

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-107-08859-7 — West Germany, Cold War Europe and the Algerian War  
Mathilde Von Bulow  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

---

## WEST GERMANY, COLD WAR EUROPE AND THE ALGERIAN WAR

This book is an illuminating and provocative account of Germany's role as sanctuary for Algerian nationalists during their fight for independence from France between 1954 and 1962. It explores key issues such as the impact of external sanctuaries on French counter-insurgency efforts; the part played by security and intelligence services while attempting to eliminate these sanctuaries; the Algerian war's influence on West German foreign and security policy; and, finally, the emergence of West German civic engagement in support of Algeria's independence struggle. Mathilde von Bülow sheds new light on how FLN activities in West Germany shaped the newly independent country's perception of its place in international society, on how the role of anti-colonial movements and insurgencies in the developing world shaped the dynamics of the Cold War and on how the Algerian war was fought and won.

MATHILDE VON BÜLOW is Lecturer in History at the University of Glasgow, where she is also co-Director of the Scottish Centre for War Studies.

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-107-08859-7 — West Germany, Cold War Europe and the Algerian War  
Mathilde Von Bulow  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

---

## NEW STUDIES IN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*Edited by*

Peter Baldwin, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Christopher Clark, *University of Cambridge*

James B. Collins, *Georgetown University*

Mia Rodríguez-Salgado, *London School of Economics and Political Science*

Lyndal Roper, *University of Oxford*

Timothy Snyder, *Yale University*

The aim of this series in early modern and modern European history is to publish outstanding works of research, addressed to important themes across a wide geographical range, from southern and central Europe, to Scandinavia and Russia, from the time of the Renaissance to the present. As it develops, the series will comprise focused works of wide contextual range and intellectual ambition.

*A full list of titles published in the series can be found at:*  
[www.cambridge.org/newstudiesineuropeanhistory](http://www.cambridge.org/newstudiesineuropeanhistory)

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-107-08859-7 — West Germany, Cold War Europe and the Algerian War  
Mathilde Von Bulow  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

---

WEST GERMANY, COLD WAR  
EUROPE AND THE  
ALGERIAN WAR

MATHILDE VON BÜLOW

*University of Glasgow*



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press  
 978-1-107-08859-7 — West Germany, Cold War Europe and the Algerian War  
 Mathilde Von Bulow  
 Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

**CAMBRIDGE**  
 UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781107088597](http://www.cambridge.org/9781107088597)

© Mathilde von Bülow 2016

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2016

Printed in the United Kingdom by Clays, St Ives plc

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library*

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data*

Von Bulow, Mathilde, 1977–

West Germany, Cold War Europe and the Algerian War / Mathilde Von Bulow  
 (University of Glasgow).

Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2016. | Series:

New studies in European history | Includes bibliographical references and index.

LCCN 2016001751 | ISBN 9781107088597 (hardback)

LCSH: Algeria – History – Revolution, 1954–1962 – Diplomatic history. | Algeria – Foreign relations – Germany (West) | Germany (West) – Foreign relations – Algeria. | Nationalists – Algeria – History – 20th century. | Algerians – Germany (West) – History – 20th century. |

Asylum, Right of – Germany (West) – History – 20th century. | Jabhat al-Tahrir al-Qawmi – History. | Algeria – Colonial influence – History – 20th century. | France – Colonies – History – 20th century. | Cold War – Political aspects – Europe.

LCC DT295 .V66 2016 | DDC 965/.0462–dc23

LC record available at <http://lcn.loc.gov/2016001751>

ISBN 978-1-107-08859-7 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

## *Contents*

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>page</i> vii
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xi
Introduction	i
1 Internationalising colonial warfare: FLN strategy and French responses	26
PART I CREATING THE SANCTUARY: NOVEMBER 1954–MAY 1958	55
2 West German diplomacy and the Algerian war	57
3 The FLN's implantation in West Germany	84
4 Algeria and West German opinion	104
5 FLN contraband in West Germany	129
PART II CONTESTING SANCTUARY AND SOVEREIGNTY: JUNE 1958–DECEMBER 1960	153
6 The diplomatic war	155
7 The intelligence war	189
8 The propaganda war	225
9 The war of action	278
PART III ASSERTING SOVEREIGNTY: JANUARY 1961–JULY 1962 AND BEYOND	325
10 From sanctuary to sovereignty	327

vi

*Contents*

Conclusion	389
<i>Glossary of foreign terms</i>	405
<i>Bibliography</i>	407
<i>Index</i>	447

## *Acknowledgements*

This book originated as a PhD submitted to the Faculty of History at the University of Cambridge, where I benefited from the support of many friends and scholars. I owe a tremendous gratitude to my former supervisor, Christopher Andrew. His encouragement and assistance gave me the confidence to see this project through, and he still inspires me to become a better historian. I am equally thankful to the convenors of the Intelligence, International History and Modern European History Seminars, especially David Reynolds, Robert Tombs and Kristina Spohr. These seminars provided me a wonderful opportunity to learn and test some of my own ideas in an intellectually rigorous yet always friendly setting. My housemates at Selwyn Gardens and friends at Leckhamptom, meanwhile, provided cheer and companionship and reminded me that there are other things in this world than my PhD; Liz Chambers, Lila Koumandou, Peter Stokes, Alain Tschudin, and Khaled El Rouayheb – I thank you in particular. Chantal Aubin, Heather Jones and Andrew Webster, for their part, were excellent archive companions in Paris. A special mention should also go to Naila and her father, whom I was privileged to meet, and whose experience of the Algerian war helped inspire this story.

The research for this book could not have been completed without the financial support of Corpus Christi College, the Cambridge Commonwealth Trust, the Overseas Research Students Award Scheme, Cambridge's Faculty of History, the Royal Historical Society, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the German Historical Institute in Paris, the Institute for European History in Mainz and the Dean's Fund at the University of Nottingham. The generous funding I received from these bodies enabled prolonged research trips to France and Germany as well as numerous conference trips to present my findings. I am particularly grateful to the community of scholars and students I encountered at the German Historical Institute and Institute for European History, especially Werner Paravicini, Corinna Franz, Stefan

Martens, Heinz Duchhardt and Ralph Melville, who not only imparted valuable advice and constructive criticism but also demonstrated compassion at a time of difficulty. It was a privilege to participate in the life and work of both Institutes. The moral and material support I received over the years also enabled me to seek out publication opportunities for articles and book chapters, efforts that ultimately culminated in this manuscript.

A particular debt of gratitude goes to the School (then Department) of History at the University of Nottingham for helping me transform my PhD with its narrow focus into a manuscript for publication. John Young, Elizabeth Harvey, Colin Heywood and Maiken Umbach not only ensured I had the institutional support I needed to pursue my research, they also offered valuable intellectual and professional insights for which I am very grateful. I also wish to thank my many wonderful colleagues, especially Karen Adler, Dave Appleby, Sarah Badcock, Gwilym Dodd, Andrew Cobbing, Sheryllynne Haggerty, Dan Hucker, David Laven, Rob Lutton, Spencer Mawby, Joe Merton, Liudmyla Sharipova, Claire Taylor and Sue Townsend. Their collegiality and spirit are inspirational and infectious; their knowledge profound. I consider myself fortunate to count many of them as friends. My students, too, deserve a mention. Their inquisitiveness and eagerness to learn was stimulating and helped me work through many a conundrum during the writing of this book.

My new colleagues at the University of Glasgow, meanwhile, provided vital assistance and encouragement as I raced to submit my manuscript and turn around proofs. Lynn Abrams and Callum Brown have been excellent mentors, and I am grateful for the friendship and support of Stuart Airlie, Alex Marshall, Marina Moskowitz, Simon Newman, May Rosenthal-Sloan, Matthew Strickland and Jochen (and Kirsten) Schenk. I owe a particular gratitude to Peter Jackson, who, long before becoming my friend and colleague, offered constructive criticism and provided me with opportunities to present and publish early findings. Without his cajoling I would not have had the courage to submit my book proposal to Cambridge University Press. I am glad I listened to him.

Whether I met them at conferences, seminars, workshops, or in archives, there have been many other excellent scholars who have provided helpful feedback and tips or simply inspiration. Through them, I was exposed to stimulating discussion, new ideas and alternative perspectives. Wolfgang Krieger, Jean-Paul Cahn and the late Klaus-Jürgen Müller, Fritz Taubert, Wolfram Kaiser, Jessica Gienow-Hecht, Arne Westad, Andrew Webster, Andrew Barros, Lorne Breitenlohner and Theo Pronk provided valuable advice and feedback during the early stages of this project. Further aiding



*Acknowledgements*

ix

the development of this project were discussions with Raphaëlle Branche, Sylvie Thénault, Maurice Vaïsse, Niek Pas, Daho Djerbal, Martin Evans, Martin Alexander, Martin Shipway, Linda Amiri, Mohamed Boukechour, Amar Mohand-Amer, Fabian Klose, Jennifer Onyedum, Levent İşyar, Helene von Bismarck, Paul McGarr, Rana Barakat, Kim Wagner, Alex Keese, Sam Kalman, Claire Eldridge, Jennifer Sessions and Mairi MacDonald, whether at conferences or in private. I also owe a tremendous gratitude to William Roger Louis and Philippa Levine, who commented on portions of the manuscript. As leaders of the National History Centre's fifth International Seminar on Decolonization, they, alongside Dane Kennedy, Jason Parker and Pillarisetti Sudhir, were responsible for many animated and stimulating discussions about the nature of imperialism and decolonisation. Above all, I sincerely thank Martin Thomas for sharing with me his immense knowledge and expertise, for his tireless assistance and encouragement, and for providing me with opportunities to present and publish some of my early findings.

Equally important for the completion of this book was the generous assistance I received from archivists and librarians. In France, the staff at the *Archives Diplomatiques* of the *Quai d'Orsay*, as it was then, as well as the *Service Historique de la Défense*, the *Service d'Histoire Contemporaine*, the *Archives Nationales* and the *Service des Archives et du Musée de la Préfecture de Police de Paris* helped me navigate finding aids and deal with countless 'demandes de dérotations'. In Germany, too, I was able to rely on expert guidance and assistance in the *Bundesarchiv* in Koblenz, the *Politische Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes*, the *Archiv der sozialen Demokratie*, as well as the archives of the *Deutsche Rote Kreuz*, the *Evangelische Werk für Diakonie und Entwicklung* and the *Deutsche Caritasverband*. Much of the writing of this manuscript, meanwhile, was done at the African Studies Centre at Leiden University, *Koninklijke Bibliotheek* in Den Haag and *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, whose librarians handled my many requests with great patience, and whose cafeterias sustained me with a constant flow of bad but much-needed coffee.

My sincere thanks also go to Michael Watson, Amanda George and everyone at Cambridge University Press for their supreme patience, effort and professionalism. This includes the anonymous readers, who provided extremely valuable feedback for which I am grateful. Chapters 3 and 7 incorporate and expand on material that appeared previously in the following articles and book chapters: Mathilde von Bülow, 'Franco-German Intelligence Cooperation and the Internationalization of Algeria's War of Independence (1954–62)', *Intelligence and National Security* 28/3 (2013),

pp. 397–419 ([www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02684527.2013.789638](http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02684527.2013.789638)); Ibid., ‘Exposing the “Paradoxical Citizenship”: French Authorities’ Responses to the Algerian Presence in Federal Germany during the Algerian War, 1954–1962’, in *The French Colonial Mind. Vol.2: Violence, Military Encounters, and Colonialism* (ed.) Martin Thomas (Lincoln NB, 2011), pp. 304–33; Ibid., ‘Hôtes importuns. Des Algériens en République fédérale pendant la guerre d’Algérie’, in *Migrations et identités. L’exemple de l’Allemagne aux XIXe et XXe siècles* (eds.) Jean-Paul Cahn and Bernard Poloni (Villeneuve d’Ascq, 2009), pp. 119–29. Chapters 5 and 9 include material first published in Mathilde von Bülow, ‘Myth or Reality? The Red Hand and French Covert Action in Federal Germany during the Algerian War, 1956–61’, *Intelligence and National Security* 22/6 (2007), pp. 787–820 ([www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02684520701770626](http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02684520701770626)). I thank the editors and publishers for their permission to use this material. I also take full responsibility for any errors and omissions found in this work and would be grateful for notice of such for future corrections.

Finally, my heartfelt gratitude goes to my friends and family, who supported me through this project. Nadine, Ali, Niko and Inez, Andreas and Anne, Sue and Paul generously opened their homes to me on my archive trips, providing good cheer, conversation and companionship. Alex and Bea, too, provided moral support and good company. Denis Smyth, my mentor, gave me encouragement and guidance without which I might never have become a historian. Phil O’Brien’s love and support, his deep knowledge and experience as well as common sense have kept me grounded and calm. I am also grateful to my three brothers – Karl, Alex and Götz – and their families, for being there for me and spurring me on. Most of all, I thank my loving parents, Hans and Katharina, who have always supported me, unreservedly. Their life experiences, courage, passion and spirit of adventure inspired me to study the historical encounters of peoples of different nationalities and cultures. This book is dedicated to them.

## Abbreviations

### Text and notes

ALN	<i>Armée de libération nationale</i> – Algerian National Liberation Army
ARD	<i>Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunksender der Bundesrepublik Deutschland</i> – West German (first) public broadcasting corporation
ASVD	<i>Arabischer Studentenverband in Deutschland</i> – Arab Student Union in (West) Germany
AUMA	<i>Association des ‘ulamā musulmans algériens</i> – Association of Muslim Algerian Scholars
AWO	<i>Arbeiterwohlfahrt</i> – Workers’ Welfare Organisation
BdI	<i>Bundesverband der deutschen Industrie</i> – Federation of (West) German Industries
BfV	<i>Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz</i> – Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution
BKA	<i>Bundeskriminalamt</i> – Federal Criminal Police Office
BND	<i>Bundesnachrichtendienst</i> – Federal Intelligence Service
CCE	<i>Comité de Coordination et d’Exécution</i> – Coordination and Execution Committee of the FLN
CDU	<i>Christlich Demokratische Union</i> – Christian-democratic Union
CNRA	<i>Conseil National de la Révolution Algérienne</i> – National Council of the Algerian Revolution
COCOM	NATO Coordinating Committee for East-West Trade Policy
COSEC	Coordinating Secretariat of National Unions of Students, Leiden
CRA	<i>Croissant Rouge Algérie</i> – Algerian Red Crescent
CSU	<i>Christlich Soziale Union</i> – Christian-social Union

DGB	<i>Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund</i> – Confederation of (West) German Trade Unions
DPA	<i>Deutsche Presse-Agentur</i> – West German Press Agency
DRK	<i>Deutsches Rotes Kreuz</i> – West German Red Cross
DST	<i>Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire</i> – Directorate for Territorial Surveillance
EDF	European Development Fund
EPU	European Payments Union
Euratom	European Atomic Energy Community
FAZ	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i> – Frankfurt General Newspaper
FDGB	<i>Freier Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund</i> – Free German Trade Union Federation, GDR
FLN	<i>Front de libération nationale</i> – Algerian National Liberation Front
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GPRA	<i>Gouvernement provisoire de la République algérienne</i> – Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IGM	<i>Industriegewerkschaft Metall</i> – Industrial Union of Metalworkers
KAAD	<i>Katholischer Akademischer Austausch Dienst</i> – Catholic Academic Exchange Service
MALG	<i>Ministère de l'Armement et des Liaisons Générales</i> , GPRA – Ministry for Armaments and General Relations
MNA	<i>Mouvement national algérien</i> – Algerian National Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OAS	<i>Organisation de l'armée secrète</i> – Secret Army Organisation
OS	<i>Organisation Spéciale</i> – Special Organisation (the armed wing of the PPA-MTLN and later of the <i>Fédération de France du FLN</i> )
PCF	<i>Parti Communiste Français</i> – French Communist Party
PPA-MTLN	<i>Parti populaire algérien – Mouvement pour le triomphe des libertés démocratiques</i> – Algerian Popular Party – Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties

*List of abbreviations*

xiii

RG	<i>Renseignements Généraux</i> – General Intelligence Directorate
SDECE	<i>Service de documentation extérieure et de contre-espionnage</i> – External Documentation and Counter-Espionage Service
SDS	<i>Sozialistischer deutscher Studentenbund</i> – Socialist (West) German Student Union
SFIO	<i>Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière</i> – French Section of the Workers' International
SPD	<i>Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands</i> – Social-Democratic Party of Germany
UAR	United Arab Republic
UDMA	<i>Union démocratique du manifeste algérien</i> – Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto
UGEMA	<i>Union générale des étudiants musulmans algériens</i> – General Union of Muslim Algerian Students
UGTA	<i>Union générale des travailleurs algériens</i> – General Union of Algerian Workers
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
US	United States (of America)
VdR	<i>Verband deutscher Reeder</i> – Association of (West) German Shipowners
VdS	<i>Verband deutscher Studentenschaften</i> – Association of (West) German Student Unions
ZDF	<i>Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen</i> – Second (West) German Television Station

**Notes only**

10.RM	<i>Dixième Région Militaire</i> – 10th Military Region (Algeria)
AA	<i>Auswärtiges Amt</i> – West German Foreign Office
ADCV	<i>Archiv des Deutschen Caritasverbandes</i> , Freiburg
ADN	<i>Allgemeiner Deutscher Nachrichtendienst</i> – East German news service
ADRK	<i>Archiv des Deutschen Roten Kreuzes</i> , Berlin
AdsD	<i>Archiv der sozialen Demokratie</i> , Bonn
AEWDE	<i>Archiv des Evangelischen Werks für Diakonie und Entwicklung</i> , Berlin

AHC	<i>Archives d'histoire contemporaine</i> , SciencesPo, Paris
AL/ALG	<i>Afrique-Levant/Algérie</i> – Africa-Near East Division/ Algeria
AL/MAR	<i>Afrique-Levant/Maroc</i> – Africa-Near East Division/ Morocco
AM/EUA	<i>Amérique/États-Unis de l'Amérique</i> – Americas Division/USA
AN	<i>Archives Nationales</i> , Paris
AstA	<i>Allgemeiner Studentenausschuss</i> – General Student Committee
BA/K	<i>Bundesarchiv</i> , Koblenz
BAgW	<i>Bundesamt für gewerbliche Wirtschaft</i> – Federal Office for Trade and Industry
BDFD	<i>Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Frankreich: Dokumente, 1949–1963</i>
BfdW	<i>Brot für die Welt</i> – 'Bread for the World'
BMA	<i>Bundesministerium für Arbeit</i> – Federal Ministry for Labour
BMF	<i>Bundesministerium der Finanzen</i> – Federal Ministry of Finance
BMI	<i>Bundesministerium des Innern</i> – Federal Ministry of the Interior
BMJ	<i>Bundesministerium der Justiz</i> – Federal Ministry of Justice
BMV	<i>Bundesministerium für Verkehr</i> – Federal Ministry for Transport
BMVg	<i>Bundesministerium für Verteidigung</i> – Federal Ministry for Defence
BMW <i>i</i>	<i>Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft</i> – Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs
BPA	<i>Bundespresseamt</i> – Federal Press Office
CCFFA/2	<i>Commandement en chef des forces françaises en Allemagne/ Deuxième bureau</i> – High Command of the French Forces in Germany/Military Intelligence
DDF	<i>Documents Diplomatiques Français</i>
DGGA/BE	<i>Délégation générale du gouvernement en Algérie/Bureau d'études</i> – General Delegation of the French Government in Algeria/Office of General Studies
EM(I)/2	<i>État-major (interarmées)/Deuxième bureau</i> – (Joint) General Staff/Military Intelligence

*List of abbreviations*

xv

EMA/2	<i>État-major des forces armées/Deuxième bureau</i> – General Staff of the Armed Forces, Military Intelligence
EMGDN/2	<i>État-major général de la Défense Nationale/Renseignements</i> – General Staff of the Ministry for National Defence/Military Intelligence
EMI/2	<i>État-major interarmées des Forces en Algérie/Deuxième bureau</i> – Joint General Staff of French Forces in Algeria/Military Intelligence
EU/RFA	<i>Europe/République Fédérale d'Allemagne</i> – Europe Division/FRG
FDP	<i>Freie Demokratische Partei Deutschlands</i> – Free-Democratic Party
INS/AFN	<i>Inspection générale des Forces terrestres, maritimes et aériennes de l'Afrique française du Nord</i> – General Inspectorate of Land, Sea and Air Forces in French North Africa
JSS	<i>Journal of Strategic Studies</i>
LfV	<i>Landesamt für Verfassungsschutz</i> – State Office for the Protection of the Constitution
LKA	<i>Landeskriminalamt</i> – State Criminal Police Office
LMI	<i>Landesministerium des Innern</i> – State Ministry of the Interior
MAE	<i>Ministère des Affaires Etrangères (French Foreign Ministry) &amp; Archives diplomatiques, Paris</i>
MLA	<i>Mission de liaison pour les affaires algériennes</i> – Liaison Mission for Algerian Affairs
NL	<i>Nachlass</i> – Personal Papers
PA/AA	<i>Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts, Berlin</i>
RA	<i>Revue d'Allemagne et des Pays de langue allemande</i>
SAMPP/P	<i>Service des Archives et du Musée de la Préfecture de Police, Paris</i>
SBZ	<i>Sowjetische Besatzungszone</i> – Soviet Occupation Zone in Germany
SEAA	<i>Secrétariat d'état aux affaires algériennes</i> – State Secretariat for Algerian Affairs
SG-Bonn	<i>Sicherungsgruppe Bonn</i> – Federal security and protection service of the BKA
SHD-T	<i>Service Historique de la Défense – Armée de Terre, Vincennes</i>

SSDN(F)A	<i>Service de sécurité de la Défense nationale et des (Forces) Armées</i> – Armed Forces Security Service
STR	<i>Service technique de recherche</i> – Signals intelligence service
StS	<i>Staatssekretär</i> – State Secretary
VdDBT/D	<i>Verhandlungen des Deutschen Bundestages. Drucksachen</i>
VdDBT/StB	<i>Verhandlungen des Deutschen Bundestages. Stenographische Berichte</i>