



# ALGERIA

---

## THE MAKING OF THE MODERN WORLD

---

This group of narrative histories focuses on key moments and events in the twentieth century to explore their wider significance for the development of the modern world.

### PUBLISHED

*The Fall of France: The Nazi Invasion of 1940*, Julian Jackson

*A Bitter Revolution: China's Struggle with the Modern World*, Rana Mitter

*Dynamic of Destruction: Culture and Mass Killing in the First World War*, Alan Kramer

*Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and its Consequences*, Tom Lodge

*Algeria: France's Undeclared War*, Martin Evans

### SERIES ADVISERS

PROFESSOR CHRIS BAYLY, University of Cambridge

PROFESSOR RICHARD J. EVANS, University of Cambridge

PROFESSOR DAVID REYNOLDS, University of Cambridge

# **ALGERIA: FRANCE'S UNDECLARED WAR**

---

**MARTIN EVANS**

**OXFORD**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.  
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship, and education by  
publishing worldwide in

Oxford New York

Auckland Cape Town Dar es Salaam Hong Kong Karachi

Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Nairobi

New Delhi Shanghai Taipei Toronto

With offices in

Argentina Austria Brazil Chile Czech Republic France Greece

Guatemala Hungary Italy Japan Poland Portugal Singapore

South Korea Switzerland Thailand Turkey Ukraine Vietnam

Oxford is a registered trade mark of Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries

Published in the United States

by Oxford University Press Inc., New York

© Martin Evans 2012

The moral rights of the author have been asserted

Database right Oxford University Press (maker)

First published 2012

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted by law, or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the address above

You must not circulate this book in any other binding or cover and you must impose the same condition on any acquirer

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Data available

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Data available

Typeset by SPI Publisher Services, Pondicherry, India

Printed in Great Britain

on acid-free paper by

Clays Ltd, St Ives Plc

ISBN 978-0-19-280350-4

1 3 5 7 9 10 8 6 4 2

*To Abdul with love*

---



Contemporary Algeria and France

# Acknowledgements

---

Bordj Bou Arreridj is a small city of 169,009 inhabitants in eastern Algeria. Well known for its food and hospitality, Bordj is situated in the midst of a countryside that produces the bulk of the country's wheat and barley: hence the area's nickname as Algeria's bread basket. To walk down the streets of Bordj Bou Arreridj, as I did in April 2010, is to feel the hand of history. There is a museum dedicated to the veterans who fought against the French between 1954 and 1962; a cemetery for the fallen martyrs; a monument to the national liberation struggle; a statute commemorating Mohammed El-Mokrani who led a huge revolt in the region against the French in 1871. In this manner Bordj Bou Arreridj is typical. Every village, town, and city in Algeria has the same type of monuments: an ever-present public memory that is encapsulated in the massive memorial—the 97-metre-high Riad-El-Feth—that dominates the Algiers skyline. Inaugurated on 5 July 1982, exactly twenty years after independence from the French, at the base of the abstract monument are three huge male bronze figures, proud and defiant, which represent 'popular resistance to the French occupation'; the 'National Liberation Army'; and the present 'Popular National Army'. Underneath the monument, the Museum to the National Liberation Struggle climaxes with a domed room, decorated in gilded verses from the Qu'ran, that contains a single illuminated stone: the symbol of the 'unity of the Algerian people and its heroic resistance'.

In contrast, across the Mediterranean in France, there is no equivalent public memory. Unlike World War One, or the World War Two Resistance, public monuments have been local, piecemeal affairs. Those that exist are the result of pressure from below by specific communities who want recognition of how they suffered during the Algerian War. Significantly, too, the diversity of these monuments is testament to the ongoing memory war over Algeria within contemporary France. Thus in Paris we can find a Place Maurice Audin dedicated to the memory of an Algerian Communist Party member who disappeared at the hands of French paratroopers in Algiers in 1957 and a plaque on the Pont Saint Michel bridge to Algerians who were murdered by French police there on 17 October 1962. While in Aix-en-Provence there is Place Bachaga Boualam, marking the life of the most prominent pro-French Algerian from the late 1950s, and in Nice a memorial to the French settlers which also includes a plaque to fallen members of the extremist pro-French Algeria organization the Organisation Armée Secrète (OAS) who are called 'the martyrs of French Algeria'.

Two different patterns of remembering; measures of the enduring significance of the subject of the book, namely the origins, experience and legacy of the Algerian War of Independence 1954 to 1962—a seminal event in twentieth-century world history. As such the book will be dealing with broad issues—colonialism, nationalism, war, the impact of transnational ideals—but it will also be attuned to the particularities of Algerian history: a combination of the generic and specific that is absolutely vital in understanding the Arab world as this region experiences the tumultuous events of the 'Arab Spring'.

In completing this book I must first thank the British Academy which awarded me a Leverhulme Senior Fellowship in 2007–8. In addition the British Academy also financed fieldwork in France, participation in the Rudé Seminar on French History in Adelaide in 2006, and a three-year project on an oral history of Algerian and Senegalese veterans from the Algerian War of Independence (Oral history across generations: a research programme with the universities of Dakar and Algiers, <<http://www.port.ac.uk/research/africanoralhistory>>). In the last case this facilitated workshops at the Universities of Algiers and Dakar in 2010 and 2011 that produced fascinating insights into the



complexities of memory and history in contemporary Africa. Equally I must thank the Arts and Humanities Research Council which financed the research leave that allowed me to write up the bulk of this book. And finally I must thank the Centre for European and International Studies Research at the University of Portsmouth which generously financed research trips to Algeria, Belgium and France.

In terms of colleagues I must thank Megan Vaughn who first approached me with the idea for this book on the advice of Mark Mazower. Thereafter I could not have begun to trace the long and complex history of Algeria without the ideas of stimulating colleagues at the University of Portsmouth, above all Walid Benkhaled, Tony Chafer, Emmanuel Godin, and Natalya Vince, each of whom commented on the manuscript. Equally, writing this book gives me a chance to thank a generation of graduate students at Portsmouth—Enrico Cernigoi, Marianne Durrand, Fiona Haig, Manus McGrogan, Tobias Reckling, Monica Riera, and Jo Warson—each of whom has brought new understandings to the vital realism of contemporary history, as well as those final-year students in the School of Languages and Areas Studies who took my final-year option in Algerian history and participated in the annual Algerian workshops. Again this teaching experience has done so much to deepen my knowledge and understanding of the subject.

Beyond Portsmouth, in the rest of the UK, Algeria, Australia, Canada, Senegal, and the USA, I must also thank Richard Evans, Alistair Horne, Jim House, Roderick Kedward, Sylvie Thénault, Martin Thomas, and Ryme Seferdjeli who read the manuscript. For their insights and suggestions I am sincerely grateful. A special mention must also be made of those who were so helpful at the Socialist Party Archive in Paris—Frédéric Cépède, Denis Lefebvre, and Gilles Morin. Thanks also to Naomi Graham, who so kindly gave me much of her late husband's (Bruce Graham) personal archive on the French Socialist Party, which proved invaluable. Importantly, too, I have benefited from conversations with Attika-Yasmine Abbes-Kara, Robert Aldrich, Martin Alexander, Robert Baldock, Catherine Barry, Christopher Bayly, Badia Benbelkacem, Raphaëlle Branche, Michael Brett, Phoebe Clapham, Claire Eldridge, Mohammed Harbi, Julian Jackson, Malika Kebbas, Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba Khoulé, John King, Zineb Lalaouine, James McDougall, Margaret Majumdar, Clare Marynower, Cheikh Anta Mbaye, Gilbert Meynier, Samia Mitchell, Clive Myrie, Sabrea Oughton, Malika Rahal, Eugene Rogan, Lydia Aït Saadi, Cherif Khaled Sabeur, Méziane Saïdi, Sokhna Sané, Gavin Schaffer, Ibrahima Seck, Martin Shipway, Daniel Stone, Ibrahima Thioub, Stephen Tyre, and Michael Willis. Significantly, too, I would like to thank the team at the magazine of *History Today*—Sheila Corr, Charlotte Crow, Peter Furtado, Kathryn Hadley, and Paul Lay—who in bringing informed, well-researched history to a wide audience have always been open to all things Algerian. Then at Oxford University Press Matthew Cotton has been a superb editor throughout, incredibly patient and always encouraging, while Jeremy Langworthy did a fine job of copy-editing, and Emma Barber and Clifford Willis played a crucial role during the final production process. Emmanuelle Péri succeeded admirably in tracking down the illustrations. Finally, as regards, my family—Lucy, Hannah, Calum and Skye—I cannot begin to thank them enough for their love, patience, and support.

Martin Evans

Algiers  
April 2011

# Preface

---

The end of empires is a defining feature of twentieth-century history. From the Austro-Hungarian, German, Ottoman, and Russian in World War One, through to the Japanese, Fascist, and Nazi in World War Two, the Europeans in the post-1945 period and the Soviet in 1989–91: the collapse of these different empires has shaped the modern world in a profound manner. In this complex and diverse process, the demise of the French Empire—the world's second largest in 1920—occupies centre stage, and within this particular history the Algerian War of 1954 to 1962 is *the* key event. This was one of the longest and bloodiest wars of decolonization, partly because Algeria was considered to be an integral part of France, but also because of the heavy settler presence (by the mid-1950s 1 million settlers coexisted with 9 million Algerians). These factors explain why Algeria became such a major international crisis: an event that led to the fall of four French governments and the collapse of the Fourth Republic in 1958, and produced huge tensions, both amongst the Western powers, and between the West and the Muslim World.

This book is a chronological narrative of the Algerian War's origins, intensification, and consequences. It is structured around three analytical threads, the first of which is *the long hatreds* produced by the original French invasion in 1830. Defeat, when added to the subsequent material and cultural dispossession of land, produced a bedrock of Muslim anger which never went away. Large numbers felt that their land and their religion, Islam, had been defiled and they were never reconciled to French rule under any circumstances. Although in the intervening century and a quarter a complex world of contact and interaction did emerge between France and the indigenous population, one that cannot be reduced to two undifferentiated blocks of colonizer and colonized, in the eastern part of the country and the mountainous interior this relationship was no more than superficial. Two societies existed uneasily in conditions of mistrust, segregation, and mutual incomprehension; a divide that was exacerbated by a further fundamental factor: the demographic time bomb which meant that, by 1954, the Muslim population outnumbered the Europeans by 9 million to 1 million. The result was a society at breaking point which, in denying Muslims an economic and political space in French Algeria, slid into an undeclared conflict in the decade after the end of World War Two.

The second analytical thread is the emergence of *modern Algerian nationalism* from the 1920s onwards. Algerian nationalism was made of four strands: assimilationists, a religious clerical movement, communists, and radical nationalists, each of which looked beyond Algeria for inspiration. The supporters of assimilation drew upon French republican models and language to condemn the inequalities of French Algeria. Religious clerics looked towards the ideas of a pan-Muslim renaissance emanating from the Middle East. Communists invoked the example of the 1917 Russian Revolution. Radical nationalists were inspired by a mixture of ideas derived from the French Communist Party as well as the ideology of pan-Arab nationalism. Significantly, these movements fed into, and fed off, a much broader current in Algerian society which witnessed a flowering of sporting and cultural groups and associations throughout the 1920s and 1930s: the assertion of a separate identity which was a reaction against the 1930 centenary celebrations of French Algeria. Algerian nationalism, therefore, did not begin with the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) insurrection in November 1954. It was a pluralistic movement whose development is vital to understand the emergence and shape of the FLN. Because of this the relationship between Algerian nationalism and the French left during the years 1918 and 1954 was a crucial determining factor for the subsequent eight-year conflict. The failure of the Popular Front in 1936 and the early Fourth Republic in 1947 to

engage with Algerian demands produced a further layer of anger and disappointments that made the relationship of Algerian nationalism with the French Socialist Party (French Section of the Workers' International—Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière—SFIO) into a major source of conflict. This legacy shaped the FLN's political culture, ensuring that it instinctively opposed any proposal of reform or free elections. Instead, the armed struggle was sacrosanct right up until independence in 1962.

This brings us on to the third analytical thread: *third-way reformism*. French rule in Algeria was never a continuous block. For its first seventy years, it went through three different phases, commencing with army rule between 1830 and 1870, followed by a limited integration into the Third Republic's structures, and then financial autonomy for a settler-dominated Algerian Assembly in 1900. Nor was French rule in French Algeria ideologically unified. Ideas of the inherent inequality of races coexisted with others based upon paternalist notions of the protection of the indigenous people. Within this unfolding argument over how to rule in Algeria, one crucial stage was the emergence of a third-way reformist perspective inside the Radical and Socialist Parties in the years immediately after World War One. This perspective was embodied above all by Maurice Viollette, the left-wing Radical Party politician, who, as Governor-General in Algeria from May 1925 to November 1927, sought to chart a third way between hard-line settlers, opposed to any reform, and a nascent nationalist movement which he saw as communist controlled. In rejecting these extremes, Viollette wished to assimilate a Muslim elite as equal citizens, who would form the basis of a more equal and, therefore, more durable French Algeria. These ideas were also reflected in the arguments of fellow Radical Party members, notably Albert Sarraut, Governor-General in Indochina between 1912 and 1919, and Albert Bayet, historian and human rights activist. Bayet, speaking with Viollette in May 1931 at Vichy in a conference on 'Colonization and the Rights of Man' organized by the League of the Rights of Man, was unequivocal:

Colonization is legitimate when the people who colonise bring with them a treasure of ideas and feelings which will enrich other peoples; from that moment colonization is not a right, it is a duty ... It seems to me that modern France, daughter of the Renaissance, inheritor of the seventeenth century and the Revolution, represents in the world a valuable ideal which can and must be spread across the universe.<sup>1</sup>

Clear in its belief in French sovereignty and the 'civilizing mission', as well as its opposition to nationalism and communism, much of the third-way reformist tradition was imprecise. Beyond the grand rhetoric, it was unclear how big ideas such as the values of the French Revolution, 'humanism' and the promotion of women's rights would translate into practical policy. Yet, vague as they were, these ideas framed the failed Popular Front reforms in Algeria in 1936 initiated by Viollette himself. They were fundamental to the Fourth Republic in its transformation of the French Empire into the associative French Union (proclaimed in the 1946 Constitution as a new entity based on equality of rights and obligations without distinction of race or religion), and in the new political structures introduced to Algeria in 1947.

These ideas, it will be argued, reached their apogee with the left-of-centre Republican Front government which emerged from the 2 January 1956 elections. Under the leadership of the Socialist Party Prime Minister Guy Mollet, this was the point when the contours of third-way reformism took on their clearest shape. Imprecision gave way to clarity as Guy Mollet's government combined repression and reform into a single policy designed to defeat the FLN and win the 'hearts and minds' of the Algerian majority.

This policy was encapsulated in the Special Powers Act, voted through by the French National Assembly on 12 March 1956 by an overwhelming majority, 455 votes against 76. Through it, the deputies (including the communists) gave the Republican Front government virtual *carte blanche* to

stop the terrorist violence which had spread across Algeria since 1 November 1954. As article five of the special powers explicitly stated, the government now had the legal right to take any measure deemed necessary for the 're-establishment of order'.<sup>2</sup> Side by side with repression, the first four articles of the special powers promised far-reaching reforms that would ensure Muslim advancement through equal political rights and greater economic prosperity. These included the creation of a special fund to expand the number of small Muslim farm owners and train them in modern agricultural techniques, more access to posts in the civil service, and an industrialization programme designed specifically to create jobs in the Muslim community.<sup>3</sup> This made the special powers into a double-edged sword. The intention was to defeat the insurrection and anti-Muslim racism at the same time. The Republican Front government wanted to create a 'Franco-Muslim community' that rejected the extremism of 'Arab nationalism' on the one hand, and the most reactionary settlers on the other. It was defending a third-way perspective which did not see itself as colonial.

The special-powers vote was backed by the call-up of 70,000 additional reservists which further underlined the wider geo-strategic significance of the Republican Front's policy. For the Mollet government, Algeria was to be the key to France's standing as a world power. Victory would secure the newly discovered oil resources in the Sahara. It would allow France to fashion a Franco-African Union, stretching from Paris to Brazzaville in the Congo, that could confront the challenges of the cold war, Western European integration, and rival Anglo-Saxon imperialisms. Moreover, by bringing about harmony between the 1 million Europeans and 9 million Algerians, this solution aimed to maintain France's moral standing across the globe. By following a three-point agenda that would begin with a cease-fire, proceed to elections, and then end in negotiations, such a policy, Mollet emphasized, was one of peace not war:

The reservists must know ... that they are not going to Algeria to prosecute a war, but to carry out a work of peace. Few men would be needed to do the work of destruction. Many are necessary to restore peace. If we were looking for war, the power of modern arms is such that small numbers of troops, using all of the means at their disposal, could quickly achieve a bloody and destructive military victory. That France does not want and will never want. On the contrary, to guarantee security everywhere, to affirm our presence and our strength in order to use it as little as possible, numerous troops are indispensable ... I solemnly affirm that at no point will we impose on the Algerian people a solution by force.<sup>4</sup>

These events of spring 1956 are at the centre of this history of France's war in Algeria between 1954 and 1962. This was the moment when the conflict really took hold on both sides of the Mediterranean. By means of these emergency measures the Republican Front government hoped to bring about a rapid resolution, but in reality they dramatically deepened the war. By giving the army a free hand, the special powers intensified the hatred of the Algerian population because, in their search for FLN militants, French soldiers subjected the population to large-scale arrests, internment, and combing operations. This produced a dramatic response from the FLN. In military terms, the FLN sought to match French actions with a mass mobilization of its own, urging students and young men to take to the maquis. Politically the FLN renewed its drive to predominate, either through argument or violence, over all other rival organizations and to become the sole voice of Algerian nationalism.

The Republican Front government lasted until May 1957, making it the longest-serving administration of the Fourth Republic. During these sixteen months in power the Republican Front embodied the clash between third-way reformism and the FLN. This clash was the *casus belli* behind the Republican Front's decision to ally itself with Britain and Israel and attack Egypt in November 1956, whose leader, General Gamal Abd Nasser, was seen to be the hidden hand behind the FLN. It was also at the heart of the 'Battle of Algiers' in 1957, when the Tenth Paratrooper Division ruthlessly dismantled the local FLN networks operating out of the tiny trap-like streets of the Casbah, using methods of torture that included 'the bathtub' (repeatedly plunging a prisoner's head into water soiled

with urine), ‘electricity’ (electric shocks to feet, ears, and genitals), ‘the bottle’ (forcing a prisoner to sit on a bottle while soldiers pushed down on their shoulders), and ‘the rope’ (suspending a prisoner with a slipknot above the jaws).<sup>5</sup>

In recovering the absolute centrality of 1956, this book peels back the layers of a fast-evolving epoch. It does not see the period from January 1956 as the beginning of the death throes of the Fourth Republic. It does not fastforward to de Gaulle’s return to power in May–June 1958 as the decisive event in the eight-year conflict. During 1956, 1957, and early 1958 the Fourth Republic bubbled with projects about Algeria. Algeria was seen to be France’s future: the lynchpin of a geo-strategic strategy which would uphold France’s role as a global actor.

These three analytical threads running through the narrative explain the political context for the Algerian War. They situate the ideas which justified the violence on all sides. However, they go beyond the notion of Algerians and French as two indiscriminate entities. On the Algerian side, they show how the conflict drew in a myriad of actors whose motivations ranged from pro-French sentiments through to communism, liberalism, and nationalism. On the French side, they differentiate between the settlers, conscripts, professional soldiers, as well as socialists, Gaullists, and anti-colonialists. No less importantly, these analytical threads go beyond a narrow Franco-Algerian perspective. The Algerian War was a pivotal episode in the break-up of empires, and to be fully understood it needs to be clearly placed within this international framework. Algerian politics was profoundly altered by the impact of wider transnational ideologies such as pan-Arabism, pan-Islamism, communism, and Third World non-alignment. At the same time, French policies in Algeria were shaped by events within other parts of the French Union: the threat of fascism and communism, the cold war; the drive for Western European unity in the 1950s; and rivalry with Britain and the USA.

Lastly, a note on terminology. In this book I have studiously avoided anachronism. So, during the first two chapters looking at the period up to 1918, I refrain from the term ‘Algerian’ to describe the indigenous population, preferring ‘Muslim’, because this was how they would have understood themselves. Notions of popular Algerian nationalism did not emerge until the 1920s: a modern concept which it would be wrong to confer on an earlier generation. Equally, to describe the settlers I use the term ‘settler’ or ‘European’, carefully avoiding *pied-noir*, a phrase of uncertain origin which did not emerge until the 1950s and only became dominant when they ‘returned’ to France in 1962.

# Contents

---

*List of Illustrations*  
*List of Maps and Table*  
*List of Abbreviations*  
*Some Key Characters*  
*Chronology*

## **I. ORIGINS 1830–1945**

1. Invasion
2. The Long Hatreds
3. The Making of Algerian Nationalism

## **II. UNDECLARED WAR 1945–59**

4. Sliding into War
5. ‘Algeria is France’
6. Guy Mollet’s War
7. The ‘Battle of Algiers’ and its Aftermath
8. Complex Violence

## **III. DÉNOUEMENT 1959–62**

9. Endgame
10. Bloody Conclusion
11. Independence

Postscript

*Glossary*

*Endnotes*

*Select Bibliography*

*Index*

# *List of Illustrations*

---

- 1.1 Abd el-Kader, lithograph by Auguste Bry. © Private collection/The Bridgeman Art Library.
- 2.1 *Cagayous*: these novels celebrated the specificity of the European settlers as Algerians. © Centre de Documentation Historique sur l'Algérie, Aix-en-Provence.
- 2.2 French Algeria: settlers in front of a post office with the tricolore, Alma, near Algiers, 1910. © Roger Viollet/Topfoto.
- 2.3 A group of Muslim musicians begging in Bougie, 1915. © Roger Viollet/Topfoto.
- 3.1 Poster celebrating one hundred years of French Algeria. © Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris/Archives Charmet/The Bridgeman Art Library.
- 3.2 Sheikh Abd al-Hamid Ben Badis, leader of the Association of the Algerian Ulema. © Roger Viollet/Topfoto.
- 3a–b Front and back cover of a song booklet, banned by the French in 1937, by Bachtarzi Mahieddin © Archives nationales d'outre-mer, Aix-en-Provence.
- 4.1 Ferhat Abbas with his brother-in-law Ahmed Francis in front of the French National Assembly in 1948. © Roger Viollet/Topfoto. 97
- 4.2 Messali Hadj, the leader of the MTLD, in Niort, France in 1952 after being expelled from Algeria and put under house arrest by the French authorities. © AFP/Getty Images.
- 5.1 Bitat, Ben Boulaïd, Didouche, Boudiaf, Krim, and Ben M'hidi—FLN leaders, 24 October 1954 © Rue des Archives. 121
- 5.2 French custody photograph of FLN leader Ben Bella. © Roger Viollet/Topfoto.
- 5.3a 'Voici l'image du fellaga': French army anti-FLN poster (French version). © Collection ACHAC.
- 5.3b 'Voici l'image du fellaga': French army anti-FLN poster (Arab version). © Collection ACHAC
- 5.4 'Everybody talks—the rebel surrenders'. Archives nationales d'Outre-Mer.
- 5.5 'The accomplices of the rebels they also will be punished: Talk!'.
- 6.1 6 February 1956, the 'Day of the Tomatoes': protesting French settlers recoiling from tear gas. © Bettmann/Corbis.
- 6.2 *L'Écho d'Alger* of 7 February 1956. The ecstatic headlines reflect the way in which the European press saw the 'Day of the Tomatoes' as a huge victory for French Algeria.
- 6.3 Anti-Mollet cartoon from the weekly satirical paper *Le Canard Enchaîné*, which portrayed him as the painter Guimollo, who promised peace but brought conflict and torture to Algeria: 'In the style of Picasso: The Guimollo mystery', 30 May 1956.
- 6.4 Robert Lacoste, Minister-Resident for Algeria from February 1956 to April 1958 at Hassi Massoud in February 1957 where the French had been exploring for oil since 1946. © ECPAD.

- 6.5 FLN officer talking to a small boy in a secret FLN hiding place in 1957; the boy has the Qu'ran written on a wooden board. © Kryn Traconis/Magnum Photos.
- 6.6 Algerian women in the maquis. © Sipa Press/Rex Features.
- 6.7 Guy Mollet, the head of the Republican Front government, flanked on his right by François Mitterrand, the Justice Minister, and on his left by Maurice Bourgès-Maunoury, the Defence Minister, September 1956. © Keystone France/Eyedeia/Camera Press.
- 6.8 'The Communists throw away the mask': a government poster portraying Soviet repression in Hungary and the FLN struggle as two faces of the same international communist plot against France. Archives nationales d'Outre-Mer.
- 6.9 Cartoon from the weekly political magazine *L'Express*, which has Robert Lacoste playing 'Tou va très bien, Monsieur le Prèsideint' down the telephone to Mollet, satirizing Lacoste's claim that the conflict in Algeria was nearly won, 12 October 1956. © *L'Express*.
- 7.1 General Jacques Massu, commander of the 10th Parachute Division. © Keystone France/Eyedeia/Camera Press.
- 7.2 Ali Ammar, alias Ali la Pointe, one of the FLN's deadliest operatives during the 'Battle of Algiers'. © AFP/Getty Images.
- 7.3 'Battle of Algiers'—handcuffed Larbi Ben M'Hidi, 28 February 1957. © Camus/Paris Match/Scoop.
- 7.4 'The jackals devour each other': a French poster characterizing the war between the FLN and the MNA as wanton bloodlust. Archives nationales d'Outre-Mer.
- 7.5 Zohra Drif, one of the FLN's female operatives, in custody. © AFP/Getty Images.
- 7.6 Digging for Ali la Pointe's body after he was blown up in an FLN safe house on 7 October 1957. © ECPAD.
- 8.1 De Gaulle in Algeria, 4 June 1958. © Keystone France/Eyedeia/Camera Press.
- 8.2 The SAS providing lessons in hygiene for Algerian women in rural Kabylia, August 1959. © ECPAD.
- 8.3 Pamphlet aimed at recruiting Muslims into the French army, 1960. © Musée d'Histoire Contemporaine, BDIC, Paris/Archives Charmet/The Bridgeman Art Library.
- 10.1 Putsch leaders: Generals Challe, Jouhaud, Salan, and Zeller in Algiers, 24 April 1961. © Time Life Pictures/Getty Images.
- 10.2 OAS poster: 'The OAS will win'. © Alain Gesgon, CIRIP.
- 11.1 Settlers leaving with suitcases in 1962. © Keystone France/Eyedeia/Camera Press.
- 11.2 Independence July 1962: Algerians demonstrating in front of the colonial monument celebrating the centenary of French rule at Sidi-Ferruch, the site of the 1830 invasion, The political significance of this monument as a symbol of the French 'civilizing mission' is discussed on page 49. © Marc Riboud.
- 12.1 Poster for Gillo Pontecorvo's 1966 film, *The Battle of Algiers*, which inspired anti-imperialist struggles across Africa, Asia, and Latin America.
- 12.2 Black Panthers paying homage to the Algerian anti-colonial struggle during the Pan-African



- 12.3 Two cartoons by Gyps from his comic book *Algé-rien*. Both are a satirical comment on the falsification of history in post-independence Algeria. In the first, a history lecturer recites in an unenthusiastic fashion from a textbook glorifying the martyrs of the war of liberation. In the second, Gyps casts doubts on le Père Lakhdar Benqueuqueli's status as a war veteran, describing him as 'former shepherd, former *moudjahid* (that is what he says, his companions having been all killed in the maquis), former commander, former minister, today a black market dealer'. © Gyps.

# *List of Maps and Table*

---

## **Maps**

Contemporary Algeria and France.

Map A 1954: French Algeria.

Map B 1954: French Algeria—the coast.

[1.1](#) 1830: The Conquest of Algiers.

[1.2](#) 1830–1900: The Conquest of Algeria and the Sahara.

[2.1](#) The Colonial Transformation of Algeria: Patterns of European Farming and Industry at the beginning of the Twentieth Century.

[4.1](#) May 1945: Algerian demonstrations and insurrection.

[5.1](#) 1 November 1954: The FLN insurrection.

[6.1](#) 1956: The Six Wilayas of the Armée de Libération Nationale (ALN).

[7.1](#) January–March 1957: The first ‘Battle of Algiers’.

[8.1](#) 1959–1960: The major French offensives in Algeria.

[8.2](#) 1959: Western Algeria—French ‘hearts and minds’ operations amongst the Algerian population.

[11.1](#) March–June 1962: The bloody end in Algiers.

## **Table**

[2.1](#) 1836–1960: The Demography of French Algeria.

## *List of Abbreviations*

---

ALN	Armée de Libération Nationale (1954–62)
AML	Association des Amis du Manifeste et de la Liberté (1944–5)
CCE	Comité de Coordination et d'Éxecution (1956–8)
CNRA	Conseil National de la Révolution Algérienne (1956–62)
CRUA	Comité Révolutionnaire pour l'Unité et l'Action (1954)
ENA	Étoile Nord Africaine (1926–37)
FAF	Front de l'Algérie Française (1960–1)
FIS	Front Islamique du Salut (1989–92)
FLN	Front de Libération National (1954–)
GRPA	Gouvernement Provisoire de la République Algérienne (1958–62)
MNA	Mouvement National Algérien (1954–62)
MTLD	Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Démocratiques (1946–54)
OAS	Organisation de l'Armée Secrète (1961–2)
OS	Organisation Spéciale (1947–51)
PCA	Parti Communiste Algérien (1936-66)
PCF	Parti Communiste Français (1920–)
PPA	Parti du Peuple Algérien (1937–54)
PSU	Parti Socialiste Unifié (1960–89)
RPF	Rassemblement du Peuple Français (1947–55)
SAS	Section Administrative Spécialisé
SFIO	Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière (1905–69)
UDMA	Union Démocratique du Manifeste Algérien (1946–56)
UDSR	Union Démocratique et Socialiste de la Résistance (1947–64)

## *Some Key Characters*

---

**Abbane, Ramdane** (1920–57) Born in Kabylia. Joined PPA at age of sixteen. Member of the OS after 1947. Arrested in 1950. On his release in January 1955 joined the FLN. Architect of the Congress of the Soummam. Murdered in Morocco in December 1957 as a result of internal struggles within the FLN.

**Abbas, Ferhat** (1899–1985) One of the leaders of the assimilationist movement during the 1930s. By 1943 he was calling for political autonomy for Algeria. During 1956 he joined the FLN and in September 1958 was president of the Provisional Algerian Government in Tunis. In September 1962 he became president of the Algerian National Assembly, but resigned in August 1963 in protest at the authoritarian nature of the new regime. Thereafter he retired from public political life.

**Aït Ahmed, Hocine** (1919–) Member of the OS and one of the nine leaders who coordinated 1 November 1954. Arrested and imprisoned in October 1956, he opposed the dictatorial rule of Ben Bella and then Boumediène with the foundation of the Front des Forces Socialistes (FFS). Still a key figure in Algerian politics.

**Amirouche, Aït-Hamouda** (1926–59) Originally an activist in the MTLD, Amirouche rose to become the commanding colonel of Wilaya 3 (Kabylia) where he imposed an iron discipline on his own troops and the local population. Killed in an ambush in March 1959.

**Ben Bella, Ahmed** (1916–) One of the historic FLN leaders who planned 1 November 1954. An OS member, he was arrested by the French in 1950, but escaped in 1952. Arrested and imprisoned in October 1956, he was the first president after independence. Overthrown by Boumediène in June 1962, he was imprisoned until 1980 whereupon he went into exile. Ben Bella returned to Algeria in 1990.

**Ben Boulaïd, Mostefa** (1917–56) OS member who was in charge of the November 1954 FLN insurrection in the Aurès Mountains. Killed in March 1956 by a booby-trapped parcel parachuted into the maquis by the French army.

**Ben Khedda, Ben Youcef** (1920–2003) Politicized by the Algerian Scouts, he was a leading member of the MTLD who opposed Messali Hadj's leadership in 1954. Arrested after November 1954, he immediately joined the FLN upon his release in April 1955. Became president of the Provisional Algerian Government in August 1961, but lost out to Ben Bella in the struggle for power after independence in July 1962.

**Ben M'Hidi, Larbi** (1923–57) OS member, he was one of the FLN founders in 1954. Arrested by the French paratroopers during the 'Battle of Algiers' on 25 February 1957, he died in custody shortly afterwards.

**Ben Tobbal, Lakhdar** (1923–2010) Activist in the PPA and then the OS, he was one of the FLN's founders in 1954. A military man above all, he was Minister of Interior in the first Provisional Algerian Government in September 1958. A key negotiator in the Evian negotiations, Ben Tobbal was on the losing side during the FLN in-fighting in the summer of 1962.

**Bitat, Rabah** (1926–2000) Member of the PPA and then the OS, he was one of the FLN's historic leaders. Arrested in March 1955, he was not freed until 1962.

**Boudiaf, Mohammed** (1919–92) Member of the PPA and then the OS, Boudiaf was one of the FLN's founding leaders and the architect behind 1 November 1954. Arrested in October 1956 he remained in prison until 1962. Opposed to Ben Bella's taking of power in 1962, he went into exile in Morocco. Recalled to become head of state in January 1992, he was assassinated in June 1992.

**Bouhired, Djamila** (1935–) Joined the FLN in 1956. Acted as a liaison agent during the 'Battle of Algiers' 1956–7. Planted bombs in specified parts of the European Quarter.

**Boumediène, Houari** (1932–78) Born near Guelma in eastern Algeria into a poor peasant family. Studied at the prestigious Al-Azhar University in Cairo and was very influenced by the Egyptian Revolution and the rise to power of Nasser. Joined the National Liberation Army in Morocco in 1955 and rose to become the military leader of the army of the frontiers. Joined with Ben Bella in the summer of 1962 to defeat the Provisional Government. Overthrew Ben Bella in 1965 and became head of state.

**Bouteflika, Abdelaziz** (1937–) Born in Oujda in Morocco into an Algerian family, Bouteflika joined the National Liberation Army in 1956 and became a key member of Boumediène's entourage. Became Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1963, remaining in this position until Boumediène's death in 1978. Marginalized during the 1980s, he returned to Algeria in 1989. Elected president in dubious circumstances in 1999 and again in 2004, he changed the constitution in 2008 so that he could run for a third term. Re-elected president in 2009.

**Boussouf, Abdelhafid** (1926–80) Member of the PPA and then the OS, born in eastern Algeria. Minister in the Provisional Algerian Government, he was instrumental in establishing the secret police which became the spine of the military and continues to dominate Algerian politics. After independence he retreated from political life and pursued business interests.

**Chadli, Bendjedid** (1929–) Born in eastern Algeria, he joined the maquis in 1955. As an obscure military man, he was the compromise candidate to succeed Boumediène in 1979. Forced out of office in January 1992 by a *coup d'état*.

**Challe, Maurice** (1905–79) The French government's military representative to Britain during the Suez campaign in 1956. Commander-in-chief of French forces in Algeria 1958–60. Led the failed military coup against de Gaulle in April 1961.

**Dahlab, Saad** (1918–2000) PPA veteran, he was part of the anti-Messali Hadj opposition that emerged within the MTLD in 1954. Joining the FLN he became Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Provisional Algerian Government in 1961 and was involved in the final negotiations with the French. After independence followed a business career and established a publishing company.

**Debré, Michel** (1912–96) A fierce defender of French sovereignty in Algeria, he was prime minister under the new Fifth Republic from 1959 to 1962. After the referendum on 8 April 1962 ratifying the peace accords with the Provisional Algerian Government, he was replaced by Georges Pompidou.

**Didouche, Mourad** (1922–55) One of the historic FLN leaders, he was killed in January 1955.

**Gaulle, Charles de** (1890–1970) Historic leader of the World War Two French Resistance, head of the French government during the May 1945 repression in Algeria. In 1954 de Gaulle had ‘retired’ from politics, but the Fourth Republic’s inability to solve the Algerian problem catapulted him back to power in 1958. Initially continued with the Fourth Republic’s policy of reform and repression, before accepting the need to negotiate with the Provisional Algerian Government, which led to final peace accords in March 1962.

**Fanon, Frantz** (1925–61) Born in the French Caribbean, Fanon worked as a psychiatrist in Algeria between 1953 and 1956. Siding with the FLN, he worked for the Provisional Algerian Government in Tunis and became one of the leading intellectual writers of the Algerian struggle.

**Harbi, Mohammed** (1933–) Activist in the MTLD and FLN, Harbi was imprisoned under Boumediène, but escaped in 1973. As a university academic in Paris, he has become the leading historian of Algerian nationalism and the FLN.

**Khider, Mohammed** (1912–67) Born in eastern Algeria, Khider was a veteran nationalist who participated in the PPA, the OS, and was one of the founding members of the FLN. Arrested in October 1956, he sided with Ben Bella and Boumediène in 1962 against the Provisional Algerian Government. Falling out with Ben Bella he went into exile in 1963. Assassinated in Madrid in 1967.

**Krim, Belkacem** (1922–70) Took to the maquis in Kabylia in 1947. One of the historic FLN leaders, he dominated the FLN in 1958 and 1959 as vice-president of the Provisional Algerian Government. Took a leading role in the final negotiations with France. Marginalized at independence, he was found dead in hotel room in Frankfurt in West Germany in 1970 after being sentenced to death by the Boumediène regime.

**Lacoste, Robert** (1898–1989) Socialist Party member, highly decorated for his service in the two world wars. Minister Resident in Algeria between 1956 and 1958, he pursued a ruthless policy of reform and repression.

**Lejeune, Max** (1909–95) Socialist Party member and prominent member of the Republican Front government 1956–7. Fervent defender of the decision to intensify the conflict in Algeria in spring 1956.

**Mendès France, Pierre** (1907–82) Radical Party member who was prime minister in November 1954 responding to the FLN with a mixture of reform and repression.

**Messali Hadj, Ahmed** (1898–1974) One of the historic figures of Algerian nationalism. A key founder of the first party committed to outright independence in 1926, he founded the PPA in 1937 and the MTLD in 1946. In response to November 1954, he founded the MNA in December 1954, which became involved in a bloody struggle with the FLN. Excluded from negotiations in 1961 and 1962, Messali went into exile post-independence.

**Mitterrand, François** (1916–96) Minister of the Interior in November 1954, Mitterrand was an advocate of reform and repression. As Justice Minister supported the special powers and the guillotining of Algerian prisoners. Opposed the return of de Gaulle in 1958. Became president of France in 1981.

**Mollet, Guy** (1905–75) Prime minister during the Republican Front government 1956–7, Mollet oversaw the intensification of the war against the FLN with the voting of the special powers, the recall of the reservists and the attack on Egypt. Supported the return of de Gaulle in 1958.

**Soustelle, Jacques** (1912–90) Anti-fascist during the 1930s, Soustelle joined de Gaulle's Free French in 1940. As Governor-General of Algeria between 1955 and 1956, he sought to introduce reform while simultaneously repressing the FLN. Supported de Gaulle's return to power in 1958, but accused him of betraying French Algeria and broke with de Gaulle in 1960. Went into exile in 1961, but was amnestied in 1968.

**Yacef, Saadi** (1928–) Joined the FLN in 1955. One of the FLN leaders during the Battle of Algiers 1956–7. Condemned to death but pardoned, he sided with Ben Bella in 1962.

# *Chronology*

---

- 1830: Capitulation of Algiers to French invasion.
- 1847: Abd el-Kader surrenders.
- 1848: Algeria divided into departments.
- 1871: The El Mokrani revolt, which ends in defeat for the insurgents.
- 1881: Algeria integrated into the administrative structures of the Third Republic under the Minister of the Interior.
- 1889: Law giving foreign settlers French nationality.
- 1926: Establishment of the Étoile Nord-Africaine—the first party committed to Algerian independence.
- 1930: Celebrations of centenary of French rule.
- 1936: Failure of the Popular Front reforms that would have extended the Muslim franchise, albeit very modestly.
- 1940: Fall of France.
- 1942: Allied landings in Algeria and Morocco.
- 1945: Sétif revolt followed by severe repression.
- 1947: New administrative structures in Algeria.
- 1948: Fraud robs Algerian nationalists of electoral victory.
- 1954: 7 May. Fall of Dien Bien Phu in Indochina.  
1 November. Attacks by Front de Libération National (FLN) across the country.  
25 January. Soustelle appointed Governor-General.  
6 February. Mendès France government falls.  
18–24 April. FLN delegation present at Bandung Conference.
- 1955: 20 August. FLN violence in eastern Algeria involving massacres of Europeans at Philippeville.  
12 September. Algerian Communist Party dissolved.  
30 September. Algeria discussed at the United Nations for the first time.  
2 January. Victory of the Republican Front in national elections.  
26 January. Mollet becomes prime minister.  
6 February. Mollet bombarded with tomatoes by Europeans in Algiers.  
10 February. Robert Lacoste appointed Minister-Resident in Algeria.
- 1956: 16 March. Special Powers voted through by the French National Assembly.  
19 June. First execution of FLN prisoners.  
20 August. FLN conference at Soummam.  
30 September. FLN bombing of European cafés in Algiers.  
22 October. Ben Bella hijacked and imprisoned by the French.  
5 November. Anglo-French landings at Suez.



- [download online Japanese in MangaLand: Workbook 1 pdf](#)
- [download online Hexes](#)
- [download Falling for Gracie \(Los Lobos, Book 2\) pdf, azw \(kindle\)](#)
- [click Presocratics \(Ancient Philosophies\)](#)
  
- <http://nexson.arzamaszev.com/library/The-Curve.pdf>
- <http://fortune-touko.com/library/Trainspotting--BFI-Modern-Classics-.pdf>
- <http://betsy.wesleychapelcomputerrepair.com/library/Falling-for-Gracie--Los-Lobos--Book-2-.pdf>
- <http://korplast.gr/lib/El-segundo-cerebro--Descubre-la-importancia-del-sistema-digestivo-para-tu-salud.pdf>