

***French Colonialism and Demonstrations in Algeria  
History of Lions Demonstrations the December 11, 1960  
CE as a Model  
(Flood of National Consciousness)***

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**Abstract:**

This Article aims to Highlight the Importance of Freedom of Expression for Both Free and Oppressed Peoples. It is a Right Enshrined in Human Rights Charters and Guaranteed by the Constitutions of Democratic and Liberal States. It is a Manifestation of Modern Civilization and a Right Guaranteed to Peoples Governed by Democratic Systems Worldwide. The Human and Civil Rights were Enshrined after the Success of the French Revolution of (1789 CE), which brought Lofty Ideals for the Citizen, such as Fraternity, Justice, and Equality. The Right to Engage in Public Demonstrations was thus Enshrined as a Legitimate and Fundamental Human Right.

The Research Concluded with a Number of Results that Highlighted the Importance of Popular Demonstrations in Defending the Rights of Oppressed Peoples and Demanding their Rights, foremost among them their Freedom and Independence from the Yoke of Hateful Colonialism. The Demonstrations represented a Manifestation of the Solidarity, Unity, and Genuine Patriotism of the Algerian People, who yearned for their Freedom and Independence. This Article Employs Both Descriptive and Comparative Methods.

**Keywords :**Right - Demonstrations – the May 8 - French Colonialism – the Algerian People.

**1. Introduction :**

During the French Colonial Period; Algeria witnessed Numerous Large-Scale Popular Demonstrations, in which the Masses Clearly

demonstrated a High Level of Political Awareness and Maturity in the Face of the Intransigence and Rigidity of Colonial France, which Used all Available Means to Suppress these Demonstrations, Committing Massacres and Brutal Crimes against Unarmed Civilians. Based on the Foregoing; We Can Pose the Following Questions: How did French Colonialism deal with Popular Demonstrations in the Most Important Algerian Cities throughout its Presence in Algeria? To What Extent did the Demonstrations Contribute to Pushing the French Colonial Administration to Review its Military Options? In other words; Did the Events of the Demonstrations Influence a Change in France's Colonial Policy towards Algeria? Do the Events have a Role and Influence in Moving Global Decision-Making Circles, such as the United Nations, in favor of the Algerian Cause? Then; To What Extent were the Demonstrations Successful in Highlighting the Popularity of the Revolution, which the Occupying Authorities Claimed and Bet on Not Existing?

As I Mentioned Earlier; I relied on the Descriptive and Comparative Approach in this Article. To Answer the Previous Questions; The Research Paper was Divided into Four Elements and a Conclusion, as Follows:

- . The Most Important Characteristics of Demonstrations and Protests in Algeria During the Colonial Period.
- . Demonstrations of (the May 8, 1945 CE).
- . Demonstrations of (the December 11, 1960 CE).
- . Demonstrations of (the October 17, 1961 CE) in France.
- . Conclusion.

## **2.The Most Important Characteristics of Demonstrations and Protests in Algeria During the Colonial Period:**

The Demonstrations in Colonial Algeria were Characterized by Several Features and Characteristics, the Most Important of which are Mentioned in the Following Points:

- The Demonstrations in Algeria, both before and after the Outbreak of the War of Independence, were Characterized by Meticulous Organization and Planning. They were not Spontaneous, Accidental, or Arbitrary; rather, they were Carefully Orchestrated by their Organizers. These Demonstrations were Purposeful, Organized, and had Specific Demands. Examples of such Protests; Organized and Overseen by the Algerian People's Party in its Political Struggle, include the Demonstrations and Strikes that were Supervised by the Coordination and Implementation Committee or by the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic during the Revolution (Bouhouch, A., 2013 CE, p. 298).
- Most of the Demonstrations that took place in Algeria during the Colonial Period affirmed the Popular Unity among all Segments of Society and reinforced the Extent of Algerians' Loyalty and Solidarity with their National Causes. They also Highlighted the High Level of Political Awareness that the Algerian Public had reached at that time. The Demonstrations were the Best Opportunities to Express National Opinions and Stances (Zaghidi, M. L., 2004 CE, pp. 265-272). This was Done through Banners, Flags, Slogans, and Chants Demanding the Release of Political Prisoners, as well as through Calls for Freedom and Independence, as happened in the Demonstrations of (the May 8, 1945 CE), and the Demonstration that took place in the City of Ouargla on (February 27, 1962 CE), where the People took to the Streets to Express their Rejection of the French Policy aimed at Separating the Desert (Al-Dahma, B., 2024 CE, p. 10).
- Most Demonstrations were Timely, Coinciding with Developments on the Algerian Political Scene. The Popular Demonstrations Served as a Genuine Means of Expressing the People's Stance on National Issues. This is Clearly Evident, for Example; In the Protests that accompanied the Events in Constantine

on (August 4, 1934 CE), which Erupted as a Result of the City's Jewish Residents' Mistreatment of the Holy Sites of the Muslim Population. These Protests Expressed Widespread Public Outrage at the Occupying Authorities' Biased Stance towards the Jews during the Events (Saadallah, A., 2009 CE, Vol. 3, p. 130). This was also Reflected in the Banners and Slogans Chanted by Demonstrators in (the May 8, 1945 CE), Protests, as well as those of (the December 11, 1960 CE), and the Protests of (the October 17, 1961 CE) (Bouaziz, Yahya, 2009 CE, pp. 82-89).

- In Most Protests and Demonstrations; The National Flag with its Three Colors Led the Ranks of the Demonstrators, along with Banners Bearing Political Slogans Calling for Independence and the Release of Political Prisoners. For Example; This was the Case in the Popular March Organized and Overseen by the Algerian People's Party in Algiers City on (July 14, 1937 CE). There, for the First Time; Demonstrators Carried the National Flag, Chanted Slogans for Independence, and Strongly Protested against the Oppressive Colonial Policies (Ageron, Ch. R., Vol. 2, 2013 CE, pp. 564-572).
- The Demonstrations were Not Sectarian or Partisan; Rather, they were Truly Popular. Various Segments of Algerian Society participated; Intellectuals, Students, Ordinary Workers, Men and Women, the Elderly and Children. The Demonstrations Provided an Opportunity for Everyone to Take to the Streets and Express their Patriotism and their Conviction in the Necessity of Liberating the Homeland from the Oppressive Occupier. This was Similar to what Occurred in the Demonstrations of (the May 8, 1945 CE), in which More than (45,000) Algerian Martyrs Perished (Al-Zubayri, M., A., Vol. 1, 2014 CE, pp. 100-111).
- The Demonstrations revealed the Degree of Cooperation, Solidarity, and Harmony between the Various Segments of the Population and the National Liberation Army (ALN) Units. This was Evident in the Coordination between the Battles and Clashes waged by (ALN) Members in the Mountains, Rural Areas, and Deserts, and

the Level of National Awareness among Civilians in Algerian Cities, as well as in Algiers City and France. The Demonstrations thus Expressed the Profound Unity and Support of the Unarmed General Population for their Fellow Revolutionaries in the Mountains and on the Battlefields.

- All the Demonstrations and Protests that Algeria witnessed during the Colonial Period were Organized by Civilian Politicians. The Protests were Organized and Expressed the Opinions and Positions of the Algerian People in a Very Peaceful Manner. However; They Mostly Ended in Violent Bloodshed due to the Intervention of the French Police and Army. Every Demonstration Ended in a Bloody Massacre and a Brutal, Racist Extermination Perpetrated by the Criminal French Forces against Unarmed Civilians. This Included the Massacres of (the May 8, 1945 CE), in which More than (45,000) Civilians were Killed. There were also the Killings and Arrests that Occurred during the Demonstrations of (the December 11). And then there were the Protests and Demonstrations of (the October 17, 1961 CE), in which More than (300) Algerians were Brutally and Barbarically thrown Alive into the Seine River in Paris, the City that witnessed the Birth and Establishment of International Human Rights Organizations (Zaghidi, M. L., 2004 CE, pp. 268-269).

If We want to Review Some of the Massacres and Crimes Committed by the French Colonial Forces against the Unarmed Algerian People during the Most Important Demonstrations that Algeria Experienced during the Occupation; We Mention the Following:

### **3. First Example: Demonstrations of (the May 8, 1945 CE):**

The Demonstrations of (the May 8, 1945 CE), are Considered a Pivotal Moment in Algerian History due to the Tragic Events and Massacres Perpetrated against Unarmed Civilian Protesters. These Events Created a Deep Wound in the Conscience of the Nation, a Wound that Remained Unhealed Until the Outbreak of the Blessed War of Liberation. Initially Peaceful, the Demonstrations turned into a Real Massacre due to the Intervention of the French Police, who Used

Excessive Force by the Occupying Forces, including Air, Land, and Sea, against the Demonstrators. The Events were Concentrated and Became Most Violent in the Triangle of Guelma, Setif, and Kherrata (Paillât, C, 1969 CE, p. 60). It Ended with the Killing of More than (45,000) Martyrs, and a Large Number of Wounded and Missing Persons (Saadallah, A., 2009 CE, Vol. 3, p. 239). Sheikh Muhammad Al-Bashir Al-Ibrahimi wrote, commenting on the Events: “...If the History of France were Made of Light, and then this Shameful Chapter was written at the End of it Under the Title of the Massacres of Setif, Guelma and Kherrata; This Chapter would Obliterate that Entire History...” (Saadallah, A., 2009 CE, Vol. 3, p. 255).

The Events and Massacres Perpetrated against Unarmed Civilians Effectively Ended the Demands of the Elite who advocated for Assimilation and French Citizenship. These Massacres Silenced all Proponents of Integration and Union with France. The Events Reinforced the Conviction that Political Struggle in all its Forms was Futile, which Made the Enthusiastic Youth who had recently become Involved in Political Work in the Ranks of the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties (MTLD) Work Hard and Determinedly to Establish a Secret Military Wing, working to Prepare and Equip for Armed Action in the Cells of the Special Secret Organization (OS) (Kaddache, M., Sari, J, 2012 CE, pp. 119-124). The Events were Extremely Painful and Bloody. They Shattered and Dismantled the Beginnings of Political Unity between the Three Poles of the National Movement, which was Embodied in the Birth of the Friends of the Manifesto and Liberty Movement, which Officially appeared on (March 14, 1944 CE), and which was Led by Mr. Ferhat Abbas. The Massacres and Events were the Reason for the Suppression of the Spirit of Cooperation, Harmony and Trust that Prevailed at that Stage among the Various Factions of the National Movement, with the Exception of the Communist Party. The Events transformed the Political Unity that the Political Scene in Algeria had Known before the Events into a State of Fragmentation, Conflict, Discord, and an Exchange of Accusations between those Parties, who

Held Each Other Responsible for the Massacres and Crimes Committed against the Unarmed People.

### **3.1.The Course of Events:**

The Events Began on (the May 1, 1945 CE), which Coincided the International Workers' Day. The Demonstrations Swept through all Major Algerian Cities, most of them Peaceful and Calm, during which Demonstrators Raised Banners Demanding the Algerian Independence, the Release of Messali El-Hadj from Detention, and Condemning the Racist Practices of Colonialism. Many of the Demonstrators were Raising the Algerian Flag, but the Demonstrations, due to Enthusiasm, took a Violent Form in Some Cities, such as Algiers, Oran, Bejaia and Biskra, which Made the Occupation Authorities Claim that they had Discovered a Secret Organization Calling for Revolution in the City of Bejaia (Zenkoufi, F., 2020 CE, pp. 110-112). On (the May 7th); Celebrations Began when the Allies announced the End of the War. The Colonists Quickly Organized Celebratory Demonstrations and Public Festivals in Major Algerian Cities. As for the Algerians; They Boycotted those Celebrations and Organized their Own Celebrations and Festivals. The Following Day (the May 8), which Coincided with the Weekly Market in the City of Setif; the Demonstrators Raised the Algerian National Flag (Meriouch, A., 2013 CE, pp. 372-373). The Demonstrators Loudly Demanded the Independence of Algeria. After the French Police Intervened; The Demonstration turned into Violent Events and the Killing of Innocent Civilians (Dreyfus, N., 2006 CE, p. 23). The Violence Spread Rapidly to Other Parts of the Country, especially in Guelma and Kherrata (Sekfali, M., 2021 CE, pp. 177-196).

### **3.2.The Results of Events:**

1. The Human Losses on the Algerian Side were Heavy, more than (45,000) Martyrs, due to France's Use of all Kinds of Air, Land and Sea Weapons, in order to Suppress the Demonstrations. According to French Authorities; The Losses Ranged between (500) and (550) Dead, according to General Henry Martyn, and (600) Dead according

to the Constantine District Commander, Duval. The French Interior Minister Tixier; In a Statement Dated (July 18, 1945 CE); Estimated the Death Toll at No More than (500). However; Some French Historians Estimated the Number of Victims at between (6,000) and (8,000). As for the American Consul in Algeria; He Estimated it at about (35,000) Dead (Kaddache, M., 2012 CE, Vol. 2, pp. 952-953).

2. The Events Shattered the Political Unity represented by the Friends of the Manifesto and Liberty Movement, and Returned the Algerian National Movement to a State of Fragmentation, Competition and Conflict among itself (Menaceria, Y., 2014 CE, p. 255). Following the Events; Ferhat Abbas and Abdul Qader El- Sayah were Placed Under House Arrest in the Southern Algeria (Eynad, R., T., 2005 CE, p. 27). These Events Shifted Messali El-Hadj's Strategy from Nationalist Action Advocating Independence to Advocating for Action within the Framework of French Legitimacy. Messali El-Hadj became More Convinced of the Importance of Elections. It Seems that the Bloodshed of the Events affected his Psyche. The Events also transformed Ferhat Abbas's Militant Strategy, making him More Nationalistic than before. He also Became More Convinced of the Necessity of Establishing an Algerian Republic within the Framework of the Union with France (Bouhouch, A., 2006 CE, pp. 238-240).

3. The Massacres Ended the Idea of Demanding Integration and Citizenship, and Silenced all Advocates of Assimilation and Unity. The Events also Led the Members of the Dissolved Algerian People's Party to the Conviction that Political Struggle in all its Forms was Futile, prompting the Youth to Work Diligently to Establish a Military Wing to Prepare for the Armed Struggle; The Special Organization (OS).

#### **4. Second Example: Demonstrations of (the December 11, 1960 CE):**

To Begin; I want to Point Out a Number of New Developments and Updates that the Revolution Experienced with the Arrival of Charles de Gaulle to the Power in France. These Developments Preceded the

Demonstrations of (the December 11th), and I will Summarize them in the Following Points:

. The First New Development: The New Policy Introduced by the French President Charles de Gaulle, a Policy of Numerous Projects and Evasive Rhetoric, employing a Combination of Intimidation and Enticement. Before de Gaulle Came to Power; The France's Policy in Algeria was Based Solely on the Use of Military Force in Dealing with the Liberation Revolution, a Fact Acknowledged by Most French Military and Political Leaders from the Very Beginning of the Revolution. For Example; Consider the Statement Made by the French Interior Minister, François Mitterrand, on the Second Day of the Revolution: “We will Not Allow any Negotiations with the Enemy. The Only Negotiation with them is War”. Or; Consider the Statement Made by the French Governor-General in Algeria, Roger Leonard: “The Revolution must be Crushed and Nipped in the Bud”. Or; Consider the Speech Delivered by the French Prime Minister, Pierre Mendès France, on (November 12, 1954 CE), Before the Members of the French National Assembly, in which he said: “The French Government will take all Necessary Measures, without any Hesitation or Delay. The Defense of the Sovereignty of the Republic is Not Open to Compromise” (Bouaziz, Y., 2009 CE, pp. 252-253). The Most Threatening and Dangerous Statement was that of the French Resident Minister, Robert Lacoste, on (February 9, 1956 CE), when he said: “France will Fight to Remain in Algeria. And it will Stay”. This French Resident Minister Presided Over the Most Bloody and Criminal Period of his Rule in Algeria (Tass, E., 2021 CE, p. 58).

Due to the Recklessness of the French Civilian Authorities in Relying Solely on Military Force against the Algerian War of Independence; Six French Governments Fell, One After Another, because of their Failure to Suppress the Revolution. The First to Fall was; The Government of Pierre Mendès France, on (February 05, 1955 CE). This was Followed by; The Government of Edgar Faure, which also Fell on (January 24, 1956 CE). Then Came; The Government of Guy Mollet, which Fell on (April 21, 1957 CE). Next was; The

Government of Bourgès-Maunoury, which Fell on (September 30, 1957 CE). After that Came; The Government of Félix Gaillard, which also Fell in (April 1958 CE). Finally; The Government of Pierre Villemain, which did not Last Long, Fell in (May 1958 CE).

Following the Resounding Collapse of Failed French Governments; The Army Staged a Coup on (May 13, 1958 CE). This Coup brought General Charles de Gaulle, the Man of the Difficult Missions, to Power. His Aim was to Find a Solution and Rescue France from a Genuine Crisis and Scandal Caused by the Resounding and Escalating Victories of the Revolution on the Ground. Charles de Gaulle's Policies were Characterized by Numerous Projects and Speeches aimed at Dividing the Ranks of the Revolution and Sowing Doubt and Suspicion among the Algerian People. This General was Known for his Political Shrewdness, Military Decisiveness, and Cunning Tactics. However; All of de Gaulle's Projects Failed, beginning with the Constantine Plan of (October 03, 1958 CE) (De Gaulle, C., 1972 CE, pp. 48-49), and Culminating in the Peace of the Brave Initiative of (October 23, 1958 CE). Likewise; The Speech in which he Declared the Right of the Algerian People to Self-Determination on (September 16, 1959 CE), to the Massive Challe-Maurice Military Plan, in which all Kinds of Lethal Force were Used, Even Prohibited Weapons. The Historians Agree that President Charles de Gaulle Harnessed all the Resources of France and NATO to Suppress the Revolution by Force. His Rule is Considered the Most Brutal and Violent Period, all in an Attempt to Exhaust and Abort the Revolution (Abbas, M., 2016 CE, pp. 227-234). But at the Same Time; He was trying to Divert the Revolution from the Course Outlined in the Statement of (the November 01st, 1954 CE). His Strategy was to Strengthen the French Presence and Influence in Algeria, Following the Granting of a Formal and Flawed Independence to Algeria, through his New Project Under an Enticing and Attractive Slogan Called (Algerian Algeria - L'Algérie Algérienne), in Contrast to the Old Slogan (French Algeria - Algérie Française) (Harbi, M, 1993 CE, p. 112).

The French Historians Confirm that De Gaulle had Long been Convinced of the Principle and Inevitability of Algerian Independence. He then began to Formulate and Implement a Neo-Colonial Project Under the Catchy Yet Ambiguous Name of (Algerian Algeria - L'Algérie Algérienne).

**.The Second New Development:** The Timing of the Demonstrations. The Protests and Demonstrations Came at a Crucial Stage in the Liberation Revolution, and at the Right Time. This Followed the Failure of General Challe Maurice's Largest and Most Diabolical Military Plan. This General Intended, through his Project, to Besiege and Strangle the Strongholds of the Revolution and the Revolutionaries in the Mountains and Countryside, and to Dry Up their Supply Lines. The Leaders of the Revolution Acknowledged the Danger of the Plan, the Likes of which the Revolution had Never Seen Before. However; The Plan on which French President Charles de Gaulle relied Quickly Failed, despite the Enormous Resources that the President Allocated to it (Othmani, M., 2013 CE, pp. 454-462).

The Demonstrations of (the December 11th) were a Resounding Popular Outcry, a Massive Public Surge that thwarted President de Gaulle's Maneuvers and Projects aimed at Emptying the Revolution of its Content (Belarbi, A., 2021 CE, pp. 13-29). The Importance of the Demonstrations Lay in their Ability to Attract the Attention and Shift Focus from the Revolutionaries' Strongholds in the Mountains and Countryside to the City Squares Resounding with the Chants of the Masses (Kaddache, M., 2011 CE, pp. 233-244).

**. The Third New Development:** The Failure of the Negotiations in Melun on (June 29, 1960 CE) (Dahlab, S., 1986 CE, pp. 117-119). This Failure Stemmed from the French Side's Insistence on Including Other Parties in the Negotiations alongside the National Liberation Front (FLN), which, in —France's View Up to that Point— did not Represent the Entire Algerian People. Thus; The Protests refuted the French Claim and Proved the Opposite, Demonstrating the Extent of

the Algerian People's Support for their Revolution Led by the National Liberation Front (FLN) (Haffaf, F., 2021 CE, pp. 271-273).

. **The Fourth New Development:** This was due to the Policies of French President Charles de Gaulle. His Maneuvering Created a State of Division and Discord within the French Domestic Front—a Rare Occurrence. This threatened the Stability of France itself, as Two Distinct and Competing Factions Emerged, they are:

**1The French Algeria Front (Algérie Française):** This Front was Represented by Extremist Colonial Settlers and Some Generals. It Officially Emerged at the Beginning of (February 1960 CE), following the Events of the Week of Barricades in Algiers City. The Front's Objective was to Create the Conditions for a Military Coup against French President Charles de Gaulle (Guéran, D., 2014 CE, p. 204), whom they Believed had Deviated from his Principles, particularly after his Speech on (November 04, 1960 CE), in which he Called for the Idea of an Algerian Algeria (L'Algérie Algérienne). This Front was Led by General Raoul Salan, General Edmund Jouhou, and General Challe Maurice. Among its Political Figures were; Jean-Marie Le Pen and the Former Minister Jacques Soustelle. As for the Algerians; Bash Agha Bouallam, who was Leading a Counter-Revolutionary Movement in the Dahra Chlef Region (Al-Zubayri, M., A., Vol. 3, 2014 CE, pp. 103-106).

**2 The Algerian Algeria Front (L'Algérie Algérienne):** This is the Front of the Followers of the Policies of the French President Charles de Gaulle, or the Gaullists. They are a Mix of French people, Moderate Settlers, Some Bourgeois Algerians, and Employees Working in the French Administrations, on whom the President relied at this Stage as a Third Force, and as an Idea of Common Destiny (Othmani, M., 2013 CE, pp. 580-586).

**3. The Arab Muslim of Algeria Front:** This was the Suppressed Front. It represented the General Algerian Population, and its Slogan was “Algeria is Arab and Muslim”. This Front Loudly Called for Independence. It was the Authentic Front that the French Occupation

Authorities tried to Obliterate and Suppress for Over a Century and a Quarter (Balghith, M.A., 2007 CE, p. 224).

From Here; We Can Say that the Three Fronts were what Characterized the Scene and Dominated the Arena on the Eve of the Outbreak of the Demonstrations.

At the Outset; It must be Noted and Emphasized that the Popular Demonstrations and Civil Disobedience were at the Heart of the Liberation Revolution's Strategy at the Internal Level in the Face of Colonialism. This is not, as the Occupying Authorities Claimed, a Spontaneous and Accidental Occurrence, resulting from the Deadly Despair Experienced by the Algerian People (Al-Zubayri, M., A., 2014 CE, Vol. 2, pp. 203-209). The Demonstrations Came in the Third and Final Stage of the Revolution. This Stage was Characterized by the Meticulous Organization of the Revolution's Affairs and Interests. During this Stage; A Ministerial Committee was Established with the Task of Coordinating Work between the Provinces, raising the Public Awareness, mobilizing the Masses in the Major Cities, and Keeping them in a State of Readiness and Awaiting Orders from the Leadership and any Emergencies.

In Fact; From its Very Beginning, the Leaders of the Algerian Revolution attempted to Involve Urban Populations at the Heart of the Revolution. This was in Line with the Adopted Strategy, based on a Plan and Tactic of Alternating Roles between Revolutionary National Action in the Cities and the Struggle and Resistance of the National Liberation Army in the Rural Areas. These Attempts Included the Following:

. **The First Attempt:** in what is Known as the Famous North Constantine Attacks. These Attacks took place on (August 20, 1955 CE), and were Led by the Martyr Zighoud Youcef. This was an Attempt by him to Bring the Revolution to the City Streets through a Collective Guerrilla Operation, which brought the Revolution to a Qualitative Leap, and through which the Revolution achieved Several Goals (Othmani, M., 2013 CE, pp. 216-221).

. **The Second Attempt:** This Second Attempt Followed the First, aiming to Draw the People into the Heart of the Revolution through what became Known as the Battle of Algiers (La Bataille D' Alger). This Occurred in (1957 CE) when the Coordination and Implementation Committee, specifically the Martyrs Larbi Ben M'hidi and Abane Ramdane, deemed it Necessary to Declare a General and Comprehensive Strike to Paralyze Life in the Capital Algiers City and the Major Cities. This was an Attempt by the Committee to Demonstrate the Algerian People's Support for their Revolution, which was Raging in the Mountains and Valleys. Thus; Began the Famous Eight-Day Strike (From January 28 to February 04, 1957 CE) (Dahlab, S., 1986 CE, pp. 50-57).

However, what is Noticeable about the First and Second Attempts is that they were Subjected to Severe Criticism by the Leaders of the Revolution, due to the Losses of Lives and Property they Caused among the Algerian People, despite the Goals that were achieved thanks to them for the Benefit of the Revolution.

. **The Third Attempt:** It was to Draw the Algerian People into the Heart of the Revolution. It Followed the Demonstrations of (December 11, 1960 CE), which Solidified and Deepened the Algerian People's Support for their Revolution. This Attempt also Confirmed beyond any Doubt that this was a Truly Popular Revolution. The Demonstrations Erupted Like a Volcano and a Flood, ending de Gaulle's Evasive Policies.

#### **4.1.The Course of Events and the Developments of the Demonstrations:**

A Few Days before the Demonstrations; The General President Charles de Gaulle Issued an Order to Separate the Desert “Sahara”. This was on (December 07, 1960 CE), as Part of his Project to Establish the Sahrawi Republic in Southern Algeria (Belghith, M., A., 2007 CE, pp. 219-223).

During this Period; the Ghardaia Province in the Sahara witnessed Fierce Battles that Broke the Sahara's Silence and Isolation, refuting France's Claims that the Desert "Sahara" was Peaceful and Far Removed from the Events Unfolding in the Northern Regions. Among the Most Significant of these Battles was the Battle of Mahsar Bechkak, near the City of Metlili, which took place on (the November 01st, 1960 CE) (National Organization of Mujahideen, Undated Edition, p. 21), Commemorating the Sixth Anniversary of the Outbreak of the War of Liberation. Similarly; The Battle of El-Hiwar took place the Following Day (the November 02nd, 1960 CE), As Did; the Battle of El-Djarjir on (July 20, 1961 CE). These were Decisive Battles that Shook the Foundations of Colonialism in the Ghardaia Province. The Enemy Army Used all Types of Weapons in an Attempt to Silence the Voice of the Revolution in the Desert "Sahara". These Battles Ended with the Fall of Dozens of Martyrs on the Field of Honor, and with the Killing of More than (60) French Soldiers (National Organization of Mujahideen, Undated Edition, p. 22).

Going Back a little Further, specifically to (the February 13th, 1960 CE); The Algerian Sahara witnessed the Detonation of the First French Nuclear Bomb on that Day, in the Reggane Region. This Event was Considered by General de Gaulle to be a Strategic Achievement for France. The President de Gaulle had Imagined that the Event would have its Effect on the Leaders of the Revolution, on the One Hand, by Instilling Defeat in them, and on the Other Hand, by Giving the Impression that France Still Possessed its Strength. But the December Demonstrations Shattered de Gaulle's Delusional Dreams, and Convinced him of the Necessity of Sitting Down at the Negotiating Table (Ben Khedda, Ben, Y., 2004 CE, pp. 320-321).

The Suffering of the Algerian People was Great due to the Ravages of War and France's Policy of Excessive Use of Force, which Made the Algerian People Eagerly Await the Opportune Moment to Rise Up against the Long Colonial Oppression.

The Opportunity arose on Friday, (the December 09, 1960 CE), the Day French President Charles de Gaulle had Chosen for a Working Visit to Algeria. He began his Visit in the City of Aïn Témouchent, where Supporters of the French Algerian Front had Declared a General Strike and Called on Settlers to Take to the Streets in Protest, expressing their Rejection of the Slogan (Algerian Algeria), which President de Gaulle had Adopted at that time. The First Day Ended without any Significant Losses.

The Day after the Visit, Saturday (the 10th of December); The Algerian Algeria Front Called on its Supporters—Gaullists, Moderate Settlers, and Parliamentary Bourgeois—to Demonstrate and Express their Support for de Gaulle's New Project. This was at the Behest of the French Government in Paris, with the Aim of Thwarting the Uprising of Extremist Settlers Opposed to de Gaulle's Policies in Algeria (Saïdouni, B., 2014 CE, pp. 309-313). However; This Front did not Know that the National Liberation Front had distributed Thousands of National Flags and Banners to the Algerians, and had set the Same Day (the 10th of December) for them to Start Going Out into the Streets to Demonstrate, especially in the Barbaros Neighborhood, Carrying the National Flags and Banners (Zaghidi, M. L., 2004 CE, p. 266).

On Saturday, (the December 10th); The Algerian People took to the Streets in Force, responding to the Call of the National Liberation Front (FLN), in the Neighborhoods of Belcourt, El-Madania, Kouba, the Casbah, and Bab El-Oued in Algiers City. Thousands of Demonstrators Gathered, waving National Flags and Chanting for Algerian Independence. The Settler Militias, aided by the French Police, surrounded the Demonstrators, and Extremist Settlers began Firing on them from their Balconies. The Algerians were then Forced to Defend themselves, prompting the French Army to Intervene, ostensibly to Separate the Two Sides. However; The Army and Police Sided with the Settlers (Othmani, M., 2013 CE, pp. 597-603).

The Following Day, Sunday, (the December 11th), at 10:00 AM; The Algerians Once again took to the Streets in Boisterous Demonstrations, chanting for the independence of Algeria and for the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, while Waving the Algerian National Flag. Their Chants Mingled with the Ululations of Women who Participated Actively that Day. (the December 11th) Proved to be the Bloodiest Day, as at 5:00 PM, The French General Goumier Ordered his Troops to Fire on the Demonstrators, Turning the Protests into a Massacre. The Paratroopers began Firing Indiscriminately and Brutally at the Unarmed Algerian Civilians. This Continued Until 4:00 AM the Following Day, (the December 12th). The Demonstrations Only Ceased on (December 16, 1960 CE) (Bouaziz, Y., 2009 CE, pp. 193-196).

Among the Brutal Massacres Committed by the Enemy Army during the Demonstrations; We Mention, for Example; The Incident of Paratroopers Storming a Mosque in the Capital Algiers City, where the National Flag was Flying up on the Mosque. They Brutally Murdered Dozens of Worshippers who had taken Refuge in the Mosque. In the El-Madania Neighborhood; Some Settlers also Slaughtered Algerian Demonstrators with Knives in Front of Police Officers who did nothing to Intervene (Bouaziz, Y., 2009 CE, p. 195).

Despite the Brutal Response of the Enemy Forces against the Unarmed Algerian People; The Demonstrators Continued their Protests. The Circle of Popular Anger Even widened to Include Many Algerian Cities, from Aïn Témouchent, Tlemcen, and Oran in the West, to Constantine and Annaba in the East, passing through Tizi Ouzou, Algiers City, Blida, and Cherrhell in the Center. The Repercussions of the Events and Demonstrations Continued Until (the December 16th). However; The Events were in Fact the Most Bloody in the Capital Algiers City.

#### **4.2.Results of the Demonstrations:**

1. The Demonstrations Confirmed and Demonstrated beyond any Doubt the Brutality and Criminality of the French Colonialism Before

the World Public Opinion. They also Highlighted the Extent of the Algerian People's Support for the National Liberation Front and the Revolution, which, despite the Colonial Powers' Efforts, had Spread Deep into the City Streets (Labaz, 2021 CE, pp. 624-626).

2. The Demonstrations Resonated Widely Abroad (Boufrouk, F., 2023 CE, pp. 428-440). Perhaps the Most Significant Outcome of these Events was the Renewed Focus on the Algerian Issue, with the Algerian Issue being raised again at the United Nations General Assembly during its Fifteenth Session on (December 20, 1960 CE). The Afro-Asian Resolution, which Called for the Right to Self-Determination for the Algerian People, was adopted. The Resolution Passed with the Majority of (63) Votes in Favor, (27) against, and (08) abstentions. The Event was Further Cemented by the Photograph of the Algerian Woman “Baya” who, dressed in Traditional Attire, jumped onto a French Colonial Army Armored Vehicle, chanting for Algerian Independence. The Photograph; Published by Paris Match Magazine on (December 12, 1960 CE), was Widely Circulated in International Newspapers and had a Significant and Positive Impact on the Algerian Issue at the United Nations.

3.The Demonstrations received Significant Media Attention, reflecting the Sympathy the Algerian Issue garnered from People around the World. The News Agencies in Many Countries reported on the Painful Events Unfolding in Algeria, which Further Fueled the Wave of Condemnation and Solidarity with the Algerian People (Dahlab, S., 1986 CE, pp. 119-121).

4.The Demonstrations Forced the Occupying Authorities to Reconsider their Calculations. They also Led the French President Charles de Gaulle to Declare in (January 1961): “Algeria is Costing Us More than it is Generating...Therefore; I am Working to Find a Solution that will Rid Us Once and for all of this Problem...”. The Demonstrations Convinced the French President that the Military Victory was Impossible and that the War was Unwinnable, as it was Draining the French Treasury and Even Threatening French National

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Unity with Disintegration and Division (Bourag'aa, L., 2008 CE, pp. 54-55).

5.The Protests and Demonstrations also Played a Major Role in Forcing the French Government to Hold a Referendum on (January 08, 1961 CE). This Referendum Yielded Results Favorable to the Algerian People, granting the French President Broad Powers to Find a Radical and Lasting Solution to the Algerian Issue.

6.The Events Deepened and Reinforced the Division within the French National Front, to the Point that French Unity was Threatened by Internal Schism and by the Outbreak of a Crisis that almost Plunged France into a Civil War, especially with the Emergence of the Organization of French Secret Army, (Organisation Armée Secrète OAS) on (February 02, 1961 CE), and with the Attempt by French Generals to Stage a Coup against the French President Charles de Gaulle on (April 22, 1961 CE) (Al-Zubayri, M.A., 2014 CE, Vol. 3, pp. 115-121).

7.The Demonstrations Breathed New Life into the Algerian Revolution. They also Propelled the Algerian Negotiator Forward, gaining him Significant Popular Support to Forcefully Present the Algerian Cause at the Negotiating Table.

8.The Demonstrations Ended with Heavy Casualties. According to Estimates by the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, the Number of Martyrs Exceeded (1,000), with a Similar Number Wounded and Arrested. As for the French Sources; Reported (90) Algerian Deaths in the Capital Algiers City, (06) in Oran, and (08) in Annaba. In Contrast; Only (06) Settlers were Killed (Othmani, M., 2013 CE, p. 601).

9.As a Result of the Peaceful and Popular Demonstrations of (the December 11th); The Revolution Established a New Method of Confronting the Colonialism by Drawing the Cities and the General Population into the Heart of the Revolution. Consequently; The Southern Algeria witnessed Several Popular Demonstrations in

Response to the Rejection by the Southern Population of Charles de Gaulle's Plan to Separate the Desert "Sahara". Among these Demonstrations, to Name but a Few; Are the Following:

**. Demonstrations of (November 1st, 1961 CE):** Which were Called for by the Provisional Government of Algeria. The Inhabitants of the Cities of: Algiers, Blida, Oran, Mostaganem, Bejaia, Setif, Constantine, Biskra, Djelfa, M'Sila, and Laghouat responded to them (Zaghidi, M. L., 2004 CE, pp. 269-270).

**. Demonstrations of (July 5th, 1961 CE):** These Demonstrations were against the Partition Plan and Policy (Darwaz, H., 2009 CE, p. 136). The Inhabitants of the Southern Sahara Regions participated Strongly in these Demonstrations, particularly in the Cities of; Touggourt, Ghardaia, and Ouargla, as well as in the Other Cities. In Touggourt; The Citizens Held a Large Demonstration, raising the National Flag and the Banner of the Martyrs, which they Carried to "the Shrine of the Holy Man Sidi Mohammed Ben Yahia". There; They Planted it atop the Dome, defying the Enemy Forces. In Ghardaia; A Similar Demonstration took place, marching through Most of the City's Neighborhoods, chanting National Slogans and Denouncing the Plan to Separate the Sahara. The Demonstration Ended in the Market Square in the City Center, where the Demonstrators' Demands were Read Aloud. These Protests were a Result of the Population's Awareness, and were Part of the Southern Population's Resistance to the Project aimed at Separating the Sahara (Al-Dahma, B., 2022 CE, Vol. 2, pp. 476-484).

**. The Demonstration of (February 27, 1962 CE):** It was in the City of Ouargla. This Demonstration also Served to Reaffirm the Sahrawi Population's Rejection of the French Separation Plan. The Demonstration began on Saturday, (February 27), in the Souq El-Hadjjar Square, based on the Text of the Letter addressed by the Officer Mohamed Chenoufi, a Member of the Leadership of the Sixth Province, to the Mayors of Ouargla. The Tumultuous Demonstration

Ended with the Martyrdom of (05) Martyrs (Al-Dahma, B., 2024 CE, p. 10).

**.Demonstration of (March 07, 1962 CE):** In the City of Touggourt for the Second Time. It Came after the Ouargla Demonstration and Coincided with the Start of the Second Évian Negotiations, which gave it Wide Media Coverage. The Demonstrators raised the National Flags and Chanted National Slogans Loudly: “Long Live Algeria...France to the Sea...The Sahara is Algerian”.

**.The Demonstration of (March 13, 1962 CE):** In the Village of M'Naguer, Near the City of El-Tayibat, was Called for by Local Leaders. Its Aim was Always to Reject the Gaullist Proposal to Separate the Sahara and to Emphasize National Unity between the North and South. It also aimed to Support the Algerian Negotiator in Évian. The Demonstration, during which Enemy Forces Used the Live Ammunition; Ended with the Martyrdom of (11) Activists and a Large Number of Wounded and Arrested.

**.Demonstration of (April 10, 1962 CE):** In the City of El-Hadjira. It Came after the Signing of the Ceasefire Agreement on (March 19, 1962 CE). The Demonstration Occurred as a Result of a Visit by the Governor of the Oasis Province, Balue, to the city, accompanied by a Group of Officials, including Mr. Hamza Boubker, President of the Oasis Provincial Council. The Reason for the Demonstration was the Provocation by the Mayor of El-Hadjira, Officer Vidal Robert, who Forced the Citizens to Come Out to Welcome the Governor and his Delegation and to Chant in Support of France. This Led the Citizens to Refuse the Orders and Change the Chants to National Slogans, which Sparked a Confrontation that Ended with the Martyrdom of (06) Activists and the Wounding of More than (30) Citizens (Al-Dahma, B., 2023 CE, p. 10).

**.The Demonstration of (October 17, 1961 CE), in France:** Saw Strong Participation from the Algerian Community. This Demonstration was in Response to the Racist Curfew Imposed by Paris Police Prefect Maurice Papon. The Demonstration Ended with

the Martyrdom of Dozens of Algerians who were thrown alive into the Seine River by the French Police (Guéran, D., 2014 CE, pp. 208-209).

### **5.Demonstrations of (October 17, 1961 CE) in France:**

(October 17, 1961 CE) is Considered One of the Most Important Days of the Liberation Revolution. This is due to the Events of that Dark Day for Algerians who took to the Streets in Paris in Peaceful Protests against Repressive Measures and the Curfew Imposed on Algerian Immigrants. The Demonstrations turned into a Massacre due to the Violent Intervention of the French Police, claiming the Lives of Hundreds of Algerians. It was a Stark Illustration of the Brutality of the Colonizer (Haroun, A., 2006 CE, pp. 554-556), who threw Many Demonstrators alive into the Seine River in Paris.

The Events Date Back to (the October 6th, 1961 CE), when Police Prefect Maurice Papon (Ben Fatima, S., 2017 CE, pp. 217-219), appointed by the French President Charles de Gaulle specifically to Restrict Algerian Immigrants in France and Paris, issued a Curfew Order in the Capital, Paris, targeting Algerians Exclusively, from (8:00 PM) to (05:30 AM). This was Considered by Algerians to be a Racist and Arbitrary Measure (Guéran, D., 2014 CE, p. 209).

On (October 17th), at (8:00 PM); Thousands of Algerians in Paris took to the Streets in Peaceful Demonstrations. They Gathered in Public Squares to Denounce the Curfew and to Convey their Demands to the French Authorities through Slogans, which say: “Down with the Curfew...Negotiations with the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic Alone...Independence for Algeria...Long live the National Liberation Front...” (Zaghidi, M. L., 2004 CE, pp. 268-269). At that time; The Police Forces attacked the Algerian Demonstrators, deliberately Killing Dozens of them in the Streets and Subway Stations. They threw Dozens More into the Seine River, where their Bodies floated to the Surface.

Historians and Writers who witnessed the Events report that the Police arrested approximately (12,000) Algerians, detaining them in Police

Stations and Camps set up for them at the Palais des Sports and the Palais des Expositions in Paris, where they were Subjected to Interrogation, Beatings, Torture, and Murder.

## **6. Conclusion:**

In Conclusion; We Can Summarize the Article in the Following Paragraph:

It Can be said that throughout their History and Struggle against the French Occupation; Algerians relied Heavily on Demonstrations to Express their Opinions and Positions. Demonstrations were among the Most Important Means and Methods Used by the Algerian People to Defend their Rights and Demands, which were Essentially Calls for Freedom and Independence. The Demonstrations, whether during the Political Struggle or the Armed Resistance, Proved their Effectiveness and Efficacy. They reflected the Extent of the Algerian People's Solidarity with their National Cause and their Glorious Revolution. These Popular Demonstrations were among the Most Important Factors that Compelled the French Colonial Power to Reconsider its Policies. Ultimately; They Forced the Occupying Authorities to Recognize Algeria as a Nation and a People, compelling the Occupier to Submit and Sit at the Negotiating Table in Évian with the Algerian Side. These Negotiations Culminated in Victory and Independence for Algeria, achieving Freedom on (March 19, 1962 CE), the Date of the Ceasefire. Therefore; We must Continue Investigating this Matter to Uncover the Full Truth and Understand the Events that transpired on the Eve of the Victory Day Celebrations. We also Need to Understand the Practical Consequences of these Agreements in the Independent Algeria.

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