964 who was given the red carpet treatment by the Soviet, the relations between the two states was boosted more by signing other agreements, and the days followed, he was awarded the Lenin Prize as an “ardent champion of peaceful coexistence.” Decorated with the gold medal of a hero of the Soviet Union, he was invited to review the May day parade alongside Premier Khrushchev.

37 The French government refused to provide Algeria with heavy arms because of its fears of an adverse public reaction in France following a long war with the Algerian nationalist. However it did agree to train the gendarmerie, an internal security force under the army’s command, setting up a school at Sidi -Bel-Abes, the old headquarters of the French foreign legion, for this purpose, the French army also left behind some equipment, notably trucks and a few AMX light tanks, as it withdrew from the country.
38 Arslan Humbaraci, Algeria: A Revolution That Failed, P. 183
39 Ibid., p. 180
40 David B. Ottaway and Marina ottaway; Algeria, the Politics of a Socialist Revolution, p.159
At the end of the visit which lasted twelve days, the Soviet Union announced that it was extending Algeria an additional 115 Ruble (127,6 million) loan. Thereafter, Ben Bella went closer to Moscow than to Peking because the Algerian government saw China offering little in return for the support they unrelentingly demanded. However, Ben Bella’s attitude vis-à-vis Chinese became noticeably more reserved in the early 1964, especially when the Chinese delegation nearly broke up the March 22-26 meeting of the Afro-Asian Peoples’ solidarity by using it as a platform for propaganda.

Thus, Ben Bella was concerned for both countries and wanted to maintain good relations with both, but he pulled to the Soviet Union after the support that he got from the Soviet Union, and he also had great admiration for the success of the Chinese party in mobilizing people in the development of their country.

However, in the end, Ben Bella turned against the Chinese “because he realized that they were willing to shatter the Afro-Asian Peoples’ Solidarity Organization and doom the second Afro-Asian Conference simply in order to win their personal battle against the Soviet.”41

On the whole, however it was believed that president Ben Bella, since his onset to power, had shown a greater moderation in foreign as well in domestic affairs than had generally been expected of him42

41 Ibid., p. 162