

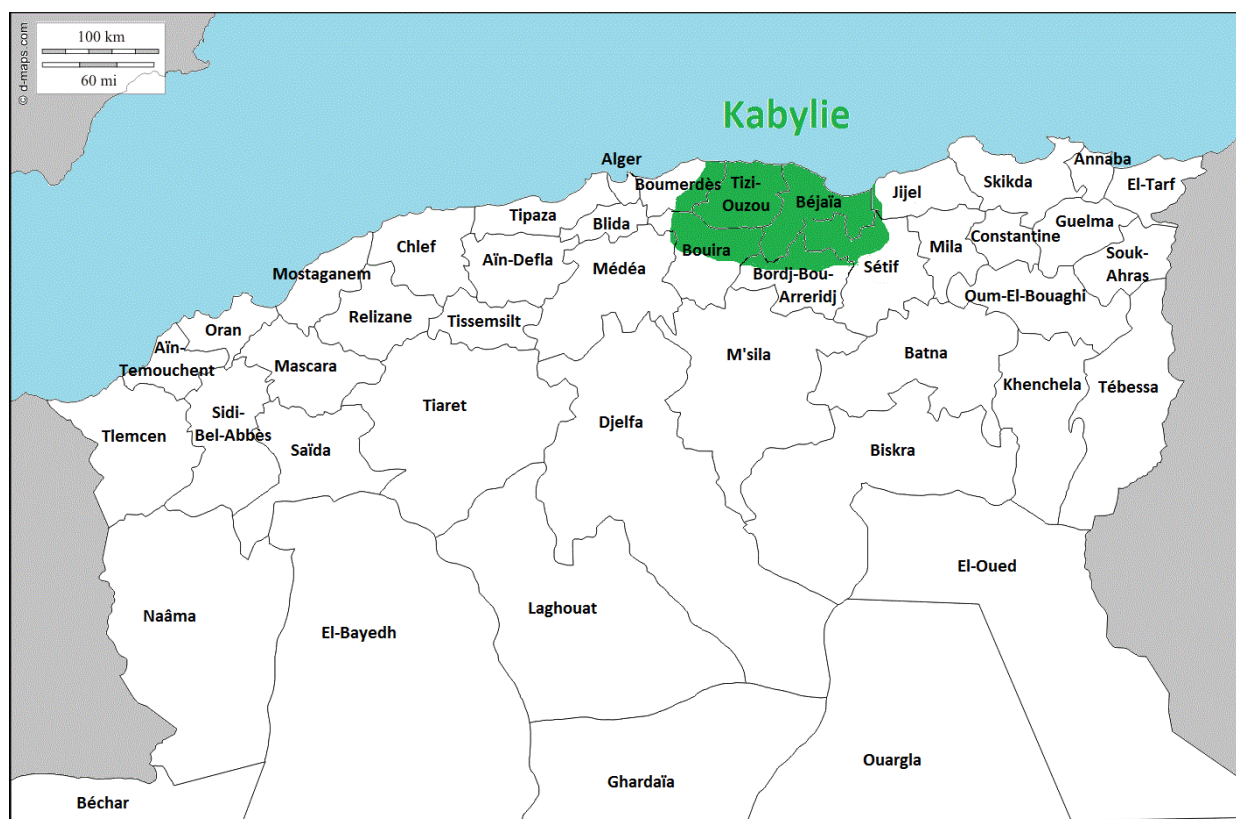
▼ People

- **Thomas Robert Bugeaud** - the first governor-general of Algeria who led the French advance into Algeria
- Abane Ramdane
- Maurice Audin
- Ali Boumendjel
- **Ferhat Abbas** - founded the UDMA
- **Henri Borgeaud** — one of the grand colons and one of the most powerful power brokers in Algiers
- **Laurent Schiaffino** — richest Algerian, who owned so many marine boats that the new government allows him to stay due to his criticalness
- **Belkacem Krim** - neuf historique, and the only leader to live the whole war while in the revolutionary leadership
- ▼ **Ben Badis** (1889–1940) — conservative Islamic theologian who believed in Algerian nationalism
 - Remains the only early nationalist still considered a hero in Algeria
- **Ahmed Ben Messali Hadj** (1898-1974) — major nationalist leader, based on socialism
- **Pierre Mendès France** - leftist head of France for eight months from 1954 to 1955. Ended the Indo-China war
- **Abdel Ben Bella** - founder of OS and major nationalist figure
- **Jacques Soustelle** - Governor General of Algeria
- **Ramdane Abane** — becomes one of the main intellectuals behind the FLN

▼ Organizations

- **Organisation Armée Secrète** (OAS)
- **l'Union démocratique du manifeste algérien** (UDMA) - Ferhat Abbas' main organ
- **Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Démocratiques** (MTLD) - founded by Messali after the Parti du Peuple Algerien was banned by the French authorities
- **Organisation spéciale** (OS) — the direct predecessor to FLN, which was founded by Ben Bella and derived from the MTLD after he felt that the org didn't go far enough. Would eventually be mostly arrested by French police.

- ▼ **Comité Révolutionnaire d'Unité et d'Action (CRUA)** — formed in 1954 as the new vanguard of the war.
 - **Neuf Historiques** - 9 leaders of the CRUA, all of whom would become nationalist leaders in the war (average age 32)
 - **Fellagha** - from Arabic “bandit” - Algerian nationalists who use violence to get independence
- ▼ Main narrative
 - ▼ Introductions
 - It was a **“war of peace” in that no declaration of hostilities was ever made** - it felt that the war could have been avoided if a little movement by people everywhere had made it more unlikely
 - Collective war and collective suffering — attempts to match that with the Islamic view of history that man can't change history
 - Main thesis: **Anti-colonial war for national liberation**
 - ▼ Context
 - Algeria is the 10th largest country in the world
 - ▼ Extremely poor until oil was discovered
 - **Aurès** was the poorest region and where much of the rebellion came from
 - ▼ **Kabylia** — extremely overpopulated given its fertility



▼ Pied Noirs

- Much more diverse than just “French” - probably only 20% French, with the rest being Mediterranean, particularly Spanish
- General **indifference** toward Muslims, rather than love/hate or any other emotion
- **Petit blancs** - the working class, generally making less money than in mainland France
- **Grand colons** - major families that owned the major monopolies and fertile land tracts. **Borgeaud, Schiaffino, Blachette**, etc.
- Jews in Algeria have a long history, had become poor, used France to move up economically, and ultimately would mostly side with FLN than France in the war
- ▼ France develops education well in Algeria, but massive population growth makes it nearly impossible to keep up
 - **“The most ineradicable cause of all Algeria’s economic woes from 1945 onwards, the factor constantly nullifying any French ideal or scheme of improving things had one simple, insoluble root: the net Muslim birthrate.”**
 - That keeps wages low and also demands more food production

- Also triggered pied noir fears of being wiped out
- Algeria's wine industry makes serious money, but mostly not to Muslims, *and they are offended by alcohol in the first place*
- ▼ France takes over Algeria in a war around 1830
 - ▼ **July Revolution** — Charles X is removed from power to be replaced by Louis-Phillipe for 18 years between 1830-1848
 - Charles X uses the Algerian takeover to distract from domestic unrest but falls anyway
 - Napoleon III becomes the first French leader to offer some sort of liberalizing law for Algeria but execution was mixed
 - Pied-noir settlers basically build the land and farming out of nothing
 - **Algeria was considered integral to France** (especially compared to Morocco and Tunisia) and was governed through the Interior Ministry rather than overseas ministries
 - ▼ Governance
 - Barely changes over the first 80 years
 - ▼ **Commune mixte** - huge problem for Algerians in that French were in charge, but there could be as few as 1-2 admins for every 60,000 Algerians
 - France was worried about building up an indigenous administrative corps
 - ▼ Algerians were French subjects but not citizens, and next to none of them transitioned over
 - In 1870, France gave citizenship to all Jews, which became a sore point with Muslims
 - There were multiple attempts at reform over the first 100 years, but lack of effort, political capital, and pied noir opposition blocks it
 - **Muslim nationalists were often lawyers, doctors and pharmacists – professions where Muslim advancement was mostly not blocked**
 - ▼ **Nationalisms**
 - ▼ Three strands
 - **Islamism** — Algerian is Islamic and must be run in an Islamic way
 - **Communist** — socialist in nature but also nationalist
 - **Liberal** — freedom and that strand. Constantly wants to be moderate and finding disappointment from France that forces the movement toward extremism
 - ▼ **Blum-Viollette Bill** — tries to reform the worst excesses in Algeria in 1930s, but it fails due to on-coming Hitler invasion.

- Horne argues this is the major turning point, for it damaged the liberals and showed that there was no real peaceful path forward to reform
- Hitler's defeat of France showed that they are weak, and cost French face in front of Muslims
- ▼ **Brazzaville Declaration** — DeGaulle promises self-determinism for Africans post-war because France needed deep colonial support
 - Deep unity with French until Sétif
- ▼ **Sétif Massacre** (May 8, 1945)
 - Tensions had been increasing due to crop failures the past two years (climate history)
 - ▼ Muslims kill a small number of colonists, and France responds disproportionately
 - Managed to keep the worst atrocities hidden from mainland France
 - The massacre becomes the key trigger for many Algerians to oppose France
 - Much of the leadership of the nationalists are arrested, captured or killed, which sets back the movement significantly
 - ▼ French Distraction
 - Post-war France was suffering. **Prices increase 25x from 1945 to 1953**. No one pays taxes, and strikes are constant.
 - Fourth Republic is an absolute mess with political alliances that are completely unworkable.
 - ▼ **Indo-China War**
 - Huge cost to the state — 75,000 deaths, 10% of national budget, and would cost more than the entire Marshall Plan allotment to France
 - **Dien Bien Phu massacre (13 March – 7 May 1954)** was the largest single defeat of imperialist forces from Europe and provided the psychological fear about losing Algeria
 - ▼ **1948 Algerian Election** - deliberately and widely stolen in Algeria Assembly, leading to many liberals believing that no free elections could ever be held in the country
 - 30 people arrested, an astonishingly accurate list of the people who would one day lead the revolution.
 - ▼ Huge challenge with **dissension in the rebellion movement** — huge personalities, and huge gaps between opinions on what is to be done
 - The **neuf historique** (9 leaders of the rebellion) existed partially since no one person could unify everyone as a whole, so a collective was chosen
 - **Huge dissension between Arabs and Kabyles** so no one side could control the movement without alienating the other

▼ All Saints Day (Nov 1, 1954)

- ▼ CRUA leads plans to begin general revolt.
 - They are highly organized, a unique structure that allowed them to maintain some semblance of military operations throughout the war
- ▼ Lack of supplies
 - Some guns left over from the Africa campaign, but they are mostly sporting rifles
 - Communist bloc does nothing to support the rebels early on
 - Egypt' Nasser fails to provide any arms or support, despite three senior leaders being based in Cairo (Ben Bella, etc.)
- ▼ French don't detect anything really and ignore signals
 - One person who happened to sense something was Francois Mitterand, who was interior minister at this time
- ▼ **Aurès** is the first major target, where Muslim riots had happened multiple times in the previous decades
 - Barely any French admins, but FLN soldiers launched their attack earlier than planned which allowed other parts of Algeria to be notified
 - **Monnerots** — husband and wife on their honeymoon who were unreachable - -the husband was killed, but the wife survived
 - Members of the French army were killed – **first military deaths of the war**
- ▼ Most operations fail due to lack of discipline
 - **Oran** — accidental shooting of French driver leads to warnings, and **first FLN leader is killed in the firefight**
 - *The lack of discipline sent a signal to authorities that the rebels were ill-prepared to fight — a terrible learning*
- ▼ Algerian authorities immediately responded, but France was ambivalent. PMF and Mitterand understood the problems, but they didn't have the votes to do anything but be aggressive to hold the government together
 - Mitterand responds, but in a “measured” way
- ▼ In the aftermath, the FLN suffers heavy casualties, getting down to about 350 masquisards, the war's low
 - French soldiers suffer heavily due to the conditions particularly in the Aurès

▼ Soustelle's Arrival (1955-1956)

- Comes in unpopular, leaves very popular. Nominated by PMF, who loses power from the Algeria lobby, and so is considered something of a traitor when he starts
- Quickly realizes that Algeria is a mess and far poorer than expected
- ▼ Creates the **SAS Corps** to bring Arabic-empathetic army soldiers to the front lines
 - ▼ General Monteuil meets Ben Boulaid in prison and learns how French actions (**ratissages**) are triggering mass recruitment — **first connection between France and FLN**
 - **Prison is a huge recruitment target** (as it is for almost all revolutionary movements)
 - FLN moves toward hitting softer targets — the atrocities force the army to take more aggressive actions, including collective punishment which drives recruitment to the rebels
- ▼ Soustelle tries to pass a reform bill to engage moderate Muslims, but it is mostly blocked by Laquière who heads the Algerian senate. The moment is lost
 - Soustelle is hit on all sides with basically no one liking him, desperately wants to resign by mid-1955
- PMF is replaced by Edgar Faure (in office 23 Feb 1955-1 Feb 1956). He takes the war in a more aggressive direction
- ▼ **Philippeville Massacre (August 20, 1955)**
 - FLN had been hit hard, but wanted revenge against collective punishment, so they decide to start “total war” against the French.
 - The worst attack takes place at Philippeville, which leads to dozens of French deaths
 - ▼ Soustelle had tried to ban self-defense weapons, but relented, and French vigilante committees start up and begin slaughtering wide numbers of Muslims - believed to be more than 10,000
 - Soustelle visits the scene and is so distraught, it seems to lead to a permanent conversion for him
 - France doesn't support his reforms anymore and there really is no future for that approach after this massacre
 - ▼ Moderate Muslims are basically out of power from here on out - there is no position for them in the system
 - Ferhat Abbas' nephew is murdered in the aftermath here, which pushes him away from the moderate center
 - Albert Camus launches a **“civil truce” campaign** to stop the slaughter, only to find that his two Muslim allies from the communism movement are actually FLN supporters and undermine the campaign
- ▼ **FLN Developments**

- Heroic years of Winter of 1955 to survive after All Saints Day
- Get immediate support long-term from the independence of Tunisia and Morocco starting in March 1956
- **The biggest challenge is that the internal divisions were crazy strong**
- ▼ **Bandung conference** - get a unanimous agreement that Algeria should be free and independent
 - “The conference was an important step towards the eventual creation of the Non-Aligned Movement.”
 - **Rise of Ramdane Abane** — who pushes more civilian deaths (and pursues a line similar to Mao when it comes to revolution)
- ▼ Huge focus on killing moderate Muslims from here on out (“**interlocuteur valable**”)
 - Massive disparity in killings - Muslims widely targeted compared to Europeans - probably 10-15x difference in fatality rate
- ▼ Merging of movements
 - Bringing the **PCA (Parti Communiste Algerian)** into the fold, but never develop trust for the **maquis rouge**
 - Jews in Algeria (particularly intellectuals) join the movement
 - Ferhat Abbas’s UDMA dissolves and joins the FLN, as does Messali’s org which had been renamed
 - Ben Boulaid is knocked out in March 1956, and French pick up huge cache of documents
- ▼ **Development of FLN interior versus exterior**
 - Exteriors like Ben Bella work with Egypt and elsewhere to get arms, but are quickly losing power at home
- ▼ **Soumman Summit**
 - Senior FLN leaders hold summit right in the middle of the French for several weeks
 - ▼ Exterior leadership is invited but “logistics” and politics block them from coming, and they lose even more power, giving Abane huge new authority
 - **Meant that the Kabyles were taking power from the Arabs**
 - Eventually release 40 page platform that becomes the center of all their discussions in the ensuing years with the French
- ▼ **PM Guy Mollet admin (1 February 1956 – 13 June 1957)**
 - ▼ Socialist PM Mollet visits Algeria in February 1956, and is nearly lynched

- “**Ultras**” are on the offensive and believe they need to fight more aggressively against both FLN and the Parisian government
- Mollet ends up giving in by sacking the governor general Catroux and replacing him with Robert Lacoste, proving to both ultras that they have power and Muslims that the center won't hold
- ▼ Mollet ends up driving French forces up to nearly 500k
 - **Palestro (18th May 1956)**: French reservists are killed en masse, **leading to the first reservist deaths** and creating some room for peace as French are outraged
- ▼ **Robert Lacoste administration**
 - Huge increase in budget from Paris to fund development, elimination of caids and other hated elements of French bureaucracy, 8 new departments to a total of 12, increasing representation
 - Very military, and was extremely focused on winning the war and blocking both the far right and muslims
- ▼ **Suez Crisis**
 - After months of negotiations, Ben Bella gets a massive arms shipment from Egypt that heavily bolsters the FLN
 - ▼ **Ben Bella hijacking (Oct 22, 1956)** - French military (unclear whether authorized) finds he is flying on a plane and forces it down and arrests him
 - Eliminates the “exterior” from FLN, empowering Abane, and also pushes Tunisia and Morocco to more heavily support the FLN
 - The Suez crisis: triggers French concerns that Britain is weak, they see that Algeria might fall as well, huge push to add military support, and Mollet gets deep backing in the National Assembly
- ▼ **French Army Developments**
 - ▼ France stumbled initially, but eventually starts to improve its tactics, particularly after learning lessons of Dien Bien Phu
 - Start creating pacification zones of safety, to create contrasts with the brutality of FLN-owned areas
 - Army begins learning COIN tactics, and loosens its structure to be more responsive
 - **Army also learned from Vietnam how to be political, and it had much more influence on policy than it had in the past**
 - ▼ French paratroopers and the Foreign Legion begin arriving, and would become deeply heroic in France

- Many French youth aspired to join, and over time, the army democratized to a level not seen in generations
- Muslims increasingly just seen as the enemy, and the army becomes inured to the brutality it is causing
- **Compared to the British, the French Army had a deep seated notion that it *can't lose***
- The army over time develops less sympathy for the pied-noirs, who many see as just protecting their property — army wants to protect “liberal” French values
- December 1956: General **Raoul Salan** takes over, who is noted for his mysterious demeanor (no one can read him)
- **Affaire de bazooka** — attack on army HQ that pied noirs felt was too sophisticated for FLN — was it ultras that did it? Salan was nearly hit.

▼ **Battle of Algiers (January-March 1957)**

- Throughout 1956, **Yacef** and the FLN engage in random terrorism and suicide bombings at bars and beaches to terrorize the Europeans. They also manage to assassinate a popular ultra pied-noir mayor, and almost hit the funeral procession as well.
- January 7, 1957: Lacoste decides to ask paras for backup in Algiers, sending almost 5k to the streets to aid police. **They will never leave for five years and it represents a major break in the war with socialist Lacoste backing right-wing military control of policy.**
- Late January 1957: FLN calls for general strike. Lacoste and paras end up breaking it, and the strike fails. **This would be considered the greatest tactical mistake of the FLN of the whole war**
- February – paras capture key members of Yacef's org, including his chief bomb maker. They manage to secure much of the remaining bombs in the city
- Losing the battle, Abane and the FLN decide to retreat. **Ben M'hidi** is captured and “commits suicide” but that isn't likely.
- ▼ Army engages in widespread torture — approximately 40% of Casbah residents were arrested at some point during this battle, and many are tortured by paras and police to confess
 - Huge historical debate of how important torture was for French victory here. Liberals are outraged at the cost of torture.

▼ **Battle of Algiers aftermath**

- ▼ Most of the FLN leaders run to Morocco and Tunisia and they give up heavy ground
 - ▼ Yacef decides to strike ever harder, launching attacks at bus tops and a Casino on June 9th that kills equal numbers of Europeans and Muslims
 - Deeply worried about his lover, who is in a French prison

- **Les Bleuites** – undercover work starts to uncover more of his network and more of his bomb network is disabled
- **Germaine Tillion** – civilian who makes contact with Yacef with the support of the French civilian Parisian admin. Fails to persuade either side to relent, with the French continuing executions
- French authorities capture the main contact to Yacef – **Djamal**, who happens to also be the main contact between Tillion and Yacef. **Yacef is captured on September 24th, and paras are extremely angry that civilian authorities have been talking to the enemy via Tillion**
- A key asset also hands them his lieutenants in October, and when paras blast through the wall, they hit a bomb cache killing all of them and a large contingent of muslims. The entire network at this point is basically gone.
- The Battle of Algiers is over. **Paras are extremely popular, FLN realizes it can no longer take the cities, and because of the extreme tactics, the war is internationalized more than it has been in years.**

▼ **FLN tries to regroup**

- French forces begin forced relocations of Algerians to settlements, but this costs them dearly in support
- FLN loses morale and forces as people defect
- ▼ **Massacre in Mélouza (May 1957):** FLN troops hack away all civilians in a single village under **Amirouche** – Lacoste sees huge media victory here and there is world outrage.
 - MNA's **Bellounis** defects to the French with 1,500 troops to oppose FLN, creating more divisions
- **Si Chérif:** he and Arabs leads massacre of Kabyles in summer 1957, opening up more divisions. Joins with French forces.

▼ **Abane's death**

- Divisions at the top of the FLN are raging between the interior and the exterior.
- ▼ Abane tries to take full power and become a sort of cult of personality, grating on every other person in the leadership
 - They meet in Cairo and decide to nerf him entirely. Colonels take power away from the civilians/politicians, both on the nine-person council and the inner council.
 - Abane goes on a tirade against them as well as their tactics
- ▼ **December 1957:** He is sent to Morocco where he is killed by his partners

- **Eventually, the remaining leaders take collective responsibility for his death, reinforcing the collective leadership of the FLN**

- Ironically, both FLN and French see the military side becoming stronger over the political side

- **“Here was the basic contrast: France was strong, militarily, in Algeria, but weak, politically, at home; the FLN was weak, militarily, at home, but strong politically, abroad.”**

▼ “The War Takes Notice”

- ▼ France becomes more and more aware of the war — deaths of conscripts triggers outrage, and torture increasingly empowers the antiwar left

- A feeling that the state has “gangrene”

- **Extreme price inflation and extreme cost of the war at home in France — huge sums flowing to Algeria to pay for the war**

- ▼ Mollet sets up **Safeguard Commission** to calm down torture usage

- Paras feel under assault by civilian authorities who want torture but don’t want to take responsibility for its usage

- **Camus and Sartre/De Beauvoir split over their differences in opinions, specifically Camus’ line in his Nobel acceptance speech that if he had to choose between justice and his own mother, he would choose his mother**

- ▼ **Lauriol Plan:** New liberal plan (similar to Camus’ civil truce) that would devolve more authority to the Muslims like the Swiss canton system

- It befalls the same problems — there are fewer and fewer people in the center, Muslims don’t have a voice in Paris to press on it, and pied noirs are opposed to anything that might empower the Muslims in any way.

- ▼ FLN extends to France (**Fédération de France**), mostly forcing Algerians there to pay for the war, but not really committing as many violent atrocities as expected (much less successful than the IRA)

- **Jeanson network** — left-wing academic who funnels money through Switzerland to finance the FNA from the francs collected by Algerians

- ▼ Political chaos in the Fourth Republic

- PM **Guy Mollet** loses his government after the communists switch to the right (he was in office 1 February 1956 – 13 June 1957) mostly due to the financial state of the country after Mollet tries to pass an unpopular finance bill

- Almost a month without a government, eventually succeeded by **Maurice Bourgès-Maunoury** (13 June 1957 – 6 November 1957). Ironically, he passes an even stricter version of the Mollet finance bill
- ▼ A new **loi-cadre** (like the one from the 1940s) is proposed to fix Algeria's governance, but **Pied noirs** are apocalyptic
 - Fails to pass in September, with Soustelle of all people now opposed to basically his own original plan
 - This plus financial problems leads to horrific anger at politicians
- ▼ **Algerian Oil**
 - ▼ **First oil starts gushing in January 1958 out of Algeria**, giving France new reasons to want Algeria
 - Much like England and the North Sea, France sees a way to stave off inflation and fix its balance of payments
 - French officials become extremely paranoid that the U.S. and UK are plotting to rid France of its resources to take them themselves
 - **US and UK after Suez want to mend ties with Middle East and avoid having Soviets get more influence in the region**
- ▼ UN Action
 - ▼ **Abdelkader Chanderli & Mohamed Yazid** lead charge to get FLN imprinted on the UN
 - Make connections with the Democratic left including JFK early on, who uses his pulpit to push for independence of Algeria and forcing Eisenhower to move toward neutrality at the UN rather than support for France. Major JFK speech before running for president
 - ▼ *“Outrages of terrorism by the FLN such as Mèlouza as the Algiers bombings would indeed produce a momentary revulsion in the US, but the eventual reaction would, **perversely, somehow end up as one of irritation against France** as being responsible for the war in which such horrors could take place”*
 - **“You must realize that every time a bomb explodes in Algiers we are taken more seriously here”**
 - Tunisia's Bourguiba tries to give FLN support while also nurturing a pro-capitalism and pro-Western policy stance.
- ▼ **Sakiet attack** (February 8, 1958): Paras cross from Algeria into Tunisia to kill FLN at their bases, shocking Bourguiba and pushing him to support FLN more.
 - Bourguiba sends in foreign journalists who see all the dead bodies and civilians, who internationalize the war and make it profoundly tough for the French.

- US/UK tries to sustain contact between France and FLN, but this is seen by paras as abdication and surrender

▼ Last fights break apart FLN (temporarily)

- ▼ **Battle of Agounennda (May 22~, 1957):** Waliya 4 (which had moved to a Marxist model) tries to move several hundred troops through region where French are honing in on them. End up fighting direct confrontation, and French move rapidly to cordon and kill them, resulting in major casualties
 - For French, the result was inconclusive: even with perfect tactics, they didn't get nearly as many FLNs as they had hoped
 - For FLN, it was clear direct confrontation was disastrous
- **Harkis: Jean Servier**, the ethnologist who managed to fight back on All Saint's Day by pitting tribes against each other, comes up with plan to build pro-French Muslim forces. Have Muslims defend their own families and homes and coordinate with each other. Very effective in general.
- **Oiseau Bleu:** French build up a Kabylie force of 1000 men, but they were intercepted by FLN and end up turning, taking their weapons and forces to the FLN in huge blow for France.
Kobus – double-crossing tribe leader who joined France but was undermined by FLN and ultimately dispatched by French. FLN takes care of rest.
- Bellounis continues fighting FLN, but eventually pisses off all Muslims and he is killed, knocking out another private army and also preventing some division against FLN.

▼ Secret War

- France's main successes in this period are in the clandestine world.

▼ **Christian Léger** leads a massive clandestine campaign as head of **Groupe de Renseignement et d'Exploitation (GRE)**

- Begins turning large numbers of senior Muslim leaders into assets through interrogation centers and sends them into the FLN to collect information
- ▼ Most valuable was **Safy-le-Pur**, who helped get Yacef in Algiers. Ironically, Yacef's last act of freedom was handing him military control of Algiers for FLN
 - Because of that, post the Battle, Amirouche is instructed to work with him, and so Léger plays a double game of using his agent to get closer to the FLN leadership.
 - GRE places safe bombs across Algiers to heighten his appearance
 - Later, he leads them to the FLN leadership who are entirely surprised and taken, and major bomb factories and arms depots are captured, plus massive numbers of incriminating documents.
- Amirouche responds with massive purges, which leads to Léger planting evidence of loyal people being vulnerable to France to encourage him to kill off his best lieutenants

- France commits massive global operation against arms dealers to FLN, killing many of them. “**The Killer**” becomes notorious for his success, and there is a massive scandal in Switzerland when it is determined that a prosecutor had handed information on gun runners over to the French.

▼ **Morice Line**

- Absolutely key: massive fortification across the Algeria/Tunisia border that electrocuted anyone, allowed for rapid response, and was constantly surveilled
- FLN constantly attacked it, but found little they could do to breach it. The more they attacked it, the more they lost people
- Arms shipments nearly entirely blocked.

- ▼ **Battle of Souk-Ahras:** FLN decides to do massive offensive, and while there are reasonably heavy French casualties, FLN attack is nearly wiped out. Clear French victory and morale is stronger.

- Morice loses power with fall of government, and new government allows “right of pursuit” to the paras to attack FLN who are hitting them from Tunisian bases, leading to the **Sakiet crisis**.

▼ **The Rise of DeGaulle (May 1958)**

- Increasingly obvious that Fourth Republic is falling apart (35 days without a government in November 1957)
- Jacques Soustelle has become an ultra, and brings down both Bourgès-Maunoury and Gaillard governments
- Gaullists continue to connect dots across different factions, with different folks connecting with different factions
- Ultras (practically fascist), are linking up with the army and beginning conspiracies to try to turn Algeria into a military run admin (**The Group of Seven**)
- ▼ De Gaulle sat on the sidelines throughout biding his time, avoiding the press, and waiting to be called up by his country to service
 - He worked with his disabled daughter Anne, and read widely for practically a decade
 - The price for his return was the complete replacement of the Fourth Republic
- ▼ **Core challenge for De Gaulle: Everyone saw in him what they wanted to see. Military hero to the Ultras, reasonable statesmen to the middle, and the Brazzaville Declaration man to the Africans/Muslims**
 - No way to satisfy everyone or even perhaps anyone
- ▼ **May 9-13:** Three French soldiers are executed. Army is enraged.

- Robert Lacoste quietly leaves for France. [At this time, there is no governor general in Algeria or government in Paris](#)
- ▼ **Lagailarde** hosts the military tribute to the soldiers in the main square on May 13th, and then the crowd eventually takes the governor-general offices (Lagailarde would eventually run Barricades Week in 18 months)
 - The formation of a “Committee of Public Safety” is created, which includes a bunch of Gaullists
 - **Pierre Pflimlin** is invested as the new PM the same day and would serve 2-3 weeks in the role. Invested by a heavy vote in the National Assembly and the investiture day is moved up to bring stability
- **May 15:** Raoul Salan who is still the top general in Algeria, yells to the crowd for De Gaulle to return – triggering Pflimlin and “crossing the Rubicon” in terms of the next days. De Gaulle responds that he is ready if the nation needs him
- ▼ **May 16:** Huge celebrations in Algiers, with Muslims and pied-noirs holding hands and singing. Salan is a hero, and is growing in power extremely quickly. May 17 - Soustelle arrives from France, but is coldly received by Salan since he is a rival power center
 - Left tries to strike, but is extremely disorganized and it becomes clear they can’t stop anything
 - Plans start to come together by the army to seize France itself, particularly if De Gaulle doesn’t start leading immediately
 - **May 24:** Paras seize Corsica in a coup d’état led by **Nez-de-Cuir**. Increasingly clear that the army was going to take France soon, so a race to try to make constitutional changes
 - **May 28:** Pflimlin announces his resignation. Parisians are widely supportive of De Gaulle, with the left in shambles and Simone de Beauvoir surprised at the level of acceptance of what is essentially a military coup
 - **May 29:** President Coty invites De Gaulle to form a government, and threatens to resign if it doesn’t happen – the first threat of the sort since 1875
 - **June 1:** De Gaulle at the National Assembly, first time since January 1946. He gets 6 months to rule by decree, a four month holiday for the Assembly, and a mandate to rewrite the constitution
- ▼ De Gaulle’s approach ensured that he was considered relatively neutral and not “the army’s man”
 - He heads to Algeria and gives a huge speech with Salan next to him, and connects with all the factions simultaneously (ultra ultras are angry at this first cabinet list, which includes Guy Mollet)

- Huge benefit: he has never touched Algeria post-WWII, so has more credibility with Europeans.
- **Constitutional Referendum:** September 28, 1958 — huge victory for De Gaulle. Massive support and massive turnout across Metropolitan France and De Gaulle, giving him a huge mandate. Left and FLN are in tatters.
- De Gaulle began a wide amnesty program for rebels, and begins to pass essentially the loi-cadre again
- ▼ **FLN Response**
 - Widely considered one of the most dangerous periods of the war, since De Gaulle really could have turned Muslims for France in the immediate moment after his takeover
 - ▼ FLN is losing support and has a morale problem
 - ▼ Leadership (in the aftermath of the Abane killing) decides to double down by creating the **GPRA (Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria)** exiled government in Cairo, handing the reins to Ferhat Abbas
 - Widely recognized except by USSR, who decides to stay neutral to drive a wedge between France and UK/US
 - ▼ FLN intensifies terrorism in Algeria and France, although avoids direct civilian deaths in France proper
 - ▼ However, police begin to hit the networks hard, and FLN fears losing its financial power through the network, so has to cut its activities short
 - The momentary ceasefire might have triggered De Gaulle to try for “paix de braves”
- ▼ **DeGaulle doubles down on military offensive**
 - Waliya are lacking armaments despite interest from hard-core army types as well as irregulars
 - ▼ **Huge paranoia in the waliya** with Amirouche leading the charge
 - French intelligence had created so much appearance of intrigue, that Amirouche goes on a rampage and kills perhaps 3,000
 - Other waliya leaders also conduct purges, and try to wipe out the intellectuals that came from the Battle of Algiers
 - Amirouche and another waliya leader are killed in March 1959
 - French intelligence does well, except for allowing Major Azedine to act as a double agent — he helps guide French to rebels, then escapes with them
- ▼ **Four Colonels Rebellion**

- Morale on the Morice Line is very low, so 4 colonels with support of Nasser decide to march on Tunis (the capital of the GPRA) and knock out the main leadership
- ▼ Captured and sentenced to death by **Houari Boumedienne** who would become one of the postwar leaders of Algeria
 - He imposes strict discipline on the ALN (the armed wing of the FLN) and tries to pull in their self-killings
 - Name is nom de guerre, and very very little is known about him other than his absolute monastic, strict upbringing
 - He regroups the ALN on the Morice Line and doesn't try to cross again, instead waiting for the right moment to strike
- ▼ De Gaulle offers the GPRA a "**paix de braves**" in October 1958 to negotiate the end. Wide spectrum of France is against negotiations, and then moderate Ferhat Abbas turns it away coldly.
 - The rejection shocked De Gaulle
- ▼ FLN sees capitulation here as surrender – they would have completely lost momentum if they had agreed to negotiations
 - Nonetheless, Abbas tries to find another formula for peace, but ends up disillusioned and leaves the scene
 - Momentum from June had been lost by October, even with the referendum in such splendid form
 - He replaces Salan with two generals and begins a purge of the army
- De Gaulle is also distracted – he has to rebuild the economy (which gets underway) and also has to increase France's presence on the world stage
- November 1958: Formal election of De Gaulle under new constitution. Communists go from 145 to 10 seats in the National Assembly
- ▼ Challe Plan
 - By end of 1958 into 1959 – colons are no longer secure ever. Have to go on living in an environment of pervasive and permanent fear
 - **Maurice Challe** is appointed commander in chief of Algeria. He's an airman, which doesn't initially go over well with the army
- ▼ He starts rebuilding the action plan for winning Algeria
 - Combines different commands together, and tries to attack the mujahideen more aggressively with larger numbers of troops
 - Threatens to resign if he isn't given authorization to increase Harkis to 60,000

- ▼ Rebuilds the infra — more helicopters and equipment to deploy large numbers of troops quickly
 - **NATO** supplies much of this equipment, pissing off the Americans who are against the war but ultimately funding it
- ▼ **Operation Binoculars**
 - Massive movement in July 1959 to hit the waliya commands — mostly successful
 - **Represents the military peak of the war**, with French troops quickly knocking out every moving enemy
 - Intelligence is strong – convinces villages not to offer food to rebels (they don't know who is who) so the ALN now has no food
- ▼ Overall
 - Huge damage to the economy, population in concentration camps (Le Figaro reports on conditions at one causing massive uproar in France)
 - Army has more prestige and feels it is “civilizing” Africa
 - No ceasefire offers from the FLN though
 - France begins massive commitment to economic development, which does more to piss off pied noirs than supporting Muslims
 - De Gaulle visits Algeria: His head is moving towards self-determination, figuring that lack of development over past century, France's home weakness, and its bad positioning globally in opinion
- ▼ **The Major Algeria Speech (September 16, 1959)**
 - Says self-determination for the first time, offering Algerians the right to choose their future with three possible options. Four year time horizon and would begin once deaths are below 200
 - Implies he would hold vote for Algerians as “individuals” implying that he would not negotiate with FLN
 - This offer wasn't immediately accepted by FLN, although it probably would have been in the first few years of the war
- ▼ Huge majority of the National Assembly supports De Gaulle (minus extreme left and right)
 - Military is fairly opposed
 - Pied noir start confused but ultras ramp up rhetoric against the speech fast
- ▼ FLN seemed cautious, but seemed to go along with it of sorts

- **However, the speech was proof that the rebellion had worked — France had committed to self-determination for the first time**

▼ Barricades Week

- War is entering the 6th year, people are tired, ultras are extremely inflamed by the situation
- ▼ Ultras begin to organize to stop the self-determination movement and also to bring down De Gaulle
 - **Pierre Lagayette** and **Joseph Ortiz** would lead the two main blocs, with Lagayette taking Algiers University and Ortiz the main square
 - Ortiz creates Front National Français (FNF) to organize the Group of Seven ultras orgs
 - They collect thousands of troops for two armies
 - “Suitcase or the coffin” line comes out of a speech, and will be reused when the pied noirs are forced out of France
 - Surprising success in organizing — army does nothing to oppose them
- Army context: Army had dealt with more than a dozen regimes in France, each one cutting into the army in different ways. Mess of political leadership had removed them as powerful sources within the army over time
- **Paul Delouvrier** is delegate-general (the other general in addition to Challe), and finding the job impossible. He warns about what is going to take place, but no one listens
- ▼ **General Massu** has a lot of success, but seems to be somewhat bamboozled into helping the rebels
 - His chief of staff is Argoud, who knows the rebels well and ends up running interference for them
 - He is quite upset at self-determination speech
 - ▼ **Bombe Massu**: He gets upset and talks to a German journalist about his feelings, eventually saying that he doesn't think the army will respond to De Gaulle regarding self-determination. The scoop is published January 18, 1960
 - De Gaulle is incensed and sacks Massu despite multiple generals telling him not to do it, and causes a huge firestorm in Algiers
- ▼ FNF announces a general strike for January 24 on news about Massu led by Ortiz
 - Highly organized already - they had been prepping for a moment to begin a “strike” so it was much more organized than spontaneous as it appeared
 - Challe puts in roadblocks around the city to try to limit army access
 - Everyone believes the army will side with them, but they mostly side with the protesters

- ▼ As gendarmes approach the central square, a pistol goes off and chaos ensues, killing a few dozen total across the two sides
 - Paras who are few hundred yards away refuse to intervene
 - We don't know who fired first, or why the gendarmes were left unguarded
 - **First time that French fire on French in the entire conflict**
- There is a bit of chaos in Paris on what to do and how to respond. De Gaulle demurs, pissing everyone off, but he ends up being right, since French public opinion runs against the demonstrators
- Challe and Delouvrier leave Algiers quickly, which makes the protesters nervous, fearing that like the Hungarian revolution, they are about to be wiped out
- De Gaulle gives one of the great speeches of his career, calling on all French to oppose the protesters and demanding that the army do its duty
- ▼ Massive rain comes in just in time, and the January cold plus rain makes the barricades extremely uncomfortable
 - Army units sever contacts with the barricades, and Lagaille is more concerned about the honor than about the pied noirs at this point. Ortiz disappears to never be seen in Algiers again
- ▼ **For the first time, Paris defeated Algiers**
 - De Gaulle conducts a second purge of the army
 - Sorbonne science faculty backs De Gaulle — first time in 150 years it got involved in politics
 - National Assembly by huge mandate gives De Gaulle another year of special powers
- ▼ **Consequences**
 - De Gaulle could no longer trust basically any officer
 - FLN was a huge beneficiary — clear that De Gaulle didn't have control, and Muslims saw the officers refusing to follow him as a sign of weakness and loss of face
- ▼ April 23, 1960: Challe leaves as commander in chief
 - Quite bitter - troops from the front lines had to be moved to Algiers, snatching victory out of his grasp at the last moment
 - His replacement was Crépin, who conducts the war but less forcefully
- De Gaulle has social strife at home and the cancelation of the Paris Summit since U-2 spy plane was shot down
- Huge distance between him and GPRA in terms of negotiations
- ▼ **Operation Tilsit**

- ▼ Si Salah of Waliya 4 - his people are suffering tremendously after a long road. He wants to take up De Gaulle on his Paix de Braves
 - He repeatedly warned ALN HQ that morale was at a nadir and immediate assistance was required
 - Challe plan has been having its proper effect
 - Over a year, his reps meet with reps of De Gaulle, but then it's decided that he and a few others should meet De Gaulle in person in Paris
- ▼ Bernard Tricot (De Gaulle's main assistant) brings them himself to Paris
 - There is no security check to prove that they are serious, despite De Gaulle's security being outraged over it
 - Main Concerns: That their honor stays intact, and that France gives them several weeks of ceasefire to try to convince other interior leaders that this is the right course
 - **These meetings would be the only direct contacts between De Gaulle and an FLN leader**
- ▼ De Gaulle offers two paths – he reaches out directly to the GRPA to see if they would come to the table, and if not, then he would use Si Salah instead
 - Army is outraged that he reaches out to the rebels at all
 - ▼ **Melun:** GRPA accepts the invitation and meets with De Gaulle, but **the talks are a standstill and a major setback for De Gaulle, and a major win for the FLN, who can now say they have been recognized and that they did what they could to show up**
 - Now that they have their foot in the door, there is no prying it out
- ▼ Operation Tilsit may have been an op to try to force the GRPA to the table, but it comes at the cost of Si Salah, who ends up imprisoned and murdered
 - **In the end, it may well be the single gravest error on all sides throughout the war**
- ▼ FLN Transformation
 - ▼ Interior FLN forces are extremely exhausted from the war, with limited food and fire since they can't light them with so many French soldiers near them
 - Yet, politically, the Muslim forces have grouped tighter together, and there is an emerging Algerian solidarity that seems inevitable for the outcome of the conflict
 - Transistor radio keeps everyone informed of updates on the front
 - ▼ Women in Algeria are treated horrifically with few rights, so they have much to gain from either side winning
 - France burns many of their relationships though - rape is common, and women want more than just taking the veil off

- Because women don't go out, they end up being a far more conservative factor in the war than the men, and many force the men to join the revolution out of their own devoutness
- FLN ideology doesn't really have communism elements — it embraces it a bit to get weapons, but [the leadership is surprisingly non-theoretical](#) (instead, they are also much more connected to Islamism)
- ▼ FLN works assiduously to avoid any other getting legitimacy
 - ▼ Fights a tough battle in the streets of Paris against the Messali MLN faction to wipe them out
 - In the process, Paris picks up on it and starts to weed out the financing network there
 - Jews are forced to choose between the different sides, and FLN pushes hard for them to announce their choice of the FLN publicly
- ▼ **Third National Council of the Algerian Revolution (Dec 13, 1960 onwards)**
 - ▼ Boumedienne becomes the focal point, and he is one of the hardliners and pushes out Abbas and the moderates
 - In the new structure, he has control over all military affairs
 - Krim gives in to avoid the fate of Abane, and moderates in general dissipate
 - Hardliners believe that De Gaulle's movements were proof that they were winning and they needed to just keep on fighting a little while longer
 - He launches a massive restructuring of the military in Tunisia, and after some bored soldiers start randomly attacking Tunisian civilians, he has a handful brought out in front and shot
 - He begins more discipline training, with an eye to building an army so that the FLN can run Algeria once they get it
- ▼ **Back in France (Sept 1960-Jan 1961)**
 - ▼ Antiwar sentiment is reaching new highs, with some commentators dubbing it The Hundred Years War
 - Torture cases plus the murder of a young girl named Djamila Boupacha get widespread media attention
 - **Manifesto of the 121** signed by all the luminaries of the left
 - ▼ **Jeanson Trial**: Network now reaches 4,000 people in France. Parts of the network were caught, and the trial becomes a moment for the antiwar left to get its message out
 - Many in France are shocked to discover their fellow citizens aiding the Algerians
 - ▼ **Barricades Trials** also take place, giving a platform for the pro-war right to do the same thing.

- ▼ Formation of the **Comité de Vincennes** of the pro-war and-De Gaulle right, including Jacques Soustelle and Georges Bidault in June 1960
 - Jean-Marie Le Pen makes a small appearance here
 - Ultras try to strengthen their position in Algeria proper
- ▼ Generals Salan and Edmond Jouhaud return to Algeria and the delegate-general Delouvrier learns that they are patching together a network of ultras
 - Salan is forced back to Paris humiliated. On October 25, 1960, he declares total war on De Gaulle at a press conference and eventually sets up shop in Spain (where Franco is still very much in power)
 - Jouhaud is the only dissident general who is actually a pied noir
 - Delouvrier is dealing with a deteriorating terrorist situation with random killings in Algiers, and the Constantine Plan is too slowly being rolled out. Premier Debré visits in October, but he gets into a fight with the commander in chief Crépin
- ▼ **November 4, 1960: De Gaulle mentioned “Algerian Republic” in a speech to the nation, the first time such language had been used.** It caused an uproar among ultras, who can see the direction of where this is going.
 - Delouvrier resigns saying he has lost moral authority. Debré tries to as well, but is persuaded against it.
- ▼ New leadership in Algeria: **Louis Joxe** becomes Minister of State of Algeria, **Jean Morin** as Government-Delegate.
 - Joxe works in Paris, while Morin quietly builds a new HQ outside of Algiers since the security situation there is getting bad
 - Crépin is replaced by Gambiez, and this marks the end of the “pacification” model of war
- ▼ December 9, 1960: De Gaulle scheduled to visit Algeria to drum up support for his referendum.
 - Ultras take this as a key moment either to assassinate him or make his trip a failure in some way.
- ▼ FLN also opposes referendum, since they want a monopoly on all conversations and don't want De Gaulle to go around them
 - Larbi Alilat has quietly rebuilt the FLN's Algiers network to about 400 people
 - **The 1st REP (First Parachute Regiment):** would become the key renegade in the war, with its colonel disappearing with the regimental colors.
 - FAF plans a complete general strike throughout Algeria with additional help from sympathetic military units

- At least 4-5 assassination attempts are made on De Gaulle throughout his visit, many that come quite close to killing him
- Massive strike works — pied noirs are everywhere, order is breaking down, tensions run high
- ▼ December 11, 1960: Alilat's reconstituted FLN network in Algiers begin their own counter-protest
 - Huge outpouring of support from Muslims, overwhelming the security forces. FAF fighters who were attacking them immediately switch sides to attack Muslims and push them back.
 - December 12: The Great Synagogue of Algiers is destroyed by FLN supporters
 - **First real sign of true civil war and the end of the belief that there could ever be a multi-racial future for Algeria**
- ▼ De Gaulle cuts his trip short a day, exhausted. It's his last visit to Algeria, and it was a disaster
 - The Muslim protests make a huge statement at the UN, showing that there is widespread support for independence.
 - Casbah is no longer open to Europeans
 - January 8, 1961: **Second referendum** shows strong support for De Gaulle on a carefully worded question, but many Muslims abstain, and pied noirs in places like Algiers vote decisively against it.
- ▼ General's Putsch (April 1961)
 - Big flaw: the generals never really engaged with the rank-and-file soldiers to gauge their reaction to the putsch
 - ▼ Most of the folks are in Madrid, which has become something of a redoubt for right-wingers "locked in their pasts"
 - Lagaille and **Susini** come to Madrid. Lagaille alienates Salan with his bravado, while Susini is respected as a brilliant political mind
 - Salan meets with two ultras in February who had led the affaire de bazooka — the very people who tried to kill him
 - **Organization Armée Secrète (OAS)** is formed in Feb 1961 by Susini and Lagaille as a direct contrast to the FLN to use terrorism to fight back against independent Algeria
 - ▼ By March 1961, three generals decided on a putsch: Jouhaud, Zeller and **Challe**, the latter of which confuses everyone. It seems he was deeply bothered by what was going to happen to the harkis if French Algeria is lost. He's also extremely angry at De Gaulle over his treason with Si Salah and the Waliya 4 situation

- Jouhaud convinces Challe that as soon as he gives the order to take control, the army would follow
- As part of the Evian agreements around this time, a unilateral French cease-fire went into effect, defanging the military even though FLN attacks continue
- April 11: De Gaulle Speaks, and on April 12, Challe officially joins. Preparations are very hasty, and the leaders work to quietly get themselves to Algeria without being noticed.
- Questions of CIA involvement, much intelligence picks up on something happening, GPRA actually hands the names of the 4 generals to the French, but basically no one takes it seriously or does anything.
- ▼ **Putsch officially starts evening of April 20th.** Many actions. Gambiez hears what is happening, drives out to visit 1st REP and runs into them driving at high speed into Algiers. Tries to use his car to literally block the convoy.
 - Huge Problem: The army didn't cut off telephone communications, so the government sends word back comprehensively to France
- ▼ April 21: Challe manages to get a broadcast out since the army cuts into programming
 - Assessment of provisions finds that they are much scarcer than anticipated, limiting the maneuverability against France
 - Army units that were expected to come over immediately wavered, which heavily impeded the progress of the putsch on this first critical day
 - De Gaulle's Interior Minister arrests multiple generals immediately in France, stopping them from doing anything in the metropole.
- ▼ April 23: Salan arrives in Algeria. Susini starts putting together "enemy of the nation" lists. OAS HQ is disorganized and the putsch is losing steam. Algeria is the only region that seems secure operationally.
 - In France, the army puts out equipment in front of critical buildings like the National Assembly, but since most of the best equipment is in Algeria, it is painfully obvious that "there is nothing to stop them"
- ▼ De Gaulle addresses the nation, demanding that the army do its duty - a speech widely considered to be among his best
 - ▼ **Victory of the Transistors:** Troops in Algeria hear De Gaulle's words and many immediately break off from the putsch itself
 - Many of these soldiers are jealous of the paras and annoyed by their elitism, and so not helping them is a way of fighting back
 - "Like wild-fire a kind of passive resistance spread"

- ▼ April 24: Challe (who comes from the Air Force) faces humiliation when the Air Force reverts to the De Gaulle side.
 - There is now thoughts of a putsch within a putsch, as more and more feel that Salan would have pulled the trigger harder than Challe
 - April 25: Challe leave Algeria under disgrace and surrenders. 1st REP also disbands, and 1,200 soldiers return to France to be disciplined.
- ▼ **Overall reasons for failure:**
 - Too much haste in the operational planning
 - Overestimated the appeal of retired officers among rank and file
 - Didn't coordinate plans with other ultras
 - No long-term strategy after the opening gambit
 - Over-estimated the support from abroad and particularly from Metropolitan France
 - 14,000 soldiers connected to the putsch, Challe receives 15 year sentence, and major regiments are completely reformed
 - The Putsch forces De Gaulle to give up on an Algeria with any affiliation with France
- ▼ **Peace Negotiations**
 - Muslim riots and general IR lead to huge support for Algeria in the UN, which decrees that any decision about the future of the territory be under UN auspices
 - **GPRA will not allow any unilateral cease fire, since they would almost immediately lose momentum in this context**
 - February 1961: Small conversations between GPRA and Pompidou at **Lucerne**, with agreement to have more talks at Evian
 - ▼ April 7, 1961: Louis Joxe commits fatal error, telling GPRA it will also negotiate with MLN — which GPRA has always worried the French would try to do to put a third party into the ring. They immediately boycott talks.
 - OAS murders the mayor of Evian
 - ▼ **May 20, 1961: First negotiations take place in Evian.** Post the Putsch, the FLN has a stronger position and is able to become the sole interlocutor on the other side from France.
 - ▼ Krim led negotiations for the Algerians, but he was hindered by the hardliners in French prisons like Ben Bella and also by Boumedienne.
 - Bella in particular was completely unaware of just how much the internal factions had lost morale over the years he was in prison, and had become significantly more theoretical in prison than before

- Krim and Abbas would have been fine with pied noirs continuing in Algeria, but the new hardliners like Boumedienne and Bella wanted them gone and increasingly had the upper hand in internal conflicts
- ▼ FLN's positions remained the same as laid down in the Soumman Conference about integrity etc.
 - Sahara desert where the oil was is a major sticking point now (when it would have been ignored entirely just a few days prior)
 - By June, the negotiations had reached an impasse, stuck on a myriad of issues
- Meanwhile, May and June 1961 see huge increases of attacks from both FLN and OAS across Algeria, leading to new levels of casualties
- De Gaulle considers partition, making Algiers and Oran European similar to South Africa or Israel to pressure the FLN to accept a better bargain
- ▼ **Bizerta Conflict:** "Out of the blue" Bourguiba as head of Tunisia demand the French withdraw from its naval base at Bizerta. Tunisian soldiers fire on the base.
 - De Gaulle attacks the Tunisians hard, killing more than 1,000 of them in an overwhelming show of force
 - Bourguiba is pissed, cuts off diplomatic ties for a year. De Gaulle no longer has a moderating influence on the GPRA anymore
- ▼ **FLN Leadership Crisis**
 - Hardliners try to wrest control of political center to their side
 - ▼ **Fourth CNRA:** August 1961, Krim gets the initial vote but without the support of army hardliners, so they switch to Ben Khedda who is more doctrinaire marxist and not as charismatic
 - Moderates are almost entirely eliminated, and Krim ends up losing the Foreign Affairs post
- ▼ Meanwhile, OAS continues to strike under the direction of Salan and Jouhaud
 - Degueudre forms 500 "Delta" commandos for targeted assassinations and attacks
 - Bank robberies help to finance some of the OAS' activity
 - Main goal was to make Algeria ungovernable, but there really wasn't a grander strategy than that
 - May 19, 1961: set off no less than 19 plastic explosives, killing the police head targeting them
 - **FLN assassinated in the morning rush hour, OAS assassinated in the evening rush hour**
 - August 5 (during the 4th CNRA) — OAS managed to seize TV towers, and broadcast a speech, making the pied noirs feel that the OAS might actually be able to seize power

- OAS gets more aggressive, and morale of pied noirs improve. The attacks get more brazen, to the point that Salan is nearly killed twice by them and tries to simmer them down.
- **Bab-el-Oued** — suburb of Algiers where poor whites were located and became the most important base for the OAS
- France refuses to send more police, already judging Algeria to be lost and not worth the additional manpower
- ▼ French authorities capture one messenger with docs, who connect many dots in the mainland and the arrests knock out all OAS power in France
 - ▼ That said, from September 1961 to February 1962, OAS tries aggressively to bomb liberals and newspaper editors
 - The bombings help De Gaulle, since the population is already weary of Algeria and the bombings push people to hate the war even more.
 - ▼ **Barbouzes** - special commandos sent by France to specifically target OAS. They are somewhat obvious in Algeria, so many are slaughtered. However, they also are great at getting intelligence, and many OAS members are killed as a result as well
 - After police commissioner Joubert is killed, many ultra bars are destroyed in bombings in retaliation
 - **Mouvement pour la Communauté** which is pro De Gaulle signs up to fight OAS and receives funds from the French government
 - January 1962: Delgueldre finds out barbouzes are buying a printing press, intercepts shipment, and replaces it with booby-trapped bomb. It explodes killing more than a dozen of them. The survivors are surrounded by pied noirs, who gas light them and burn them to death – the inhumanity of it all reaches new heights
 - By early 1962 — deaths are hitting hundreds per month from the OAS, and they are succeeding in driving a wedge between the Europeans and the Muslims
- ▼ **Le Monocle** an assassin who opens up another faction of the OAS and more aggressively attacks targets as the main OAS branch pulls back
 - **André Malraux is targeted but they miss**, killing a four year old child named Delphine Renard. Her bloody face is shown on every newspaper, and there is extreme outrage in Paris about the murder
 - OAS supporters march, but are locked by police and many are somewhat accidentally killed at the **Charonne Metro** station. Leads to 500,000 supporters coming out, the most in decades to march in the funeral procession.
- ▼ Negotiations 1962

- ▼ By late 1961, Algeria's neighbors are more worried about how the new government would perceive them than their relationships with France
 - De Gaulle unilaterally gives up claims to the Sahara
- ▼ **OAS terrorism — ironically — push both sides to the bargaining table** (GPRA is worried that it could provide pretext either for widescale massacres or for De Gaulle to take military force against Algeria, and it didn't want either)
 - Krim is also losing power quickly, so has an incentive to get a deal done on his terms before the hardliners seize any more power
- ▼ January 1962: Break down of GPRA leadership which for the first time comes pretty much unglued. Ben Bella gets a veto on any negotiation
 - Krim and Ben Bella meet where he is detained in France, **the first time the interior and exterior meet in years in person**
 - Bella is quite embittered from his imprisonment, and really wants De Gaulle to suffer at the negotiation table
- ▼ **Yéti Preliminaries**
 - Both sides meet at a snow removal depot near Switzerland that is out of way and also close to where FLN reps are staying. Not comfortable, which helps negotiations, which take 2.5 months.
 - **Mers-el-Kébir** - Algerian French navy base that De Gaulle wants to retain. Seems more concerned about French military real estate than the pied noirs themselves.
- ▼ OAS steps up attacks in 1962, which only embolden the FLN hardliners and makes it harder to protect pied noir population
 - **Oujda attack** - OAS attacks FLN base in Morocco, killing people at a hospital
- ▼ February 17, 1962: De Gaulle gives wide latitude to team to agree to terms, giving up any long-term French presence on any aspect of the negotiations. Next day, they have a tentative agreement and all sides shake hands
 - 5th CNRA is held and approves the text, although military side hates it, they are stuck fighting the OAS and don't have the votes to counter
 - OAS goes to total war with "order #29", and starts aggressively attacking all targets including French army. Huge death toll, and also the murder of Mouloud Feraoun, one of the last Algerian French liberals left
- ▼ **Second Evian Conference**
 - Opens March 7 and finalizes March 18

- French realize in the aftermath of OAS attacks that it is even in a worst position than before. All but gives up ability to fight back at the negotiation table
- French have given up basically every demand by this point, and it's a huge win for the GPRA. Debré threatens to resign again after the giving up of Sahara. No dual nationalist status for pied noir residents.
- ▼ **OAS goes on a rampage, and French Army and FLN for the first time collaborate to fight them**
 - OAS takes out an army conscript convoy, killing many, and triggering extreme anger in the army which leads them to attack Bab-el-Oued and knock out the OAS
 - Pied noir protest in Algiers is patrolled by a military unit, which somewhat accidentally opens fire (they haven't been policing but were on the frontlines and didn't know how *not* to shoot)
 - Most of the OAS leadership is captured in the coming weeks, and the ceasefire week in retrospect is the height of their influence
- April 8: De Gaulle Referendum on Evian Accords: 90% vote yes in mainland France
- June 17: OAS and FLN agree to truce. **By this point, OAS had killed some 2,600 people**
- July 1: Algeria holds its own referendum — overwhelming yes on the Evian Accords.
- **July 3, 1962: De Gaulle recognizes Algerian independence**
- ▼ **The Exodus**
 - 100,000 pied noirs leave in April
 - In all, **nearly the entire population of Europeans disembark, with 1.4 million heading to mainland France.**
 - Jews are nearly all forced to leave, with few assets
 - OAS killings made the speed of the exodus far greater than was intended in the negotiations, and the pied noirs and particularly the petit blancs suffer tremendously
 - **Harkis are massacred and mostly left on their own by France to die (estimates are 30,000-150,000)**
- ▼ **Algeria Created**
 - ▼ Immediate administrative problems
 - Ben Bella and others are released, and they are a new unstable force in these issues
 - There are essentially three governments, the provisional executive created by Evian, Boumedienne and his general staff, and the GPRA

- ▼ By end of summer 1962, Ben Bella ousts everyone else and becomes the first president of the country
 - He institutes more theoretical socialism against the will of the others, and within a few years, Boumedienne who supported him has him overthrown, and he is sent to prison for 14 more years
- ▼ Final Accounts
 - France spent 10% or more of its budget on the Algerian problem
 - Labor shortages at home cause mass inflation as young men are sent to fight in Algeria
 - Salan and Jouhaud are both spared the death sentence but Delgueldre gets the death sentence, but it's botched repeatedly, requiring the firing squad to do it five times before he is eventually killed
- ▼ OAS randomly continues plastic explosives throughout France, with the last going off in July 1963
 - 12 more assassination attempts on De Gaulle over the years
 - Georges Bidault is kidnapped in Germany, leading to a blowup in Franco-German relations
 - “As far as the latter approach goes, in the last stages of negotiations he suffered from the lesson not learned by Kissinger in Vietnam, or perhaps by the Israelis vis-à-vis the Arab world, or by the South Africans; namely, that peoples who have been waiting for their independence for a century, fighting for it for a generation, can afford to sit out a presidential term, or a year or two in the life of an old man in a hurry; that he who lasts longest wins; that, sadly, with the impatience of democracies and their volatile voters committed to electoral contortions every four or five years, the extremist generally triumphs over the moderate. Just keep on being obdurate, don't deviate from your maximum terms, was the lesson handed down by the F.L.N. and remains as grimly valid today — whether for Northern Ireland or the Middle East or southern Africa.”
 - Debré said, “It was a miracle that we didn't collapse into civil war after Algeria; and this we owed to de Gaulle”
 - Pied noirs are given a small allowance, but they eventually integrate reasonably well within mainland France
 - Most of the generals are tried and convicted, but then given amnesty in 1968
 - **April 1975: Valéry Giscard d'Estaing becomes the first president to visit Algeria post-independence**
 - Algeria becomes something of a model for the third world, given its relatively high human development index
 - That said, the country falls into a new civil war starting in the 1990s, and its development remains conflicted.

▼ Modern Day Remembrances / Updates

- September 2018: Macron acknowledged the disappearance of Maurice Audin during the Battle of Algiers
- January 2020: A report by historian **Benjamin Stora** to Macron lists recommendations on how to move forward on the Algerian situation
- March 2020: Macron acknowledged that Ali Boumendjel was tortured and killed during the Battle of Algiers
- April 2022: Claire Billet, a journalist, has investigated the use of chemical warfare and toxic gas to extinguish the caves (“sections des grottes”) and knock out the ALF. French soldiers as they are dying are talking about what they did, but archives are still mostly closed and sealed.
- May 2022: Le Monde reports on Louis Tonellot, who is believed to be the first French citizen (he was a doctor) who the government ordered killed in 1957.