CHAPTER THREE
Chapter Three:

3. Algeria Historical Development

Algeria is a country of Africa, located on the Mediterranean coast in the Maghrib (North Africa). It is the second largest country on the continent (after Sudan). Algeria is bounded on the east by Tunisia and Libya, on the Southeast by Niger, on the Southwest by Mali, Mauritania, and Western Sahara, and northwest by Morocco and from the Mediterranean Sea on the north. The capital is Algeria. The area is 919,595 miles sq (2,381,741 sq km.). The name “Algeria” French (Algerie) comes from the Arabic al-Djazair (the islands), referring to a group of small islands in the harbor of Algiers, the capital1.

Physically and climatically, Algeria is divided into three zones:

1. The coastal Tell is a fertile strip of land from 50 to 120 miles (80 to 195km) wide. It comprises some 53,000 square miles (137,270 sq km), or one six tenth of Algeria’s total area, in which lives nearly nine tenths of the country’s population. Annual rainfall in the Tell zone averages 17 inches (43cm), but it is not evenly distributed, and there is a long dry summer period of about four months.

2. South of the Tell is the steppe or High plateau zone, covering an area of about 73,000 squares miles (189,070 sq km.). The steppe zone has a drier climate than the Tell; with a dry summer season of about five mouths. It is largely covered with coarse esparto grass, livestock rising, particularly of sheep, although the zone is hindered by a scarcity of fresh water.

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1 The Encyclopedia Americana, Volume 1. p. 565
3. The desert zone of the Sahara covers 725,000 square miles (1,877,752 sq km), and is the heart of the great desert that crosses the African continent from the Atlantic to the red sea. The desert zone contains a varied landscape of sand dunes, gravelly plains, rock-ribbed plateaus, and mountains ranges such as the Ahaggar (Hog-gar). Its climate is hot and arid, and it has an irregular unevenly distribution of rainfall averaging less than 4 inches (10 cm) per year. In the oases, irrigated crops of cereals, vegetables, and dates are grown, while pastoral nomads raise goats and camels.

2.1 People and History

The amalgam of people of North Africa coalesced eventually into a distinct native population that came to be called Berbers. However, some four-fifty percent of Algeria’s people are Arabs; Berbers are the main minority group. The major languages are Arab and the official language, French. Berber ethnic group found in Algeria include the Kabyle, the Shawias (chaouias), and the M’zabites, and in the oases of the Sahara, the people are known as Tuaregs². The rest of the populations are small number of French, Spanish, and Italian. They, however, play a major role in the area’s history. Islam is the official religion.

² The Tuareg descended from ancient Berber tribes of North Africa. They moved southward to escape Arab invasions, which began in the 7th century to take refuge in southern Algeria. Niger, Mali and covering portions of what are now Algeria Libya Mauritania and Morocco. Named Taureor "abandoned of God" by crusading Arabs the refer to themselves as the "Isashaghen" (the noble and the free). Historically, camel breeders and traders they ruled the trade routes that crossed the Sahara and brought silver, gold, ivory and gold to the north. Tuareg traders staged raids on other caravans and groups of herders. Traditionally they refused to integrate with other Berber tribes maintaining their own distinctive style. The Tuareg are known as speakers of the Tamasheq language of "Kel Tagelmoust" (wearers of the blue veil) and as the blue men of the Sahara because the indigo used to dye the robes rubs off on their skin.
Little is known about the origin of the Berbers - when the Phoenicians arrived in the 1100’s, they were already there. Throughout the Phoenician dominations “Algeria were tied to Carthage but in the interior, on the mountain of the Kabylia and on the plains of the High Plateaus, the Berbers remained independent of Carthaginian Control”.\(^3\) In 146 B.C, the Romans in the Punic Wars destroyed the city of Carthage because of successive defeats. However, three centuries of Roman occupation began there like the Phoenicians which occupied the northern coastal region - the mountain Berber strongholds. The Roman military presence in North Africa was relatively small, consisting of about 28,000 troops and auxiliaries in Numidia and the two Mauretanian provinces. Starting in the second century A.D., these garrisons were manned mostly by local inhabitants namely the Roman epoch\(^4\).

The end of the Roman came when they lost out to Vandal in 400’s A.D. who controlled coastal garrisons for about a century. In the 6\(^{th}\) century, the Roman Empire drove the Vandals from North Africa; however, Byzantine control, restricted to the east (Tunisia) and to the coastal region of Algeria, established weakly and was in turn besieged by the first Arab conquered in the mid 600’s.

\(^3\) the Encyclopedia Americana, Volume one, P. 568
\(^4\) http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field(DOCID+dz0014).
2.2 Islam in the Maghrib, 642-1830

The new faith of Maghrib in the mid of the seventh century was the conquer of Islam in which it was unlike the invasions of previous religions and cultures. Islam which was spread by Arabs, was to have pervasive and long-lasting effects on the Maghrib. However, it took the Arab over half a century to defeat the stubborn Berbers and to complete the conquest of the Maghrib. Most of the Berbers, who were pagan, Christian, or Jewish, converted to Islam. The second Arab invasion, however, was started by Banu Hilal from Upper Egypt, and was continued by other Arab tribes who came in the 11th century.  

In the following centuries, Algeria was ruled by Muslims raised in North Africa and Spain, particularly the Almoravides and the Almohaders.

However, In the Maghrib, the Almohad position was compromised by factional strife and was challenged by a renewal of tribal warfare. The Bani Merin (Zenata Berbers) took advantage of declining Almohad power to establish a tribal state in Morocco, initiating nearly sixty years of warfare there that concluded with their capture of Marrakech, the last Almohad stronghold, in 1271. Despite repeated efforts to subjugate the central Maghrib, however, the Merinids were never able to restore the frontiers of the Almohad Empire.

On the other hand, the disordered state of affairs in the Maghrib allowed the Spanish, towards the end of the 1400’s and in the early 1500’s, to occupy a number of cities on the Algerian coast and to lay siege to Algiers. The population of Algiers sought the aid of the Barbarossa brothers - Turkish corsairs who had gained a status among

5 the Encyclopedia Americana, Volume one, p. 568.
6 http://leweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field(DOCID+dz0019)
Muslims for harassing Spanish shipping, and for helping Muslims expel from Spain. However the two brothers, Arouj and Khair ed-din after overcoming and pushing the Spaniards out of Algeria, fixed out a Kingdom that was soon joined to the Ottoman Empire as a vassal state 1518. "The relationship to turkey brought to Algeria a semblance of administrative and political cohesion, the like of which it had never known before. Ottoman institutions were established, and Janissaries were sent into the country to aid in the administration. Algiers became regency headed by a beylerby (later a Dey), with authority over the Turkish Beys in Oran, Constantine, and other centers."7

However, by the years Algeria, under the Turkish rulers, showed a high degree of independence from central authority in Turkey. As a result, many European powers eventually established diplomatic relation with the Dey of Algiers, recognizing him as an independent sovereign.

In the beginning of the 1900s, the Regency of Algeria begun to fail politically, economically, and militarily; on the hand, the French monarchy was in crisis, especially after the downfall of Napoleon in 1815 and the revolution of 1830.

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7 Ibid.
2.3 Algeria Under French Rules, 1830-1962

Algeria is considered to be the most important colonized country by France for more than one hundred and thirty years (1830-1962). During this long period, Algeria has known many changes all over the system that rules the country under French colonial. However, to explain more about Algeria under French colony since 1830 to 1962 let us divide 130 years into four phases, in which each phase has its criteria in France and Algeria. The four phases are:

- The invasion and the Resistance 1830-1870
- The colonial of Algeria 1870-1930
- The birth of Algeria Nationalism 1930-1954
- The war and Liberation

2.3.1 The Invasion and the Resistance, 1830-1870

2.3.1.1 The Invasion

A meeting was held on April 29, 1827 in Algiers, between the Dey of the Regency Hussein and the French consul, Pierre Deval, to resolve a series of tangled trade deals involving French merchants leading to a heated exchange. However, French was unconcerned over the Turks’ repeated attempts to resolve a bet that was between the two

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countries. In this meeting, the Dey tapped the Consul’s shoulder with his embroidered fly whisk to indicate that their interview was over.

As a result of what the French considered an insult to the French consul in Algiers by the Dey in 1827, Charles X, King of France, sent the commander of the French naval squadron to the Turkish ruler in Algiers with an ultimatum that read in part as follows: “his majesty angered at the horrible and scandalous outrage committed against himself demands an immediate reparation and public satisfaction prescribed as follows; a public apology... the flag of France will be flown above the ports of Algiers and the palace of the Dey and the hall receive a one-hundred-gun salute.” However, the Dey refused to comply; therefore the French government ordered a blockage of Algiers ports which lasted three years. “On June 14, 1830, 37,607 French Soldiers landed at Sidi Ferruch, a coastal town some 21 Kilometers west of Algiers.”

The French’s troops marched toward Algiers, and captured the city on July 05 1830, with standing force of 35,000 men and 600 ships, prepared from Toulon. On the other hand, the Dey sent 7,000 janissaries, 19,000 troops from the bays of Constantine and Oran, and about 17,000 Kabyles. But the French established a strong beachhead and push toward Algiers, and the capital collapsed after three week. The Dey signed an act of capitulation on July 5, 1830. A French reconnaissance column to Blida about 50 kilometers south, was ambushed and wiped out, starting the holy war against the infidel invaders. Thus, within two years, France could only show modest results; for instance

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9 William Spencer, Algiers in the Age of theCorsairs, (Norman; University of Oklahoma press. 1976, pp 149-150
10 John P. Entelis; Algeria, the Revolution Institutionalized P. 23
12 http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy

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only three cities were under French Algiers and its surroundings, Oran, and its part in the west, and Bone in the eastern province.

2.3.1.2 The Resistance

Unlike the relative ease with which the Algerian littoral was occupied and colonized, French invasion into the interior met with impressive confrontation that took almost two decades to defeat that résistance. The outstanding leader of the Algerians was emir (prince) Abd el-Kader, who was proclaimed sultan of the Mahieddin tribes in 1832. He organized an Algerian government to resist French encroachment. He started from the west of Algeria and rallied tribal resistance against the French by invoking simultaneously the spiritual appeal of Sufism (ascetic Islamic mysticism), and orthodox Islamic belief. However, Abd el-kader successfully united many warrior tribes under his command, and he succeeded in creating an Algerian Muslim state in the interior - a kind of Berber confederacy- with Tlemcen as it’s headquartered. This indigenous state was to reach its highest point in 1837 till 1839, after the signing of the treaty of Tafna (May 20, 1837) which defined the boundaries between the territories held by Amir Abd-el-Kader and the localities under French control.

On the other hand, the extension of European settlement was cause for concern by expansionist-minded French military bureaucrats. As a result, armed conflict between

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13 John P. Entelis; Algeria, the Revolution Institutionalized P. 25
14 Ibid., p. 25
Amir Ab-el-kader and the French Forces including the foreign legion (which had been created in 1831 for service in Algeria) took place across the whole of the Country\textsuperscript{15}.

In 1840, Amir Abd-el-Kader, followed by virtually all the tribes of the interior of western and central Algeria, was at the height of his power. With superior French resources, manpower and numerous tribal defectors tacking places, the army of Abd el-kader was put on the defensive. However, General Thomas Robert Bugeaud was the person who led the French's Army against Ab-del-kader. According to many historians, Bugeaud was the real architect of French rule in Algeria: "initiated against Ab-del-kader a policy of total war, this involved the destruction of villages and encampments the burring of corps, the killing of herds, and the imposition of collective responsibility on tribes whose leaders continued to support the Amir".\textsuperscript{16}

From 1830 to 1840, "French soldiers settled with government encouragement wealthy investors bought estates, Spanish peasants migrated to western Algeria, and Italian, Maltese and Corsican peasant and fishermen found their way to Eastern Algeria, in 1834, King Louis Philippe reluctantly made Algeria a French possession, and in 1840 he decided to conquer all of the territory".\textsuperscript{17} The ruthless tactics proved effective in demoralizing Algerian peoples; however, the Amir's strongholds in the cites and the countryside fell to the French. Abd el-kader surrendered to the French in December 1847, after he had spent fifteen years of his life in battle and thirty-six in prison and exile.

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., p. 26
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., p. 26
\textsuperscript{17} Joan Gillespie, Algeria, Rebellion and Revolution P. 06. Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, New York 196
2.3.2 Algeria under the reign of Napoleon (III), 1852-1871

Following Abd el-kader surrender, the French Second Republic government which came to power after the second revolution in 1848 was to declare Algeria an integral part of France "in the first move toward assimilation three departments (French administrative units) were organized under a civilian government for the Algiers, Oran, and Constantine territorial ares."\(^{18}\)

During the reign of Napoleon (III) following the collapse of the second Empire in 1852, in which the resistance between 1850 and 1871 occurred in kabylia mountains, and in the southern part of Oran province, independence tribes continued to resist but less strong than Ab de-Ikader's résistance. However, when Napoleon visited Algeria from 1860-and 1863, he declared that the tribes be the rightful owners of lands which they had enjoyed in perpetuity.

The 1863 visit in which Napoleon applied European concept of private property in land to Muslim holdings, made the land a liberally circulating commodity, and thereby facilitated its sale by individuals to settlers in personalizing and privatizing communally held property. However, the decree destroyed the authority of the chief and tribal cohesion, as John Gillespie said: "it eliminated the entire pyramid of rights and privilege that had guaranteed a livelihood for the poor cultivator in effect, the decree destroyed the economy on which tribal life was based". On the other hand colonization continued at an accelerated rate, for instance the 1851-1857 periods, the immigrant populations grew by

\(^{18}\) John P. Entelis; Algeria, the Revolution Institutionalized P. 28
almost 40 percent; from 131,000 to 181,000, towards the number of colons approached to 250,000\textsuperscript{19}.

However, over this situation, Muslims, feeling the full burden of French taxation and resenting the loss of their lands, carried out sporadic but ineffective uprising from 1848 onwards. Over these native uprisings, reflected the deep hostility felt by the Algerian towards the French, which raise into the open whenever political or economic grievance that provided the spark and the French military control, seemed in doubt.

Under these circumstances that gave raise to the most serious revolt prior to the war of independence occurred in 1871 led by Mohammed Mokrani. The revolt was bitter on both sides as rebels devastated farms and destroyed and pillaged villages, but this conflict ended in defeat and in the death of Mokrani, and was followed by French sequestration of the rebel lands, which they had to buy back at ruinous prices.

Mokrani’s revolutions was thus the last revolt of a native feudal state - all Algeria lay prostate, “for the next half century the country was to be a “land of silences” for the Muslims, politically, economically and socially”\textsuperscript{20}. Joan Gillespie said that “from 1830 to 1871, Algeria tribesmen strongly opposed French expansion into countryside. The French Army of Africa used the most brutal methods in its long pacification campaign”\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{19} John P. Entelis; Algeria, the Revolution Institutionalized p. 29

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., p. 31

\textsuperscript{21} Joan Gillespie, Algeria; Rebellion and Revolution P. 19
2.3.3 Colonization Process, 1871-1914

The second phase of the colonial process in Algeria, which saw the end of the period of rural patriotism and the beginning of efforts by the urban population led by Constantine province (500k.m East Algiers), to obtain concessions from the French through peaceful means “in Constantine the religious and political elites still remained fused, so opposition to French rule was often couched in religious terms.”22 However, the political and economic structures of this society were intended to serve the interest of the colon commodity in its building of Algeria Francaise (French Algeria).

In the 1870s alone, European owned land and the number of settlers doubled. By the end of the nineteenth century, Algeria got administrative and financial autonomy through a sort of Algeria parliament under the name of –Financial Delegations- which composed two third European and one third Muslin members23. On the other hand, the settlers exceeded a harsh price from their Muslim peasants, levying higher taxes on the Algerian than those collected from the Europeans.

Perhaps the most effective and onerous device for governing the Muslim Society was the -code de L’indigenat- (law applying only to native Algerian) which was promulgated in 1881 and remained until after World War II. The most important thing that the colons in Algeria achieved from 1896 to 1900 was the degree of autonomy, thus making Algeria a separate entity different from the Metropolitan Departments. However, during the nineteenth century, the primary French institution which dealt with the Algerian tribes was the Arab Bureaux, created in 1844 by general Bugeaud; and the

22 Joan Gillespie., Algeria: Rebellion and Revolution P. 32
23 John P. Entelis; Algeria, the Revolution Institutionalized p. 32
officers of the Bureaux had extensive powers, over military and legal matters, collected taxes and engaged in military intelligence activities\textsuperscript{24}.

In the end of 1890, the French government sought to educate small numbers of Algerian Muslim in French school system where the curriculum was entirely in French under the motto of that he has "civilizing mission" and colonial sought to impact the selected group of indigenous Algerians by bringing the benefits of French culture, language, history and society. However, it was from this group that nationalist ideologies and political activist eventually emerged, in which in 1911, the administration put down demonstrations against the results of rigged elections. In this times, the first Algerian party emerged under the name "Young Algerian Party" in which the party accepted to do military service for France but requested increased Muslim representation in elected assemblies, the development of education and the end of special Arab taxes and of the native code.

2.3.4 The birth of Algeria Nationalist, 1919-1930

During the First World War, Algerian workers and soldiers had sacrificed nearly 200,000 Algerian Muslims who served France loyally during the war, and about 25,000 lost their lives. The war experience exposed Algerians to new ideas and expectations. This led the French to reforms known as Clemenceau's reforms which provided a law in 1919 that educated Algerians could obtain French citizenship if they abandoned their personal status under Muslim civil laws. However, by 1936, only a few thousands had

\textsuperscript{24} Joan Gillespie, \textit{Algeria: Rebellion and Revolution}, p. 21 Published in 1960., 64 university place N, York3
been naturalized. The reforms ended the special Arab taxes and permitted Algerian members of municipal council to vote the elections for majors.\(^25\) In France, other Algerian groups which expressed nationalist aspirations were industrial and other workers residing in France. For instance, by 1923, there were 70,000 Algerian workers employed in France. Many of these workers experienced hardship common to poorly paid workers in industrial countries. However, the labors’ economic and social grievances quickly gave way to political demands. “French governments, however, preferred to satisfy such aspirations themselves by reintroducing the code de L’indigenat in 1920 and 1922, and granting a loan of 1,600 millions Frs., for a program of large scale public Works.”\(^26\)

In the following years, the “Young Algerian Movement” became slit because of its frustration at these measures. Some associates favored naturalization with the loss of their personal status as Muslims. Meanwhile others requested either citizenship or at least some elected representation in parliament, while remaining legally Muslim. The most influential personal in France that led the “Young Youth” was Abd el-Kader’s grand son, Emir Khaled. He expressed his idea in the weekly paper *Iqdam* (Audacity), calling for the departments to be placed directly under Paris, for an end to the communes’ combined and all special native Laws. Six Muslim deputies and their senators and the Algerian administration rejected him as a native nationalist\(^27\), and procured first his

\(^{25}\) Ibid., p.24
\(^{27}\) Ibid., 79
electoral defeat, and then his exile, and he was obliged to spend the rest of his life in Damascus, where he died in 1936.

However, a new party was emerged in Paris by Messali El-hadj in September 1924 under the name of “north Africa Star” (Etoile Nord Africaine). Meanwhile, the Young Algerian Party which left with few outlets in the press under the form of the weekly Taqdaum (progress) did so owing to the new leaders, specially Ferhat Abbas and Bendjelloul, in which they wanted the transformation of the state into a province.

2.3.5 The Movement of Algeria Nationalist, 1930-1954

In the early 1930s there were three nationalist groups which were of liberal assimilationism as represented in the doctrine of Ferhat Abbas, Islamic Reformism, as embodied in Abd-elhamid Ben Badis and his Association of Algerian Ulema (Islamic religious scholars or clergy), and anti-colonial nationalism as expressed in the ideas of Messali Hadj. These three parties in the diverse fabric of Algerian nationalism, raised the political consciousness of Muslim Algeria, but failed to provide the cohesive organizational structure and ideological direction necessary to gain complete independence\(^{28}\).

However, the most influential party in the 1930s was Ulemas Association of Ben Badis which exerted most influence in Algeria, rather than the Messalists or the followers of Ferhat Abbas.

\(^{28}\) John P. Entelis; Algeria, the Revolution Institutionalized p. 36
Furthermore, Ben Badis through his paper, Al Shihab (Dawn), campaigned for the end of state supervision in religious matters, expansion of the teaching of Arabic, and free Arab press. However, in Paris the Messalists "the moderates" and follower of Ben badis, combined freely with Young Tunisia and Moroccan nationalists, especially in the 1920s and early 1930s, were anti-colonialist rallies and Moslem like "Ahmed Belafredj – later with Moroccan Foreign Minstrel, Allal Elfasi the extreme Moroccan nationalist mystic and poet, and Habib Bourguiba president of Tunisia".

In 1936, the French left achieved a large victory and a government was formed under the leadership of Socialist Leon Blu. He gave a small hope to the Algerian Nationalist when he spoke of granting the native elite the right to vote along with the French without abandonment of Muslim status in his proposal of Blum- Violette law. However, that proposal was not approved by the French Parliament because of strong colon opposition. Viollette in his book published in 1931, *L'Algerie vivra-t-elle?* (Will Algeria Survive?) predicted that Algeria would be lost to France in twenty years: "in fifteen or twenty years, there will be more than 10 million native in Algeria, of whom about one million men and women, will be steeped in French culture, Are we going to make them rebels or Frenchmen? Will we be so blinded by what some people consider to be their immediate material interest that we will sacrifice our African empire and the fate

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Edward Behr; *The Algerian Problem* P. 44. First print 1961, by Edward Behr. London Hodder & Stoughton

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of the country for them? If so, and if the metropole does not intervene to insist on a more just and more humane point of view, Algeria is doomed.30

When Leon Blum’s Popular Front government came to power, Viollette the new minister of state, claimed for a bill to admit Algeria’s Muslims to the political rights of French citizens, without any modification of their status or their civil rights31. It was fundamental project since it aimed at “political emancipation” of a mere 21,000 Muslims of the first years, and integrated others slowly and progressively. However, the Follower of Messali Hadj opposed it strongly, and they called him “instrument of Colonialism... designed to divide the Algerian people by separating the elite from the masses.” On the other hand, Ferhat Abbas and his following of integrationists, threw themselves into a campaign to support the proposal and even went so far as fighting Messalist.32

But all their efforts failed in which it was a serious blow to Ferhat Abbas. In 1938, he created a party, the *Union Populaire Algerienne* (U.P.A), attracting moderates like himself who advocated political emancipation within the French Framework. Following the U.P.A meeting, he was charged with obstructing the police and was given a small fine. However, Ferhat Abbas had never lost his faith in France. During the Second World War, Ferhat Abbas enlisted in French medical corps33. On other hand, Messali Elhadj

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30 Charles Roberts Ageron; *Modern Algeria, A history from 1830 to the present* P. 81, (9th edition 1990) Hurt & Company, London
31 Edward Behr; *The Algerian Problem* P. 44. First print 1961, by Edward Behr. London Hodder & Stoughton
33 John P. Entelis
34 John P. Entelis; *Algeria, the Revolution Institutionalized* p. 47
was a nationalist whose ideology was hybrid, combining a nostalgic and sentimental attachment to Algeria with Muslim loyalties under a Marxist façade.\textsuperscript{34}

Massalis’ ambitions and activist style led French authorities to imprison Messali, and when he was released from prison in 1935, he went to Switzerland where he came into contact with well known pan-Arabic intellectual, such as Shakib Arslan, who influenced Messalis’ own thinking on the subject of Arab nationalism. However, when he returned to Algeria during the the Socialist Blum government in 1937, Messali El-Hadj formed a party under the name of Algeria People Party or (P.P.A) (\textit{Parti du Peuple Algerien}) a truly mass-based nationalist party that merged Socialist and Islamic Values, “yet the P.P.A was concerned with Islamic not only for itself but also as means of mobilizing the proletariat and other traditional strata in the collective struggle for an independence Algeria.”\textsuperscript{35}

2.3.5.1 Algeria National Movement from, 1939-1954

In the eve of World War II, the party of P.P.A. had 3,000 members, and once again Messali was sentenced to prison in 1941 when he refused to participate in the Second War World aside with French. However, he reappeared until after the war when his P.P.A was reconstituted in 1946 as the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties (M.T.L.D). This party later sought to work with the colonial system to achieve its goals. Despite such apparent goodwill, “the P.P.A and the friends of the Manifesto, whose association was, dissolved by the government after the event of May 1945,

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid., p. 49
\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., P. 49

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recommended abstention from the elections to the first constituent Assembly, held in Paris in October 1945 to write the constitution of the new Fourth of France after the war". In 1947 the new French parliament finally turned to the question of the statute *de L'Algerie* left over from the constitutional deliberations of the previous years. However, among the seven draft proposals by the various French and Algerian parties, not one was assimilations, but neither was any in favor of independence, since the M.T.L.D, not recognizing the sovereignty of parliament in the matter, refused to put forward a submission.

The Muslims regarded this statute of September 20 1947 an affront. European Algerians, on the other hand, considered it a disgrace (deshonorant), and in October 1947, this doubly hostile reaction was transformed into victory in the municipal elections for the M.T.L.D, and the European Union Algerian, each strongly opposed the statute; therefore, the elections for the new Algerian Assembly were put off. In February 1948 Chataigneau was replaced by a Socialist of strong nationalistic French view, Marcel Edmond Naegelen who was very much determined to feeble the impact of Muslim nationalists. He was behind the election which was held in April 1948, and the result in which sixty seats were allocated to the Muslim second college, forty one fell to so-called administrative candidates, only nine to M.T.L.D, eight to the D.D.M.A and two to independence.

However, all the elections were similar triumphs for the government, planned frauds which were repeatedly were approved by the Fourth Republic’s parliaments. In activating

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36 Charles Roberts Ageron; *Modern Algeria, A history from 1830 to the present* P. 102
37 Ibid., P. 104
38 Ibid., P. 104

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this policy, Governors Naegelen and Leonard drove the Muslims to gloom, but won the grateful admiration of the French of Algeria.

In the front of these issues that faced Algerian nationalists, they increased their support. The Oulema, spread their network of schools and impact, reinforcing all the generation which looked for inspiration to the Arab East\(^ {39} \). On the other hand, the party of westernized U.D.M.A. lost its popularity but extended its appeal upwards to the Francophile Muslim elite. In the meantime, the M.T.L.D developed for the purpose a complete party political organization directed by permanent officials, and bused the masses in the tows and awoke the peasants to the revolution.

Messali El-Hadj who was assigned by the police to residence in France in 1952, lost influence; however, Jacques, Chevallier the new and liberal major of Algiers drew the M.T.L.D members of his council into the government of the city. The crumble of the M.T.L.D by 1953 was precipitated by Messali’s own shortsightedness in allowing himself to be elected as president for life in July 1954. The elected members of the M.T.L.D’s central committee there upon formed a new centralist party in favor of a broad coalition with other parties\(^ {40} \).

It was within these political vacuumums that a new generation of revolutionary upstarts emerged to organize and create National Liberation Front ( F.L.N) in its revolution against French rule. However, these new leaders were not ideologically motivated, instead; “their decision to act was based on a common agreement that the legal nationalist movement had failed and was disintegrating, that national independence was the primary condition for Muslin Algerians both to regain their honor and to advance

\(^{39}\) Ibid., P. 105
\(^{40}\) Ibid., P. 107
sociably and economically and that violence was the only way that the French colonial system could be destroyed in Algeria. Beyond these simple perceptions there was little agreement”\textsuperscript{41}

2.3.6 Algeria's War and the Liberation, 1954-1962

2.3.6.1 The Early Stage of the War

The first mission of the F.L.N (National Liberation Front) was to achieve the popular support in order to survive and to develop its military action. However, the spot chosen was the Aures mountain area of eastern Algerian for the outbreak of the revolution, and it was on November 1, 1954 in which the secretarial of F.L.N circulated a tract explaining its objective and methods. The leaders of November 1, 1954 having succeeded in their main goal, quickly capitalized on their activity by announcing through tract that explained the objectives and the methods of the revolution under the National Liberation Front and its military army, the “National Liberation Army”. However, the F.L.N aims were National independence through:

- The restoration of the sovereignty, democratic and social Algerian state within the framework of Islamic principals;
- Respect of all fundamental liberties without distinction of race or creed\textsuperscript{42}.

On the other hand, the F.L.N continued by stating its domestic goals;

\textsuperscript{42} Joan Gillespie, Algeria: Rebellion and Revolution, p. 112
1. Political reorganization by restoring the nationalizing revolutionary movement to its rightful course and by wiping out every vestige of corruption and reformism which are the cause of our present regression.

2. The rallying and organization of all the sound forces of the Algerian people in order to liquidate the colonial system\(^{43}\).

In the foreign goals, the F.L.N underlines these aims:

A. Internationalization of the Algerian problem

B. The fulfillment of North Africa unity within the national Arab-Muslim framework

C. The affirmation of active sympathy with regards to all nations supporting our liberation action\(^{44}\) within the framework of the United Nations.

However, the F.L.N in this time did not intend to seek the support of any particular bloc in the Cold War because the Arab league seemed to suggest a weak collaboration with the Asian bloc and especially in the United Nations, but more important was that the F.L.N brought in the Algerian people’s mind that “the struggle will be long, but the outcome is a certainty”.

The position of the F.L.N was to remain faithful to this earliest statement of policy during seven years in which the war lasted. The revolution continued to spread slowly from the Aures Mountain and southeastern Algeria to the mountainous regions around Constantine (East Algeria); however, a year after the uprising began the F.L.N, had consolidated its

\(^{43}\) Ibid., 113
\(^{44}\) Ibid., 113
position and acquired new recruits, creating a unified military front against the French, who by now, realized the revolt had become a revolution.\textsuperscript{45}

The revolution managed to disrupt profoundly the internal life of both Algerians and French. However, the F.L.N established a significant presence in France, and the first task was the destruction of (M.N.A.) Algerian National Movement, which was created by Messali El-Hadj and he refused to join the F.L.N in the early stage of the War, the M.N.A whose base of support, from the many Algerian workers living in France, and "many of the atrocities that characterized the war of independence grow out of the internecine M.N.A- F.L.N battle and the merciless "café wars" that were waged on French sidewalks and in back streets and the cost several thousand lives."\textsuperscript{46}

\textbf{2.3.6.2. The War after Soummam’s Congress, 1956}

In August 1956, a national congress, the F.L.N, was held in Soummam valley in lower Kabylia in order to reinforce the F.L.N, and the Congress came out with three principles: "the priority of the interior over the exterior the political over the military organization, and collegial decision-making."\textsuperscript{47} In an attempt to incorporate in the overall F.L.N structure so many developed elements already in place or newly formed, the F.L.N scarified the ideological co hence necessary to give the revolution its political and social meaning in the postwar period.

\textsuperscript{45} John P. Entelis; \textit{Algeria, the Revolution Institutionalized} p. 51
\textsuperscript{47} John P. Entelis; \textit{Algeria, the Revolution Institutionalized} p. 55
In 1958, was the establishment of a provisional government (G.P.R.A) in which the F.L.N was still able to maintain control over the war effort, and gained the support of a large population of the Algerian Muslims, “and ultimately achieve independence from the French yet the revolution’s ultimate success came less at the hands of a victorious guerilla army than as a consequence of the intensive political economic, and world wide diplomatic strains that the conflict had inflicted on the foundations of the French policy more often than not French military efforts in a contrary way produced the forces of their own undoing, internally, for example, the more the nationalist cause grew in the hearts and minds of the Algerian people.”48

On the international level, many Arab nations, Third World, and Communist countries were full of diplomatic recognition of Algeria’s provisional government. In the United States itself, John FG. Kennedy in mid 1957, spoke out publicly in Favor of Algerian independence.

The external and internal pressures ultimately, had very much influence on France’s Algerian policy and revealed the basic paradox of the conflict that had been ongoing since 1954. “France was strong, militarily, in Algeria, but weak, politically at home, the F.L.N was weak, militarily at home, but strong politically abroad.”49

48 Ibid., P. 55
By the 1958, the Algerian war toppled several French's governments and the progressive abdication by metropolitans of their civilian functions in Algeria had now given actual control in Algeria to the French Army\textsuperscript{50}. In May 1958 the colons joined the Army to enforce government in Paris. However, General Charles DE-Gaulle who brought the fifth French Republic had not yet taken a strong action, but thus far the determined and perhaps desperate army was standing fast\textsuperscript{51}.

General De-Gaulle would doubtlessly had exploited to the fullest any F.L.N willingness to take up the offer of a "peace of the brave", but he did not get any such response. In a press conference on March 28, 1959 De-Gaulle answered a reporter when he asked him how the situation in Algeria had developed since his offer of the "peace of the brave". He replied "there have been 130 years of vicissitudes in Algeria... I doubt that anyone has never been able to imagine that peace and prosperity would come all a sudden to a torn Algeria, or that was necessary, at the height of a persistent fever, was to shout down one slogan with other slogans in order that all the internal and external causes of the present war should disappear as if by magic."\textsuperscript{52} However, the talks between Algerian and France were matter of times and finally, General De-Gaulle led a war-weary and isolated France to the negotiating table, and in March 1962 in Evian a cease-fire was agreed upon the both sides.

On July 01, 1962, some 06 million of a total Algerian electorate of 6.5 million cast their ballots in the referendum on independence. The vote was nearly unanimous.

\textsuperscript{50} Joan Gillespie, Algeria: Rebellion and Revolution., p. 174
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., 147.
\textsuperscript{52} Edward Behr; The Algerian Problem P. 158
De Gaulle pronounced Algeria an independent country on July 3. The provisional executive, however, proclaimed July 05, the 132 anniversary of the French entry into Algeria as the day of national independence, after more than 1.5 million of martyrs and nearly 2 million Algerian had lost their homes.

2.4 Algeria's Post-independence, 1962-1992

2.4.1 Algeria under Ben Bella Regime, 1962-1965

On September 20, 1962 elections for the Algerian National Assembly were held. All powers of the G.R.P.A were transferred to the new assembly, and formal proclamation of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria was made\(^5\).

Six days later Ahmed Ben Bella became the first president of Algeria in 1962, with the support of Colonel Houari Boumedienne, who was elected as the chief of staffs for National Liberation Army. The country he presided over had been established as an Arab-Islamic Socialist state with a single party political system with the F.L.N being the only legal party, and he exercised collective leadership and ruled the country from a central political Bureau\(^6\). Ahmed Ben Bella, during his three years as president made some attempts to revive Algeria, but eventually he failed to resist to the vanity of international politics and domestic autocracy. He did not instill confidence among a war-weary population. Instead he increased his personal standing and power. In April 1963,

\(^5\) John P. Entelis; *Algeria, the Revolution Institutionalized* p. 58

\(^6\) [www.france.com17+2bk/PAGES/algeria/historyaa_independence.html](http://www.france.com17+2bk/PAGES/algeria/historyaa_independence.html)
he managed to become the secretary general of the F.L.N. Then, he planned the way for a constitution creating a presidential system with the F.L.N as the unique political party. He was also chosen president for a five-year term, and he assumed for a little while becoming head of state and head of Government\(^55\).

Many historians and politicians said that he never struggled with the country's hard core problems such as unemployment and the deficit of technical and administrative skills that prevented the country from becoming a modern nation.

In April 1964 the third congress of the F.L.N was held in Algiers to come out with the ideological differences among various rival groups within the ruling establishment, and the congress exacerbated the feud between Ben Bella and Boumedienne. Ben Bella attempted to strengthen the leftist organizations in the hope that they would help him against the army, while Boumedienne tried to unify the army against Ben Bella by resolving the Conflict between the former Wilaya leaders and the newer officers of the A.N.P\(^56\).

\(^{55}\) John P. Entelis; *Algeria, the Revolution Institutionalized* p. 59

\(^{56}\) Ibid., p. 59

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2.4.2 Algeria under Boumedienne Regime, 1965-1978

On June 19, 1965 Defense minister Houri Boumedienne overthrew Ben Bella by a bloodless coup. The military takeover hardly caused a wave in Algerian society and the constitution was suspended, and the power transformed to Boumedienne. He created a 26-member council of revolution, which became the country’s highest government body, with the army displacing the F.L.N as the overriding influence.

Boumedienne was named Prime Minister and Minister of Defense, and Abdelaziz Bouteflika continued as the foreign minister. According to the council of Revolution, the goals of the government was to reestablish the principal of the revolution, to remedy the abuses of personal power associated with Ben Bella, to end internal divisions, and to create a real socialist society based on a sound economy.\textsuperscript{57}

In presenting the new government, Boumedienne explained the principal of collegiality that was to be the guideline of his government: “No one will be allowed to impose his idea or his will on the others the minister will be responsible to the council of ministers, which will judge them according to their work, it being understood that each minister must execute the decisions of the higher authorities... the government has to

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., p. 60
substitute democratic centralism and collegiality for personal power, it has decided to put an end to favoritism in the division of responsibilities and tasks58.

The coup d'état brought a new cycle in Algeria’s political life and a coalition of clans similar to the one that had imposed itself in the Fall of 1962, but the differences between Ben Bella and Boumedienne were reflected in the conception each had of which was the dynamic political groups in the country also Ben Bella was relying on the workers, the peasants and the leftist intellectuals, while Boumedienne meant the Mujahidin59.

After the coup, the Revolutionary council devoted little attention to Algerian external issues and also it focused its efforts on internal problems. However, when African and Asian countries whose chiefs of state were scheduled to attend the Afro-Asian conference in Algiers on November 05, Boumedienne was not personally interested in the meeting and even declared at one point that “spending 150 million Dinars ( $30 million) for a five day invitation is revolutionary... this policy of prestige will not be followed any longer.”60 However, he did not cancel the conference because of the prestige this would entail for Algeria, so the foreign minister of Forty-five African and Asian countries meeting in Algiers in late October, unanimously decided to put off the conference.

58 David B. Ottaway, and Marina Ottaway, Algeria the politics of a socialist Revolution, University of California Press Berkeley and Los Angeles., 1970. p. 194
59 the Arabic word Mujahid mean “freedom Fighter” the French language press in Algeria refers to the veterans of the war for independence as “anciens moudjahidine” or veteran freedom fighters
60 Ibid., P. 2002 Boumediene’s speech to Algerian Journalists October 20,1965
Boumediene's rules, led him to reassess the statues of the nation's political institutions, particularly its single-party governing structure; the F.L.N. a stable political environment had been achieved. The F.L.N had been allowed to become waning and overly bureaucratized. On June 19, 1975 Boumediene announced the preparation of a national charter constitution, and in May 1976 Boumediene submitted the charter to public debate. On June 27, 1976, the new National Charter was accepted by a referendum. The charter represents an ideological inventory of Algeria's socialist history and indicates the path the country intends to follow. It also delineates the popular and institutional basis of the future Algeria. In November 1976, Algerians went to the polls and overwhelmingly approved a new constitution that reactivated the national assembly, now to be called the Popular National Assembly (A.P.N.). A month after the approval of the constitution, Boumediene was elected president of Algeria and presided until his death.

Algeria under Boumediene rules has known urbanization - Boumediene established a more authentically collective form of leadership that began to come to grip with building a modern Algeria, Algerian's oil resources were developed and an industrial sector was established and the education and literacy became a focus of concentration and agricultural land reform continued. So Algeria was shocked by the sudden illness of Boumediene in November 1978. His death a month later from a rare blood disease left Algeria without a designated successor and as stipulated in the constitution, National

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61 John P. Entelis; Algeria, the Revolution Institutionalized p. 61
Assembly President, Rabah Bitat, assumed interim responsibilities as chief of state, while a special congress of the F.L.N was convened to chose candidate and the congress’ choice of Colonel Chadli, a senior military officer.

2.4.3 Algeria under Chadli Regime, 1979-1992

When Colonel Chadli Benjedid, was elected president of Algeria, he began to lighten up the government’s authoritarian practices and made a genuine attempt to solve some of the country’s problem in the years immediately following Boumedienne’s death. Chadli Benjedid later undertook a number of wide-ranging initiations. He consolidated his power and took full control of the state, party and military apparatus. On other hand, the popular measures that Chadli implemented nearly directly after assuming power in 1979 included. “the lifting of control against certain dissidents at home like Ferhat Abbas and Ben Youssef Ben khedda, who come out in 1976 against Boumedienn’s foreign policy particularly Algeria’s relation with Morocco, and he release of politically innocuous prisoners such as Ben Bella , who had been placed under house arrest following the 1965 coup... he also implemented of a massive anticorruption drive directed against well known public figures like Abdelaziz Bouteflika, who had been the country’s long term foreign minister from 1963 to 1979 as well as against numerous other high-ranking officials and their subordinates.”

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62 Ibid., p. 65.
Chadli implemented many policies shifts, including administrative, economic, and foreign policy realms, which I’m going to explain in chapter 5. Other changes included opening up the Algerian economy to certain types of limited foreign investment, expanding and revitalizing the country’s private sector such as agriculture and consumer industries, diversifying arms purchases away from Soviet Union and towards such western manufacturers such as Britain and United States. However, in the late of 1980s with the fall of oil prices and the resurgence of Islam, the government’s credibility fell dramatically. Benjedid responded by initiating the program for the form, by making investment, privatization and reduction of socialist centralization. However, his action was too drastic, and in October 1988 Algeria exploded in riots, and in response to this, a new constitution to Algeria brought about the reduction of F.L.N and allowed limited political opposition for the first time since, and giving public sector employees the right to strike.

On the other hand, the constitution was still rigged in Favor of the F.L.N, severely limiting the activity of opposition parties, and the most opponent party in which he raised after 1989 was Islamic Salvation Front (F.I.S). With this, he won the first victory over F.L.N in municipal and provincial election in 1990, and he improved this victory in December 1991 in general elections when the vast majority of Algeria embraced FIS tenets and led the F.I.S a stunning first round victory over the other parties upon them which included the F.L.N. Unfortunately this victory was taken up by the military when they forced the president, Chadli Bendjed to resign, and they took the power and dismantled the FIS.