

## A History of Algeria

Drawing on substantial new scholarship and over a decade of research, this book explores the dramatic modern history of Africa's largest country. James McDougall places Algerian society at the centre of the story, tracing the continuities and the resilience of Algeria's people and their cultures through the changes and crises that have marked the country, from the arrival of the Ottomans in the sixteenth century to the aftermath of the 2011 Arab Uprisings.

James McDougall is an Associate Professor of Modern History at Trinity College, Oxford. He previously taught at Princeton and SOAS. He has been a member of the editorial advisory boards of the *Journal of African History* and the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. His publications include *History and the Culture of Nationalism in Algeria* (Cambridge, 2006), *Saharan Frontiers: Space and Mobility in Northwest Africa*, ed. with Judith Scheele (2012), and *Global and Local in Algeria and Morocco: The World, the State and the Village*, ed. with Robert P. Parks (2015).

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James McDougall

*University of Oxford*



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*For my friends who let me discover their country:  
Tewfiq and Huda, and their sons, in Oran  
Mohand Akli and Nadia, and their daughter, in Tizi Ouzou  
Jean-Paul and Marie-France, in Algiers, and their family  
Medjid, Zeyneb and Meriem, in Constantine  
Omar and Rahmouna, and their family, in Paris  
and for  
Fanny Colonna  
qui dort fi bledha.  
kulluhum jaza'iriyin*

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*Imezwura iban-asen*  
*Ineggura iban-asen*  
*Ahlil ay ilemmasen*

*(For the people of the past the way was clear*  
*For those of tomorrow it will be so again*  
*Have compassion for those of the times in between.)*

Saying of shaykh Mohand Ou Lhocine (d. 1901)

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Earlier versions of some of the material in Chapter 7 and the Afterword appear in ‘After the war: Algeria’s transition to uncertainty’, *Middle East Report* 245 (Winter 2007), reprinted by permission of the Middle East Research and Information Project, Washington DC, and in ‘In the shadow of revolution’, in Patrick Crowley (ed.), *Algeria: Nation, Culture and Transnationalism, 1988–2015*, reprinted by permission of Liverpool University Press.

## Note on Transliteration

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All translations from French, Arabic or other languages, unless otherwise credited, are my own. Transliterating from Maghribi Arabic poses particular problems; for simplicity and to aid the reader in finding names elsewhere in the (especially French-language) literature, in this book I have adopted a very simplified transliteration without macrons on long vowels or diacritics on emphatic consonants (except in notes, when citing Arabic sources, where the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* system is used). *Hamza* is marked with a closing apostrophe (') only when it occurs mid-word (*qa'id*); *'ayn* is marked with an opening apostrophe (‘) when word-initial or mid-word (*'ulama, shari'a*). For vernacular terms from Arabic or Tamazight, wherever possible I reproduce Algerian pronunciation as reasonably as I can rather than trying to give accurate ‘standard’ or classical transliteration. Algerian proper names are given in as precise an Arabic or Berber transliteration as is possible from the sources for the period before 1900, after which the French *état civil* became more widely established. In later chapters, I give proper names in the form most commonly encountered elsewhere in the literature, which usually follow conventional Gallicised transliterations: thus, I refer to the saint Sidi Shu‘ayb Abu Madyan, not Sidi Choaiḅ Boumediene; the amir Abd al-Qadir, not the emir Abdelkader, but to Abdelaziz Bouteflika, not Abd al-Aziz Bu Taffliqa; Houari Boumediene, not Huwari Bu Madyan; Chérif Belkacem, not Sharif Abu 'l-Qasim. Overall, I have tried to make it easy for readers to recognise names and terms found elsewhere, rather than giving technically correct but uncommon renderings; so for Kabyle patronyms I use the conventional *Ait* rather than the more correct *Ath*, for Arabic equivalents *Beni* rather than *Banu* (but *Awlad* rather than the Gallicised *Ouled*). Ottoman Turkish terms are given in a simplified and Arabised transliteration for ease of reading and cross-referencing with other works on Ottoman North Africa, so the Regency’s janissary force is the *ojaq* not *ocak*, its founder is Aruj not Oruc, the minister responsible for its diplomacy is the *wakil kharaj* not the *vekil haraci*. For place names, established forms that

readers will find on maps and, again, elsewhere in the literature have been retained in preference to giving strict transliterations: Tlemcen (for Tilimsān), Bejaïa (Bijāya or Bgayeth), Oran (Wahrān), Constantine (Qsantīna), Timimoun (Timīmūn), Laghouat (al-Aghwāt), Cherchell (Sharshāl), Relizane (Ighil Izān), Djebel Amour (Jabal ‘Amur), Aurès (Awrās), Touat (Tuwāt). For populations, however, a slightly stricter, though still simplified, transliteration is used, so I refer e.g. to the mountains of the Ouled Naïl in the Saharan Atlas, but to the men and women of the Awlad Na’il. When referring to the colonial period, place names follow contemporary usage, so Orléansville (later al-Asnam, then Chlef), Philippeville (Skikda), Bône (Annaba), Fort National (Larbaa N’Ait Irathen), Palestro (Lakhdaria), Perrégaux (Mohammedia), Aumale (Sour el-Ghozlane), etc.; I have usually given the Algerian (or post-independence) name in brackets after the first occurrence of a French place name in Chapters 2–5 and vice versa, where necessary, in Chapters 6 and 7. Usually, googling a place name will now enable the reader to find both geographical location and pre- and post-independence variants online.

## Abbreviations and Acronyms

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AAN	<i>Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord</i>
AEMAN	Association des étudiants musulmans d'Afrique du nord
ALN	Armée de libération nationale
AML	Amis du manifeste et de la liberté
ANP	Armée nationale populaire
ANR	Alliance nationale républicaine
APC	Assemblée populaire communale
APN	Assemblée populaire nationale
APW	Assemblée populaire de wilaya
AQIM	Al-Qa'ida in the Islamic Maghrib
AUMA	Association des 'ulama musulmans algériens
BMPJ	Brigades mobiles de la police judiciaire
CADC	Coordination des aarouch, daïras et communes
CGT	Confédération générale du travail
CGTU	Confédération générale du travail unitaire
CIG	Comité interministériel de guerre
CNC	Conseil national consultatif
CNCD	Coordination nationale pour le changement et la démocratie
CNRA	Comité national de la révolution algérienne
COM	Comité opérationnel militaire
CRA	Centre de renseignement et d'action
CRUA	Comité révolutionnaire d'unité et d'action
CTT	Centre de tri et de transit
DCSA	Direction centrale de la sécurité de l'armée
DGDS	Délégation générale à la documentation et la sécurité (formerly DGPS)
DGPS	Délégation générale à la prévention et la sécurité
DGSN	Direction générale de la sûreté nationale
DRS	Département du renseignement et de la sécurité (formerly SM)

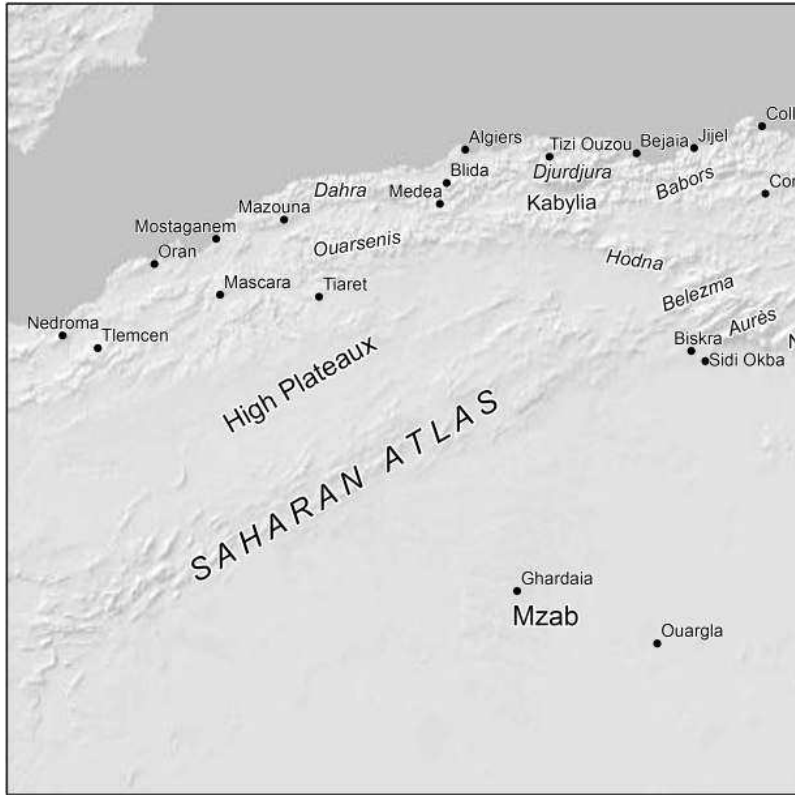
## Abbreviations and Acronyms

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DZ/CANA	Algeria, Centre des archives nationales, Birkhadem, Algiers
EMG	État major-général (ALN General Staff)
ENA	Étoile nord-africaine
FADRL	Front algérien pour la défense et le respect de la liberté
FFFLN	Fédération de France du Front de libération nationale
FFS	Front des forces socialistes
FIS	Front islamique du salut
FLN	Front de libération nationale
FR/ANOM	France, Archives nationales d'outre mer, Aix-en-Provence
FR/CADN	France, Centre des archives diplomatiques, Nantes
FR/SHD	France, Service historique de la défense, Château de Vincennes
FRUS	<i>Foreign Relations of the United States</i>
GIA	Groupe(s) islamique(s) armé(s)
GLD	Groupes de légitime défense
GPRA	Gouvernement provisoire de la République algérienne
GSPC	Groupe salafiste pour la prédication et le combat
HAMAS	Haraka li-mujtama' islami; from 1997, Harakat mujtama' al-silm (or, MSP, Mouvement de Société pour la Paix)
JORA	<i>Journal officiel de la République algérienne</i>
JORF	<i>Journal officiel de la République française</i>
LADDH	Ligue algérienne de la défense des droits de l'homme
MAK	Mouvement pour l'autonomie de la Kabylie
MALG	Ministère des armements et des liaisons générales
MCB	Mouvement culturel berbère
MDA	Mouvement pour la démocratie en Algérie
MDRA	Mouvement démocratique pour le renouveau algérien
MDS	Mouvement démocratique et social (formerly PAGES)
MEI	Mouvement pour l'état islamique
MIA	Mouvement islamique armé
MMSH	Maison méditerranéenne des sciences de l'homme, Aix-en-Provence
MNA	Mouvement national algérien

xvi Abbreviations and Acronyms

MNI	Mouvement de la nahda islamique (later MN, Mouvement Ennahda)
MRN	Mouvement pour le renouveau national (or Islah)
MTLD	Mouvement pour le triomphe des libertés démocratiques
OAS	Organisation de l'armée secrète
OCFLN	Organisation civile du FLN (cf. OPA)
ONEC	Organisation nationale des enfants de chouhada
ONEM	Organisation nationale des enfants de mujahidin
ONM	Organisation nationale des mujahidin
OPA	Organisation politico-administrative
ORP	Organisation de la résistance populaire
OS	Organisation spéciale (paramilitary wing of the PPA/MTLD, 1947–50)
PAGS	Partie de l'avant-garde socialiste (formerly PCA)
PCA	Parti communiste algérien
PCF	Parti communiste français
PPA	Parti du peuple Algérien
PRA	Parti du renouveau algérien
PRS	Parti de la révolution socialiste
PT	Parti des travailleurs
RCD	Rassemblement pour la culture et la démocratie
RND	Rassemblement national démocratique
SAS	Sections administratives spécialisées
SFIO	Section française de l'Internationale ouvrière
SIT	Syndicat islamique du travail
SM	Sécurité militaire
SMA	Scouts musulmans algériens (Algerian Boy Scouts' federation)
SONATRACH	Société nationale pour la recherche, la production, le transport, la transformation, et la commercialisation des hydrocarbures
TEFA	<i>Tableau des établissements français dans l'Algérie</i>
UDMA	Union démocratique du manifeste algérien
UGEMA	Union générale des étudiants musulmans algériens
UGTA	Union générale des travailleurs algériens
UNFA	Union nationale des femmes algériennes
UNJA	Union nationale de la jeunesse algérienne
UNPA	Union nationale des paysans algériens
ZAA	Zone autonome d'Alger



Map 1: Northern Algeria: urban centres and mountain ranges. Map by C. M.