

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources:

-Mackdv. "Algerian War of Independence (1960) CIA Archives French President Charles De Gaulle." *YouTube*, uploaded by Mackdv, 9 Nov. 2011, www.youtube.com/watch?v=QnMEc-rrheM&feature=youtube.

Charles de Gaulle is in Algeria and is ready to negotiate with the FLN. This is how the Evian starts.

Secondary Sources:

Books:

Horne, Alistair. *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria, 1954-1962*. New York Review Books, 2006.

In Evian, the first round of the Evian Accords began when France finally agreed to negotiate. O.A.S., a terrorist group trying to prolong the French presence in Algeria, assassinated the mayor of an Algerian town. Slowly, the French demands in the negotiations began to fall away until the GPRA (FLN's political branch), jointly agreed on a compromise: a referendum would be held to determine if Algeria would be free. There was a 97% yes vote, and the French flag was lowered on July 3, 1962, exactly 130 years after France captured Algiers. France was forced to leave Algeria much earlier than expected. Even though Algeria itself was not French, France had some influence even today.

Movies/Films:

The Battle Of Algiers. Rizzoli. 1968

General Massu, an assault commander, came to Algiers to resolve FLN issues. The methods he used to locate his enemies included torching and terrorism. Then he tracked down all the main leaders of the FLN. The first one was shot during a battle. A second man was forced to surrender through his family, and a third man, Ali La Pointe, was blown up with a young boy in an apartment building. The FLN succeeded in making the conflict a worldwide conflict even if the French won the battle of Algiers.

Articles:

"Algeria." *Wikipedia*, Wikimedia Foundation, 14 Feb. 2022, en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Algeria.

Algeria is the biggest country in Africa in terms of area. It has a population of 44M. It is rich in oil, dates, wheat. It has a population of mostly Berber and Arab and speaks Arabic, Berber, and for historical reasons, French.

“Algerian War.” *Wikipedia*, Wikimedia Foundation, 7 Feb. 2022,
en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Algerian_War.

After a series of negotiations with the National Liberation Front (FLN), the Fourth Republic was overthrown and replaced by a strengthened Fifth Republic. Algeria became independent from France in 1962 after this conflict.

“Évian Accords.” *Wikipedia*, Wikimedia Foundation, 13 Sept. 2021,
en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Évian_Accords.

Its 93 pages covered cease-fire arrangements, prisoner releases, recognition of full sovereignty, protection, and property rights for Algerian citizens, as well as the withdrawal of French forces from Algeria. Charles de Gaulle wanted to maintain French influence in Algeria, including industrial and commercial control, control over Saharan oil reserves, religious freedom, and citizenship. Evian permitted France to maintain its naval base at Mers El Kébir for another fifteen years.

“Evian Accords: An Uncertain Peace.” *Origins*, 1 Mar. 1970,
origins.osu.edu/milestones/march-2017-evian-accords-uncertain-peace.

In 1962 Algeria was given independence, after a long and painful process of negotiation. It was a miracle that the Algerian War could be resolved by a peaceful agreement. Negotiations focused on four main questions: assurances for the pied-noir population; authority over the Sahara; the position of French bases; and future connections between France and Algeria.



60 Years of Argument

NHD Draft

Geography of Algeria

ALGERIA is located in North-West Africa. It is strategically located south of the Mediterranean, and has access to the Sahara Desert. Algeria is the biggest country in Africa in terms of area.

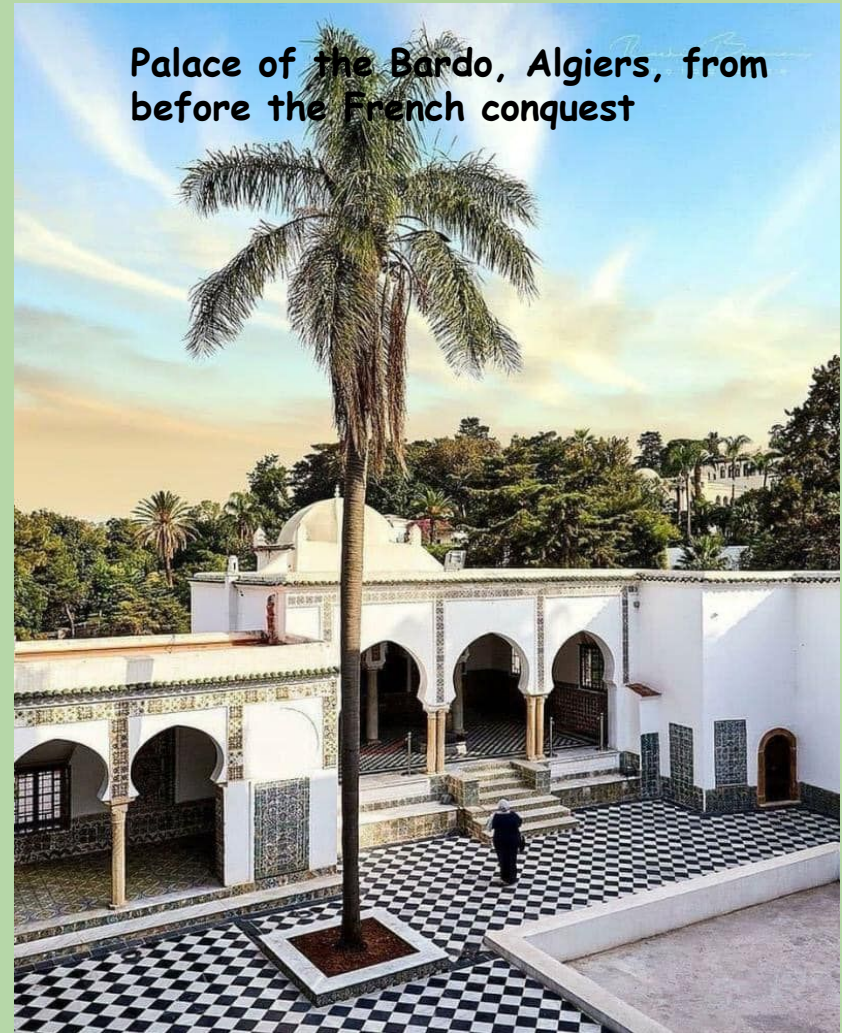
The country is a big exporter of oil and gas. It is also rich in agricultural products such as wheat, fruits, olives, and its own variant of dates, called deglet nour.

It has a population of 44M. Its capital and biggest city, Algiers, has a population of 5M. Most of the population speaks Berber and Arabic, and for historical reasons, French.



History of Algeria Up to the French Invasion

The first state in **ALGERIA** was formed in the 3rd century BC. Later on Algeria was a very rich part of the Roman Empire. Many famous people, like Saint Augustine (the bishop of Hippo Regius, modern-day Annaba), Apuleius of Madauros, Ibn Khaldun and Fibonacci lived and studied in Algeria. During the 8th century, the arabs conquered Algeria and converted it to Islam. Different kingdoms had their capital in algeria, the last of which was the Regency of Algiers. Tensions rose because **FRANCE** refused to pay back the debts it owed the Dey of Algiers. War was declared in 1827 and Algiers was conquered on July 5th 1830. This date is considered the beginning of the French colonization of Algeria

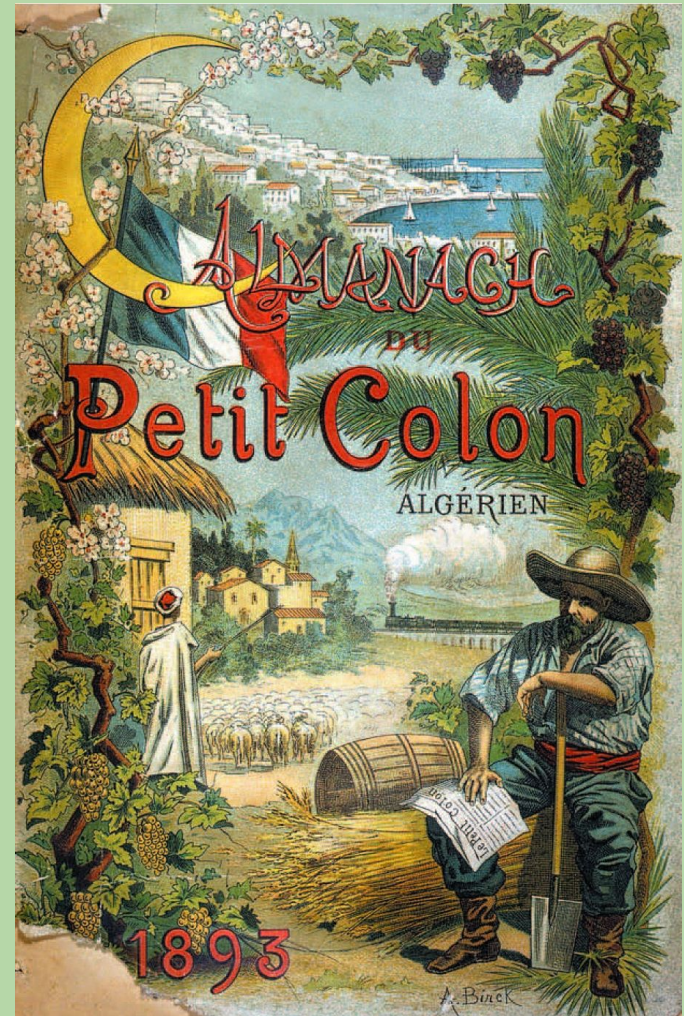


Palace of the Bardo, Algiers, from before the French conquest

French Settlement in Algeria

It took 80 years for the completion of the french conquest of Algeria because of the strong popular resistance. It is estimated that hundreds of thousands of algerians were killed during the conquest.

France decided that Algeria will become a colony of settlement. They invited Europeans from Spain, Italy, and Malta to Algeria. When France lost Alsace to Prussia in 1870, they moved Alsatians to Algeria. In 1870, France offered french citizenship to Algerian Jews in the region who lived in the country for thousands of years. These European settlers were nicknamed *pieds noirs* (black feet). The pied noir took all the good agricultural land, forcing the natives to work for them in poor, low-pay jobs.



Algerian National Movement

Native Algerians represented 90% of the population of Algeria. Algeria was part of France, but algerians were considered 2nd class citizens. Many were called to fight in WW1 and WW2 but the pieds noirs still held the government and discriminated against them.

During the 1920's, Algerians started creating pacific political movements calling for **equality or independence**. The french government repressed all algerian political parties.

On May 8, 1945, Algerians demonstrated asking for their political rights. The police reacted very violently, and killed up to 45000 Algerians. French government realized it couldn't ignore the algerians so they created the Algerian Assembly, with 50% Algerian and 50% pieds noirs representatives. Elections were rigged and only pro-french algerians were elected.

Algerians did not see any progress and decided to start a revolution



Algerian Revolution Starts

On November 1, 1954, a group of young men were fed up with the lack of progress and made a new political party called **FLN** (Fronte De Liberation National, National Liberation Front). They called for a social, democratic, and independent Algeria, where all citizens would be equal regardless of race or religion. The revolution started on Nov. 1, 1954, after the armed wing, the **ALN** (Army De Liberation National, National Liberation Front). They launched attacks on railways, farms, and soldiers. The ALN started using guerilla tactics against the French Army, and, later on, planted bombs in pied noir quarters as a response to French bombing of villages. Meanwhile, the FLN always called for negotiations to solve to the Algerian situation and appealed to the UN



French Repression in Algeria

When the french government realized that the Algerian Revolution was serious, they choose to deal with it in a strong way. They decided to suspend laws and sent 600,000 soldiers to Algeria. How the french dealt with the FLN was very bloody and cruel. They used torture methods, forced disappearance, and mass massacres to scare the population against the FLN. Some french people, especially communists and catholics did not agree with what was happening and became supporters of the FLN. The French Army killed them too. As a consequence, the war became even less popular in France and around the world. Despite all of this, the French army couldn't stop the Algerian revolution.

French military torturing Algerian



France Agrees to Negotiate

Since the French army didn't feel the government was supporting them enough, they staged a coup on May 13, 1958. They brought back General de Gaulle to power. De Gaulle was a hero in WW2. Initially, de Gaulle sent more soldiers to Algeria to suppress the Revolution. However, after some time, he realized that this wouldn't work. Also, he was feeling more and more pressure from the UN and the US to negotiate. De Gaulle changed tactics, and realized the best decision was to give Algeria its independence but then keep as much influence in French hands. The pieds noirs and the army didn't agree, and demonstrated many times and staged many failed military coups.

De Gaulle In Algeria



The 4 Sides of the Negotiations

Sides	Who are they?	Did they negotiate?	What do they want?	What did they get out?
French Government	The government	Yes	Keep the Sahara, Pieds noirs stay with double citizenship	Kept the oil resources, nuclear testing in Sahara, kept naval base in Algeria
O.A.S	Terrorist organization representing the pieds noirs	No	Derail the negotiations and keep Algeria french	They failed, and they pushed pieds noirs to leave
G.P.R.A	FLN government	Yes	Algerian Independence ASAP	Independence within a few months
A.L.N	FLN military	Delegated the GPRA	Algerian Independent with no concessions	Most of what they wanted, and eventually, they got rid of the concessions

Three Bloody Months

On March 18, 1962, the Evian Agreements were finalized. The main points were that there would be a ceasefire, followed by a referendum for independence. The French Army and the FLN stopped fighting each other. The OAS, decided to destroy the country and force the pieds noirs to leave. Their slogan was “The coffin or the boat”.

They burnt factories, ports, and even killed French soldiers. As a result, the French Army started repressing pieds noirs the same they did to the Algerians. Close to 1 million pieds noirs and Algerian jews left the country.

On the other hand, the FLN started taking revenge on the Harki. Harki are Algerians who fought on the french side and are seen as nothing bu traitors by the Algerians. The French government did not do anything to save the Harki

On June 7, 1962, the OAS burt the National Library



Algerian Independence

On July 1, 1962, the referendum for Algerian independence was organized. 99.7% of the voters chose independence. France recognized the independence of Algeria on July 3rd, and the FLN proclaimed independence on July 5th, exactly 132 years after colonization. There were wild celebrations across the country.

There were around 30,000 killed on the French side and around 250,000-1.5 million algerians killed.

Since then, Algeria is an independent country, and chose not to align with the communist nor the capitalist groups. It maintained very good relations with the US since then.

Independence referendum results
(Table from wikipedia)

Choice	Votes	%
For	5,975,581	99.72
Against	16,534	0.28
Invalid/blank votes	25,565	—
Total	6,017,680	100
Registered voters/turnout	6,549,736	91.87



What Happened to the Evian Agreements?

After the Independence of Algeria, France and Algeria Governments, for the most part, followed the Evian Agreement. But they choose to ignore it when they wanted to.

Evian Agreement	How was it applied
15 years lease of Marse el Kabir	France voluntarily leaves after 6 years
Nuclear & chemical testing in the Algerian Sahara for 5 years	Respected
France to give the map of minefields at the Algerian borders	France only gives the maps in 2007 and only because it was concerned that terrorists would use them. 7000 casualties in the mines.
Pieds Noir stay in Algeria and would be free to choose between french and Algerian citizenship and won't be discriminated against	Respected Some Pied Noirs even got government positions.
Algerian Government compensated property taken from pied noir	Not Respected. The Algerian government never paid.
French companies to keep extracting Algerian Oil	Not Respected. Oil was nationalised in 1971
Special treatment for Algerians in France	Respected

Still Arguing After 60 years

All the suffering from the Algerian War has not been forgotten on either side.

On the French Side:

Pieds Noirs and Harki representatives are still active politically. Some OAS leaders became even ministers in the french government. They are still asking for compensation from the Algerian Government. France still refuses to apologize for colonization. Eric Zemmour, one of the leading candidates for president this year, is critical of algerian history and attracts the vote of the far-right.

On the Algerian Side:

The Algerian government keeps asking for a formal apology from the French government and uses the independence war for internal politics. The Algerian government is still trying to recover things lost during the colonization. There is a campaign to recover skulls of people killed by the French in the 19th century and kept in French museums.

Eric Zemmour is a french candidate of Algerian origin, who is extremely critical of Algerian Independence



Ceremony of the burial of Algerian skulls that were stored in French Museums



My interview with Dr Andrew H. Bellisari

“Andrew Bellisari is a founding faculty at Fulbright University Vietnam. He is a specialist of European colonization and decolonization across the Afro-Asian world and his work addresses questions related to warfare, state- and nation-building, and civil society. Andrew received his Ph.D. in History from Harvard University in 2018. He also holds a bachelor’s in History and French from Rutgers University and studied at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris as a Fulbright scholar.

Andrew’s research explores the political, social, and cultural dimensions of decolonization, particularly in Algeria and Vietnam.”



My interview with Dr Andrew H. Bellisari

Edited for brevity

- **If France and the FLN reached an agreement in 1960 instead of waiting till 1962, would the pied noirs situation have changed?**

It is always hard to answer counterfactual question. So much energy on the french side was spent on the guarantees of the pieds noirs. A lot of french policy makers really thought they would stay and they wouldn't leave. That was mostly wishful thinking. The OAS quite literally blows that up. The OAS was created in Feb, 1961, and the generals tried their coup in April 1961. It is possible that if the agreements between the FLN and the French reached an agreement before that, the OAS wouldn't have been as organized and wouldn't have caused as much damage. If the agreements happened earlier it is possible it would have built more confidence in the transfer of power and the pieds noirs might have stayed.

- **How did the debates at the UN influence the negotiations?**

The french tried very hard to prevent the Algerian question from being debated from the UN. A good reference from this topic is a book by Matthew Connelly, called A Diplomatic Revolution. Which is the book on how the FLN worked on to bring attention to the situation in Algeria. According to the book, by 1961, the ALN was defeated militarily. The French Army succeeded in sealing off Algeria, but the FLN succeeded on the diplomatic front. There was so much international pressure to end it, that it shifted things in the direction of the FLN. The french were hoping that they could convince the US that they were facing a communist threat in Algeria just like in Indochina. This didn't work and for example, when John F Kennedy was senator, he supported very strongly the Independence of Algeria. This put more pressure on France to negotiate

- **Why didn't de Gaulle not want to protect the Harkis?**

This is a controversial question. I think De Gaulle wanted to be partners with Algeria. By sacrificing the Harki, he wanted to gain some favor with the FLN. Many french officers tried to save Harkis on a personal level, but the French state made no effort to save the Harki as a group.

My interview with Dr Andrew H. Bellisari

Edited for brevity

- **How much did the US help Algeria after independence?**

The US helped Algeria quite a bit after independence. For political reasons, Algeria became socialist, but they weren't socialist to the point where they became a threat to the US. They were smart and careful enough to accept help from both sides and avoid antagonizing any side. The decision of making Algeria socialist was Ben Bella's idea. There was some good reasons for that. Some of the reasons were that the Algerians suffered a lot, and the state needed to distribute the wealth that the colonization left behind.

- **Why did the US not follow the same procedure for the pull-out of Afghanistan?**

They absolutely could have. The main reason is that the french evolved from seeing the FLN as a sworn enemy to potential partners that they needed to negotiate with. The other difference was that in Algeria there was no third partner to negotiate with. In Afghanistan, the US government saw the Afghani government as a partner and never really tried to negotiate with the Taliban and come up with a withdrawal time table.

- **If you use this argument, you could also say that in Algeria there were both the GPRA and the ALN**

True, but at least till the summer of 1962, the ALN and GPRA did a good job of not showing their differences.

- **Why are the two countries still arguing about the war to this day? For instance there is the French presidential candidate, Eric Zemmour who is strongly against algeria and argues that French wasn't the only colonizer and before them there was the roman empire, the ottomans, etc.**

French- Algerian relations were very contentious since the day after independence. It was like a divorce. There are still people arguing who was wrong to this day. There was a lot of trauma, and it was very hard for Algerians and french to see past that suffering. The issue was inahnced by imigration and French concern on Islam and the Algerians were concerned about France exerting pressure on the country. All of this became like a cancer that keeps growing. There was some effort to understand the history. There are also people like Eric Zemmour who understands that it makes good politics and are more than happy to exploit it.

Annotated Bibliography

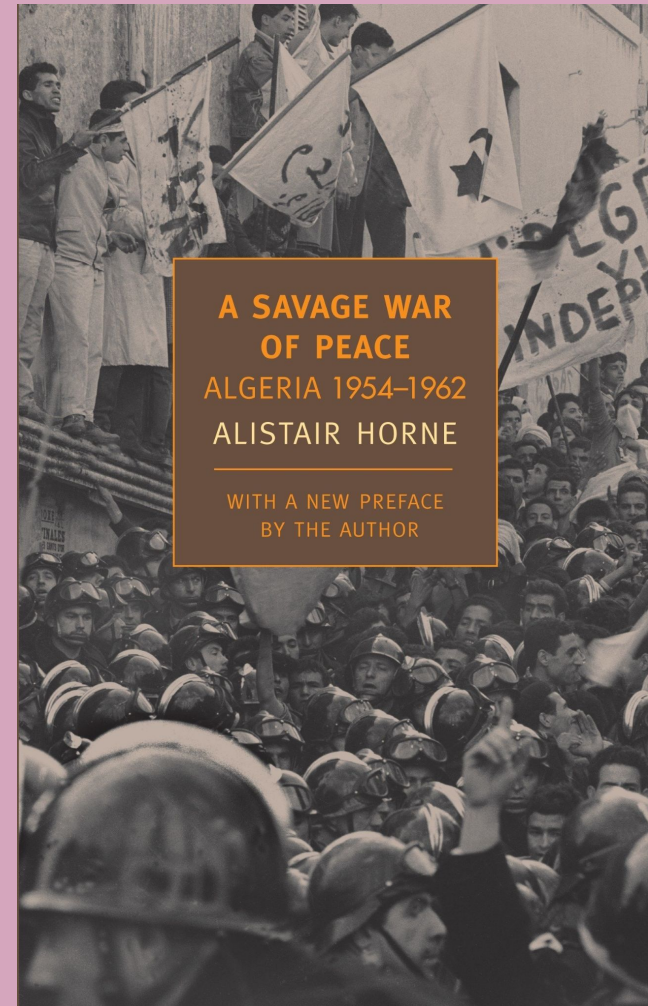
**Interview with Dr. Andrew H. Bellisari
-Feb 13, 2022**

**A savage War Of Peace-Horne, Alistair.
New York Book Reviews. 2006**

**Battle Of Algiers-movie by Gillo
Pontecorvo**

**The Evian Accords: An Uncertain Peace
Dr Andrew H. Bellisari. OSU.EDU**

Wikipedia



ALGERIA, FRANCE

60 YEAR





AND THE EVIAN S OF ARG

AGREEMENTS

UMENTS



How did you choose your topic and how does it relate to the annual theme?

I originally wanted to cover the Napoleonic Wars, but everyone knows about them, so I chose a conflict between France and its most important colony, Algeria. There were many treaties and agreements during the bloody war.

How did you conduct your research?

I am currently being told the stories by my dad, but rest assured, to ensure the stories aren't biased, he would first read articles about it before telling me. My notebook contains pages and pages of notes that I collect every Saturday. Aside from Wikipedia, books, and documentaries, I also conducted an interview with Dr. Andrew H. Bellisari.

How did you create your project?

I decided to use an old cardboard exhibit I haven't used since 5th grade. 16 slides were printed, each with a different topic. The geography/history section had a green frame, the war section had a blue background, and the interview had a purple one. I compiled all my research and simplified it for the slides.

What is your historical argument?

In my view, Algerian independence was a bloody process that was resolved by painful negotiations. This could have caused many people to suffer.

In what ways is your topic significant in history?

It is one of the most contested topics, and it is a model of negotiation where two enemies get to compromise, and no one gets everything they want.