



## The End of Colonies and the Rise of Modern Terrorism: Algeria

The History of Terrorism  
as a Strategy of Political  
Insurgency

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## World War II and the Decline of Empires

Nationalist sentiments in colonial areas boiled over after WWII. Why?

### Changed Expectations...

- The Atlantic Charter
- The Myth of Imperial Invincibility
- The Cold War
- Mao and Peoples War

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This first part of this section is based on the second Chapter of Bruce Hoffman's book Inside Terrorism. The sections on the Algerian war are based on book Modern Algeria: A History from 1830 to the Present by Charles-Robert Ageron and John Ruedy's book, Modern Algeria.

The Ottoman and Hapsburg Empires faced significant internal tensions from Ethnic Nationalist and these tensions contributed to their demise following the First World War, but for other empires, the tensions were just beginning.

The aftermath of World War II would set these tensions ablaze as nationalist sentiments, fueled by changing expectations, moved to the forefront for many indigenous populations. This change in expectations would lead to the breakup of all the major European overseas empires over the next two decades (with a few exceptions).

So what caused people's expectations to change so much?

- The Atlantic Charter
- The British loss of Singapore to the Japanese in 1942
- The Cold War
- Mao's Victory in 1949 - Success breeds success

## Expectations and a New World Order

The Atlantic Charter

- Promise of self determination
- Legal Frame work

The Decline of European Power

- Economic decline
- Perceptions of Invincibility and inevitability changed

The Rise of the Soviet Union

The Strategy of Peoples War

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### **The Atlantic Charter**

Prior to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December of 1941, the United States had entered into several very significant arrangements with Great Britain to facilitate their war effort including the Lend Lease arrangement. As part of this increased close cooperation, and in anticipation of the USA eventually entering the conflict directly, Roosevelt and Churchill met off the coast of Newfoundland to outline their post war international intentions. 8 key points were made and they became the Atlantic Charter.

Below is the joint proclamation issued by FDR and Winston Churchill. The 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> points would become very popular with ethnic nationalists in colonial territories, and would in many cases be interpreted as promise for independence at the conclusion of the war.

*The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.*

*First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;*

*Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;*

*Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;*

*Fourth, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;*

*Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security;*

*Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;*

*Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;*

*Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.*

*Franklin D. Roosevelt  
Winston S. Churchill*

Well, now they had really done it. Later the declaration of the United Nations agreed to by Britain and US on January 1, 1942 would include these principles, and later efforts by the British to exclude their empire (we really only meant the German, Japanese, and Italian Empires) from the conversation did not go far. The cat was already out of the bag. Expectations had changed.

In addition to a legal framework coming into place, the defeat of the British by the Japanese (a non-European and non-Caucasian race) in Singapore in 1942 changed the perception of British and imperial invincibility. The Europeans could be engaged, and beaten. The defeat of the French in Indochina at the hands of the Japanese made it completely impossible for them to realistically reassert their rule after World War II with so much of their imperial authority gone. In other areas such as Africa and the Middle East, a return to pre-War Status quo was simply not acceptable to native populations.

Adding to the post war tumult was the rise of the Soviet Union as a Great Power, and their interest in helping liberate the workers of the world (specifically, the ones outside their territories). Seeing an ideological match in many of the young activist leaders, and a geo-political opportunity to undermine the Western states, the Soviets funneled advisors, doctrine, and supplies into the nationalist movements globally. The US did far less for the colonies trying to throw off their European rulers, and it was noticed.

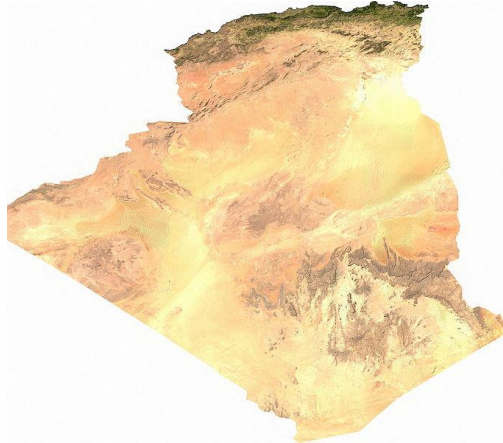
With Mao's victory in 1949, a road map for the people's struggle was tested and accepted as the path for many young Marxist revolutionaries, and accelerated with the victories of revolutionary movements in Asia and Africa.

So for the next part of this discussion, let's focus in depth on Algeria first, and then we will look at similar events in Palestine and Cyprus for comparative purposes.

## Algeria – Geography

The place looks a little dry

- 3.4% of the land is arable
- No Major Rivers, minimal rain
- Atlas Mountain Range
- Lots of sand
- Oasis



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In many ways, this was one of the last immediate post World War II colonial independence struggle. It occurred relatively later than other anti-colonial wars. Because of its somewhat delayed start, many of the lessons of prior independence struggles had been learned and are incorporated into the Algerian struggle.

### **The Geography**

Most of the country is unpleasant with that hot desert sandy thing going on, but the coastal area is nice. The availability of water is the most important variable shaping Algerian history, and the Atlas mountain range across the North helps protect the coast and creates some good agricultural land, although they are not high enough to generate a snow pack and more favorable water conditions. They lack any significant rivers, so dry condition agriculture, such as cereals, and are better suited than other crops.

Deforestation was significant in the Colon era, and this has been an ongoing problem.

# Economy of Algeria

## Main industries are

- agriculture
- Petroleum & Natural Gas
- Mining
- Light industries

## Employment

- 14% Agricultural
- Industry
- 13% construction
- 15% trade
- 32% Government
- 16% other

Year	Gross Domestic Product	US Dollar Exchange	Inflation Index (2000=100)	Per Capita Income (as % of USA)
1980	162,500	3.83 Algerian Dinars	9.30	18.51
1985	291,600	4.77 Algerian Dinars	14	15.55
1990	554,400	12.19 Algerian Dinars	22	10.65
1995	2,004,990	47.66 Algerian Dinars	73	5.39
2000	4,123,514	75.31 Algerian Dinars	100	5.17
2005	7,493,000	73.44 Algerian Dinars	114	7.43

<http://data.worldbank.org/country/algeria>

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From the Web I pulled the following information (see link listed below)

Agricultural production is a moderate contributor to the Algerian economy, accounting for 11-12 percent of GDP and 22 percent of total employment in 1997, but has declined since independence

Years of government restructuring, lack of investment, meager water resources, and dependence on rainwater for irrigation have contributed to this decline. The production of cereals as well as orchard and industrial crops has significantly dropped. As a result, Algeria today has become dependent on food imports, accounting for close to 75 percent of food needs.

Although Algeria is the second-largest country in Africa, the arable land of about 8.2 million hectares accounts for only 3.4 percent of the total land area. The vast Sahara desert, which spans much of the south central part of the country, is not available for agriculture.

Between 1961 and 1987, all arable land was controlled by the state, which divided the land into state farms, known as *domaines agricoles socialistes*. State farms were dismantled in 1987 and the land was divided into smaller collective and individual farms. Despite these measures, about one-third of cultivable land in Algeria is still owned by the government, which leases the land to private investors and farmers.

The remaining two-thirds of arable land (about 5 million hectares) is privately owned.

Algeria's main crops are cereals (mainly wheat and barley), citrus fruit, vegetables, and grapes. Fresh dates exports have risen sharply in the past decade and have become the second-largest export after hydrocarbons. Some 72,000 hectares are cultivated with palm trees, mainly in the Saharan oases. Algerian dates are mainly exported to France, Russia, Senegal, and Belgium.

Algeria was once a major exporter of wine and associated products. Despite government efforts to revive the sector, production has fallen significantly since 1962, reaching 248,000 hectoliters (6,552,160 U.S. gallons) in 1996, down from 410,000 hectoliters (10,832,200 U.S. gallons) in 1992.

Algeria is also a producer of olive oil, and production has generally averaged around 150,000 hecto-liters (3,963,000 U.S. gallons) annually.

The bulk of Algeria's crops are cultivated in the fertile but narrow plains around Bejaïa and Annaba in the east, in the Mitidja Plain south of Algiers, and beyond Oran from Sidi Bel Abbes to Tlemcen. The agricultural sector's dependence on rainwater for irrigation has often affected its production levels, especially during droughts. The cereal harvest, for example, was badly affected by drought conditions that plagued North Africa in 2000, producing only half of its annual yield.

Hence, despite government efforts to extend funding and technical assistance to farmers and increase the productivity of the agricultural sector, Algeria imports the bulk of the food it consumes, especially cereals (mainly wheat).

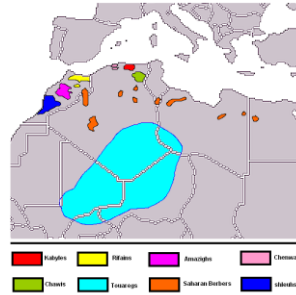
Read more: [Algeria Agriculture, Information about Agriculture in Algeria  
http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/economies/Africa/Algeria-  
AGRICULTURE.html#ixzz1Dr3dYtGR](http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/economies/Africa/Algeria-AGRICULTURE.html#ixzz1Dr3dYtGR)



# The Berbers

## Berbers

- In Africa since 3000 BC
- Scattered throughout the Maghreb
- Tribal and nomadic
- 3 main dialects
- Distinctive music and dress
- Major Empires in 11<sup>th</sup> through 13<sup>th</sup> centuries
- A darn fine looking bunch of people



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Algeria is majority Arab, but has about 20-25% Berber population. The division is at this point mostly a linguistic divide, and I have heard different views on the language origin, so I will only say it is not a Semitic language. The Berbers were dominant in the area at different points, but starting with the Punic Era (106 BC) they were gradually pushed off the coast and into the mountains where they retained or regained tribal social organization (depends on who you read). Bouts of Christianity, Judaism, and tribal religions were gradually replaced by Islam with its arrival in the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

<http://www.africaguide.com/culture/tribes/berber.htm>

## **BERBER:**

Location: Berbers have lived in Africa since the earliest recorded time. References date back to 3000 BC. There are many scattered tribes of Berber across Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt. Forty percent of the Moroccan population is Berber, 30% live in Algeria, and 1% in Tunisia. There are smaller numbers of Berbers in Mauritania, Mali, and Niger. They tend to live in desert regions like the Sahara and in the Atlas Mountains. They live there because the Arabs conquered North Africa in the 7th century AD, and pushed the Berbers out. The number of Berbers in North Africa has slowly declined because more and more Berbers are adopting the language and culture of the Arabs.

Language: Berber is derived from the Roman term for barbarians. Berbers are non-Arabic tribes. Throughout the centuries Berbers have mixed with many ethnic groups, mostly Arabs. Because of this, Berbers have come to be identified by linguistics instead of racial basis. The Berber language has 300 closely related dialects. A number of tribes have their own distinct language. Some of the largest Berber tribes are Rif, Kabyle, Shawia, Tuareg, Haratin, Shluh, and Beraber. The written language is not commonly taught and is rarely used.

Daily Life: Berbers are traditionally Muslim, and societies are quite fragmented. Berbers have had a constant struggle for power in North Africa with Arab tribes for centuries. The Barbary Coast of North Africa was named after the word Berber, and was known as a place where Arab and Berber pirates would prey on ships on the Mediterranean Sea. Traditionally, Berbers raised sheep and cattle. However, some Berbers subsist by working in flourmills, doing woodcarving, quarrying millstones, and making pottery or jewelry. Women were generally involved with housework, weaving, and pottery. Berbers generally live in rural areas. Their housing is usually clay huts or tents made out of goat hair. In larger villages, however, houses are made of stone. Today, most Berbers are migrant workers who work in Spain or France.

# French Colonization

Declining Ottoman Empire and Expanding French Empire meet in 1829 Algiers.

French Colonization accelerates from 1848 to 1870

Land Seizures from Indigenous population accelerates

- If an Arab or Berber abandoned an Estate (especially if the French were shooting at them), the estate could be seized.
- Seizure of lands of any who fought against the French
- Seizure of public lands – pastures held communally, or even religious land administered for charitable purposes
- Legal challenges to titled land (in Algiers alone 95,000 titles changed hands from Muslims to the French)

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## The French in Algeria

Charles-Robert Ageron was a French Historian who provided excellent documentation on the Algerian war. Unfortunately, I lost much of the actual reference sources, so can only simply acknowledge his major influence on this section. If it sounds like an intelligent point, it is almost certainly his point, not mine. His book Modern Algeria: A History from 1830 to the Present contributed greatly to the next few sections. John Ruedy's book, Modern Algeria was also used extensively. Almost everything following is from these two gentlemen's work.

So what got the French first into Algeria, then just so *into* Algeria, the love of their colonies?

Let's set this up a bit.

First, the Algerians were part of the Ottoman Empire for many centuries, really since the Ottomans took over from the Arabs in that part of the world. An important point I think is that they had a fair amount of autonomy, and had developed significant localized administrative and economic controls of their areas, with an associated social hierarchy, economy, and culture. They were a mix of the Arab and Berber peoples, and had a reasonably coherent society.

Debts to France and internal issues of the Ottoman Empire led to the first French

intervention in 1829, with 37,000 troops occupying the city of Algiers. Occupation became formal in 1834 when the French developed a very mediocre local administration (primarily of the coastal areas around Algiers, Oran, Bougie, and Bone). Conditions in the cities were poor, French interest in Algeria waxed and waned with political turnover in Paris, and the mediocrity of partial occupation escalated into frequent conflicts with the Arabs and the Berbers.

In the great colonial traditions of the time, razing villages and burning crops was the main antidote administered to the restless indigenous populations. And since few Algerians held title to lands held in the communal manner of herding pastoral people, the lands therefore must be not owned by anyone, and therefore appropriated by the French (who had lawyers and knew how to assign titles to land). Throw in a few epidemics, and the natives were quite miserable and occasionally restless. Insurrections happened, and were dealt with, harshly. Fines were often levied, resulting in more land being taken in lieu of payment.

Around this time, it became apparent that there were more Arabs and Berbers than Europeans, so getting more Europeans became important. In 1848, 15,000 Parisians were deported to Algeria. In 1870, after the Paris Commune was put down, many trouble makers were sent to Algeria. And in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, since Algeria was two days on boat compared to up to 6 weeks to get to America, many Europeans (Spain, Portugal, Italy, etc.), chose the shorter ride to go to Algeria.

But where to put all these new people?

-First, if an Arab or Berber abandoned an Estate (especially if the French were shooting at them), the estate could be seized.

-Second, seize the lands of any who fought against the French

-Seize public lands – pastures held communally, or even religious land administered for charitable purposes

-Legal challenges to titled land (in Algiers alone 95,000 titles changed hands from Muslims to the French)

## The Destruction of the Indigenous Society

The Assimilation “Option” was about eliminating the Islamic culture

- Muslim courts were closed
- Muslim schools were closed
- Native economy was disrupted
- Only Christians had the potential for full rights
- Nomadic groups were forcible discouraged

Collapsing agricultural prices and increased European Migration increased pressure on the indigenous traditions

Sporadic insurrections led to extended, disproportionate retaliations

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Collapsing agricultural prices and cholera epidemic from 1847 to 1851 accelerated the transition. Government polices encouraged European migration, and the end of nomadic behaviors (why be a nomad when you can be an indentured peasant?).

Along the way assimilation of Arabs became a goal, for some. The French Colons favored it much more than the Bureaux Arabes, who had some good reasons for not liking it.

- \*Muslim courts were closed
- \*Muslim schools were closed
- \*Native economy was disrupted
- \*Only Christians had the potential for full rights

The Colons also seized more ground, and the Arab insurrections were re-kindled. And they were put down.

So what did all this mean?

## Pauperization of the Indigenous Population

- Decades of war
- Mass land appropriations
- Forced population relocations
- Disruption of local markets
- Fragmentation of farms (most were too small to support the farmers)
- Flat agricultural production
- Increased reliance on wage work
- Increased urbanization (proletariat)
- Population declined by 1/3<sup>rd</sup> between 1830 and 1872
- Destruction of Arab and Turkish elites
- Destruction of social and tribal structures (schools, courts, local political structures)

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### Economic Impact- Pauperization of the indigenous population

- \*Decades of war
- \*Mass land appropriations
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From 1830 to 1872, the population of Algeria declined by 1/3<sup>rd</sup>

Social, Political, and Cultural assault on religion – remember France was extremely secular, and this passed on to the Colons. They hated Islam and its traditions.

- \*Multiple wife discouraged
- \*Closure of mosques (and confiscation)
- \*Closure of Islamic Schools
- \*Desecration of cemeteries
- \*Requirement to renounce Islam to gain certain rights and benefits

\*Impediments to training Imams

Through much of the 19<sup>th</sup> century we see every major Arab/Berber economic, social, political, and cultural assaulted, and the near complete erasure of the Old Societal Elites.

## Towards a New Elite

### Factors in the rise of a New Elite

- Urbanization
- Trading and Artisan classes emerged
- Growing Expatriate community working and learning in France
- Fully Bilingual

*Most of the New Elite favored Assimilation and increased ties to France*

### Factors against Assimilation

- It was good to be a Colon! The living was easy...
- Increased Arab and Berber Birth rates and declining European immigration
- Underemployed, growing urban population
- World financial shocks

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By 1890 a new, secular elite began to emerge, to fill the void.

- 1,000 to 2,000 in number
- Urban
- Bilingual French-Arabic
- Predominantly assimilationist
- Confronted by Colons, who did not want Arabs assimilated

Their numbers would grow as more were working in France (300,000 by 1950)

Factors Working Against Assimilation: Initially the new modern Algerian urban elite sought assimilation into the broader French society, and believed they were the bridge to that assimilation. By enlightening the French in France to their condition and desires, they believed they could achieve equality with the Colons.

The Colons: Why did the Colons resist assimilation efforts by the Arabs/Berbers? Remember, they came to Algeria to improve their standard of living. The average Colon had an income 7 times that of the average Arab/Berber, and they wanted to keep it. To do this they engaged in classical colonial behaviors

- Expropriate the best Algerian resources
- Destroyed the pre-1830 social structure
- Re-oriented the native population towards the needs of a colonial economy



-Established a cheap urban labor pool

The Economy and Demographics: The 1920s and 1930s saw major changes to the global economy and the demographics of Algeria.

-Bad crop years

-Growing, under employed urban population

-World financial market gyrations

-Post World War I inflation

-Declining European immigration and birth rates

-Rising Arab and Berber birth rates

## Early Modern Opposition

In 1927 the Etoile Nord-Afrique emerged demanding

- Independence for Algeria
- Withdrawal of French Army
- Creation of an Algerian Army
- Freedom of the Press
- Universal Suffrage

Again, they spoke for the minority in Algeria – most Arabs and Berbers favored assimilation.

Most Colons thought things were just fine the way they were.

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Early modern Opposition: The destruction of the common culture made it difficult for independence groups to coalesce into broader movements, but some did emerge.

In 1927 the Etoile Nord-Afrique emerged demanding

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## Then it started to hit the fan...

### Who was really fighting who?

- A colonial war for independence, with both Guerilla and Terror tactics employed
- A Civil War between those who wished to separate and those who favored assimilation
- A Civil War between the FLN and other rival independence groups.
- A civil strife in France as many thousands of Algerians and French Algerians in France would take to the streets in protest.
- Colon Agenda: The Colons had a very specific agenda that they would promote aggressively in both Algeria and in France, and if necessary at the expense of the French governments agenda.

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By the 1950's and influenced by the Atlantic Charter, and following the success of multiple other independence movement, the independence movement starts to gain some momentum, with the most significant emerging force being the National Liberation Front (FLN).

Algeria's unique role in France: It is very important to understand that Algeria was integrated in France as a department of France, and was largely seen not separable from France by the French in France, and the French (Colons) who had been born and raised for generations in Algeria, speaking and living a French life style. It is also important to note, not all Arab, Berber and Jewish indigenous Algerians wanted separation from France. Many favored assimilation. This was especially true among Algerians who had served in the Free French forces. There was also conflict between independence movements, with the Marxist FLN determined to emerge from the conflict in power in Algeria.

At the conclusion of the war, approximately 10% of the population of Algeria relocated to France. 90% were the Pied Noirs (Colons) who were French citizens, and about 10% were Hakis, Algerians who had fought alongside the Colons.

So when we look at the war keep in mind it is:

A colonial war for independence, with both Guerilla and Terror tactics employed  
A Civil War between those who wished to separate and those who favored

assimilation

A Civil War between the FLN and other rival independence groups.

A civil strife in France as many thousands of Algerians and French Algerians in France would take to the streets in protest.

Colon and French conflicts of interest: The Colons had a very specific agenda that they would promote aggressively in both Algeria and in France, and if necessary at the expense of the French governments agenda. This had been the pattern for over a century, and it did not change until Algeria achieved independence and the colons left.

## 1954 to 1956

### Some Key points about this phase

- The Urban phase was designed to attract International attention
- Bombings were the primary tactic in Urban areas
- Civilians were targets by 1955
- It was a psychological attack in the enemy's stronghold
- It is consistent with Mao's strategy of Peoples War
- The employed the Lessons Learned from prior successful revolutions – this form of conflict evolves
- It was Nationalistic
- For the FLN, Politics trumped Nationalism

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### **The Main Course of Events Summarized**

Teaching points – I tie back in some stuff early segment to create the illusion of flow or some grand intellectual vision.

Bruce Hoffman notes the sequence of events as follows:

1954-56 Algerian FLN is losing ground in rural areas to security forces, so switches to an urban strategy

-Strategy devised by Ramdane Abane with the intent of gaining international attention through increased media exposure.

-Bombings, involving mostly males but also including some notable female participation, were a primary tactic.

-1956 things deteriorated, the army was called out, brutal repression led to a shift in the political paradigm for both the international and French mainland communities.

-A psychological and political gain had been achieved in spite of a military defeat.

To Hoffman's points I would add:

-The war moved between stages in the classic People's war manner.

-Lessons were learned and used from other colonial conflicts.

-It was Nationalist and Political both

## How the French won the Military Conflict

### Start of Insurrection, November 1, 1954 All Saints Day

- Guerilla attacks against Administrative and Police and Military Targets
- Militarily unsuccessful

### Phillipeville Massacre 123 civilians killed and subsequent retaliation (12,000 killed?)

- Drove many Colons out of rural areas
- Radicalized Arabs and Berbers

### Café Wars in France between FLN and its rivals

### Battle for Algiers

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So let's get into a little more detail on each bullet point. And for clarity, we will focus on the FLN. There were other groups, but the FLN eliminated most of its rivals. In fact, they killed far more Muslims than they did French, some estimates involving 3 times as many rivals eliminated as compared to Colons. It is worth noting that multiple parties had military wings, so some of the most intense fighting was between rebel units.

Ruedy outlines the FLN's early organizational structure and efforts as follows...

Initially, the FLN organized itself into first 5, then later 6 military districts. The districts had a colonel supported by 3 assistants, one each for political affairs, logistics, and information.

The insurrection was launched simultaneously across the country on All Saints Day (November 1) in 1954. The Guerillas had between 500 and 3,000 men, with about half of them being armed (I have seen different numbers – some confusion probably surrounds the number of armed men). Most of the attacks were launched against government targets, including telegraph lines and buildings, but some civilians were killed. The French and the Colon response was more successful though, and the FLN was pushed into the more remotes regions of the country over the winter. One FLN district, Wilaya 4, saw its entire leadership captured in 10 days, while other districts saw some of their leaders killed.

At this point, most Algerians were thought to be relatively pro status quos, if not pro-French. The FLN policy was to avoid civilian attacks and this continued into 1955. The French at this point did not have a full grasp of the conflict and the hazards associated with the uprising, nor of their willingness to escalate.

In August 1955, the FLN massacred 123 civilians near Phillipeville. The youngest victim was 5 days old, the oldest 73 years. In response, the French claim to have killed 1,273 "Guerillas", while the FLN and Time Magazine claimed they killed 12,000 civilians. The retaliation involved both a formal army response, but much independent activity by police and private citizens organized into paramilitary and mob structures. This in turn created a much broader pool of recruits for the FLN and its rivals to draw from.

Increasing attacks on Colons drove them into urban areas, and increased pressure on the French government to change tactics. The French started to lose what control they had on the Colons, so abolished the Algerian Assembly (dominated by the Colons) and started to rule by decree. Governor General Lacoste favored strong military action.

At the same time, the FLN accelerated its efforts to influence unions, student and women's organizations, and professional groups. The FLN and its rival MA also extended their war to the France, with bombings beginning in the cafés of France. Intriguingly, their main targets were each other as they sought to influence the expatriate community in France and set the political course for an independent Algeria. The Café Wars officially claimed 4,000 dead with 6,000+ wounded.

In September 1956, the FLN went urban in its strategy and started calling for a nationwide strike and bombings in Algiers and other major cities. In the Spring of 1957, the FLN was carrying out 800 hit and run attacks a month. General [Jacques Massu](#), a veteran of the Indochina wars was given the task of restoring order at any cost, and he did with a large veteran force of paratroopers taking control of the Algiers. With curfews, systematic raids, torture, and other very repressive methods, the military won the Battle of Algiers, but started the political defeat of France when reports reached the French public and international audiences. Political doubt had now entered the public's mind.

The FLN kept up the pressure in the rural areas as well, but most of their targets were Algerians they suspected of supporting the MNA or the French. Murder, torture and mutilation were all practiced widely to control the population. It is estimated at this time the FLN had 40,000 troops, 30,000 of whom were stationed in neighboring countries.

Facing them were now 400,000 French troops, and up to 180,000 Algerian troops

(Hakis) were usually organized into all Algerians units commended by the French. Villages were held to be collectively responsible for any infractions, and remote villages were bombed from the air. Destructive military sweeps and mass arrests on little to no evidence escalated. Armor and helicopters were also brought in to create a significant advantage in massed firepower.

By 1958, search and destroy missions became the main tactic, and FLN activity was effectively suppressed in most areas of Algeria.

Where this really gets interesting is the next bit. The French Military had lost complete confidence in the French Government, and wanted Charles De Gaulle installed as President. Starting with a Coup d'état in Algiers, the military seized all of Algeria, then landed a force in Corsica. Preparations were underway to seize Paris next, when Parliament decided to install De Gaulle as president in 1958, ending the fourth Republic.



## How the French Lost the Political War

French Public was fatigued after Indochina

- Ghastly attacks from all sides

International Publicity increased the pressure

Massive Military Commitment

- 400,000 troops tied down (1% of population)

Political Outcome through the referendum

*Terrorism attacked the **Political Will** of the people through the **illegal** use of **Violence**, for a **Political purpose**, in an **indiscriminate** manner, to sow **psychological fear**, and to gain **publicity***

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Now begins a change in political environment:

First De Gaulle made statements such as "Vive l'[Algérie française](#)"

A new constitution was created discussing Algeria in the context of a "close association" with France, but not a department of France

All Algerians were organized and registered to vote, and 80% did desperate a FLN terror campaign to stop it.

The new constitution was approved.

The FLN organizes a government in exile

Opposition to the military in Algeria continued to grow in France

The words self determination were uttered by De Gaulle

The Colons feel betrayed and stage an insurrection of their own with the support of some military units

De Gaulle called on the army to stay loyal, and most did. Self determination became

the policy.

A referendum on Algerian independence in France and Algeria came back with 75% in favor, and the transition began. Another attempted Coup failed. A Colon Terror group, the OAS, tried to break the cease fire the FLN through up to 120 bombings a day in March 1961, but they were ineffective. The FLN for its part decided to drive the Colons out of Algeria through attacks on civilians, including the Oran Massacre of anywhere from 100 to 1500 persons were killed as the FLN seized the city while both the Algerian Police and French Army (under orders to stand still) did nothing to prevent it. More than 250,000 Colons left the city in the weeks to follow, almost all for France.

So what are the lessons learned here for the class?

Successful Political Insurgency methods are shared and emulated.

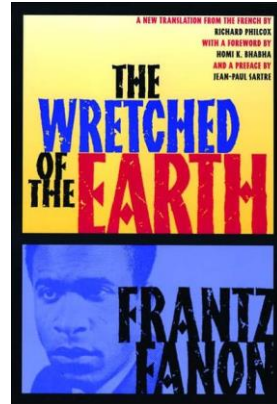
Terror is an integral part of a Guerilla Strategy.

## Appendix

“The Battle For Algiers” is a good movie to show in class – reference that it was commissioned by the Algerian Government

My Battle for Algiers by Ted Morgan is a good read also.

And I would encourage students to at least Wiki Frantz Fanon, or perhaps read a segment of The Wretched of the Earth



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# The Atlantic Charter

- *The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.*
- *First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;*
- *Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;*
- *Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;*
- *Fourth, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;*
- *Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security;*
- *Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;*
- *Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;*
- *Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.*

Franklin D. Roosevelt  
Winston S. Churchill

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