

Dear delegates,

Below is a detailed list of who is on the committee and their biographies. As I am sure you can see, some clearly have more thorough biographies than others, this is simply because more is known about certain characters than others. Please use this information as a starting place for your character research. Most of this was faithfully translated from Benjamin Stora's *Dictionnaire Biographique de Militants Nationalistes Algériens* from French by Caitlin Tulloch, or from Alistair Horne's *A Savage War of Peace*. Please bear in mind that many of the names and places are transliterated, which means there is a lot of variation. There is a brief glossary at the end of the list.

As I am sure many of you are wondering, this is an ad hoc committee whose delegates include the CCE, an expanded form of the CNRA, and a few externals who were on neither. The hope of this is that the debate will be more balanced than the original FLN debates. This committee will run similar to CNRA with the additional powers of the CCE. We currently plan to start the simulation in the summer of 1957; some of your characters will have been incarcerated by the time the simulation begins, so you will stand in for them as a representative who is fully invested with all powers to speak and act on the account of said character.

Finally, these are only the biographies through 1957; it would serve you well to figure out what your character did in history after 1957, but be aware that this simulation may or may not follow that route depending on your fellow delegates and chance.

I hope your research is going well, and if you have any questions or would like some recommendations for books (Henry F. Jackson's *The FLN in Algeria* is superb), please contact me at [kbenesh@gmail.com](mailto:kbenesh@gmail.com).

-Kathryne Benesh, Crisis Director

**Omar Boulaid (brother of Mostefa Ben Boulaid, whom he is representing)**

Mostefa Ben Boulaid was born in 1917, the son of small landowners. He succeeded his father and became a miller by trade. Mobilized in 1939, he fought in the French army, was discharged after being wounded in 1942, and remobilized in 1943-1944, in the campaigns of Khenchela. Upon returning to civilian life, he became the president of a guild of fabric merchants, and established a small flourmill in Lambess. At the same time, he obtained a license to operate a line of buses between Arris and Betna. He was a member of the Central Committee of the MTLD, and a founding member of the CRUA in April 1954, which would give rise to the FLN. He became the leader of the FLN in the Aurés, from which he directed many armed operations, but was arrested on January 11, 1955. He escaped from prison in Constantine, but became the victim of a booby-trapped package dropped by the French Second Bureau, via parachute. Omar's background is similar, and now stands in for his brother, who he was originally a deputy for.

**Larbi Ben M'Hidi (deputy of the OS in Biskra, deputy of the MTLD in Oran, founding member of CRUA, member of the CEE FLN)**

Born in 1923 in the village of El Houahi in Constantine, Larbi Ben M'Hidi belonged to a country family. He studied dramatic arts in Algiers. A militant of the PPA, arrested after the repression in 1945, Larbi opted for secrecy. A commissar of the local SMA and a member of the OS in Biskra, he was vainly sought by the police in 1950, condemned by default to ten years in prison for "subversive lies and illegal activities". Named the chief of the sub-department in Oran, and a permanent member of the MTLD, he was relieved of his functions following a police check in Ain-Temouchent.

A founding member of the CRUA, he was the first deputy of the Oran wilaya in the FLN, which efficiently he organized despite a difficult start. In 1956, he participated in the Congress of the Soummam and he was elected to the CEE with Krim and Abane, where he gave his point of view. He left the command of Wilaya V to Boussof and supervised the actions of armed groups during the Battle of Algiers. Arrested the 23 of February by the soldiers of colonel Bigeard, and subsequently tortured, he died without giving information to the enemy.

At the start of our simulation, M'Hidi is still alive, though in prison and will be stood in for by a representative who will have complete power to act in M'Hidi's name.

**Youssef Zighoud (city counselor for Conde-Smendou for MTLD, member of the "Group of 22", deputy of Wilaya II, member of the CNRA)**

Born in 1921 in Conde-Smendou, Youssef, a son of a country family, opened a carpentry and ironworking workshop in 1945 in his natal village. He joined the PPA-MTLD and became the city counsel for Conde-Smendou, the deputy for those elected from the second college. He hid clandestine members of the OS in 1948.

Discovered and imprisoned in 1950, with Benaouda, Slimane, and Abdelbaqi, he escaped from the Annaba prison in 1952, where he had been in "preventative detention". He became a fugitive, adhering to the thinking of the CRUA, and was a member of the "Group of 22". He directed, under the orders of Didouche Mourage, the region of Guelma-Ville, Constantine, Philippeville, El-Harrach, and Conde-Smendou. A deputy from the zone of North Constantine, he succeeded Didouche Mourage, who died in combat, in 1955. He called a "general conferred" of Wilaya II from the 25<sup>th</sup> of June through the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 1955, where they decided to stage the August 20 uprising in Constantine. He was elected a member of the CNRA in August 1956, but was killed a month later by French soldiers.

At the start of our simulation, Zighoud was wounded, but not killed by the French soldiers in August 1956.

**Lakhdar Ben Tobbal (fighter in the OS, member of the “Group of 22”, member of the CNRA, deputy of Wilaya II, member of the CEE)**

Born in 1923 in Mila near Constantine, Lakhdar Ben Tobbal was the son of a country family. He was a militant of the PPA in his adolescence and became a member of the OS. Sought by the French police in 1950, he was condemned in absence in 1951, and lived as a fugitive until 1954. He participated in the meeting of the “Group of 22”. Named, under orders from Didouche Mourage, the deputy of the sector situated between Mila, El Milia, Collo and Douk-El-Teriet, he participated in combat in November 1954. In August 1956, he was one of the representatives of North Constantine to the Congress of the Soummam and there became a member of the CNRA. The adjunct to Sighoud Youssef, he replaced the former when he was killed.

A colonel of Wilaya II, he left Algeria in 1957 and accompanied Krim and Ben Khedda. He supported Krim in the CNRA, who wanted the elimination of the “centralists” (Ben Khedda and Dahlab) and the isolation of Abane Ramdane.

**Mostefa Benaouda (militant of the OS, member of the “Group of 22”, member of the CNRA, on the FLN Central Committee)**

Born in Annaba, Ben Mostefa Benaouda, the attendant at a gas station, was a member of the PPA-MTLD at the end of World War II. He re-entered the OS in 1948 with Ben Zaim, the municipal counsel of the MTLD, and became the deputy of the urban portion of the military organization. He participated in the taking of Khiari on March 18, 1950, which aroused the suspicions of the French police, and resulted in the dismantling of the OS. Arrested on March 19, 1950, he was tried in Bone on March 4 1951, but escaped in 1952, in the company of Zighoud Youssef. Still sought by the police, he found refuge as a fugitive in the village of Beni-Bachir near Philippeville (Skikda), then in Kabylie. He declared himself for armed conflict, and was a member of the “Group of 22”, and at the meeting that took place on October 23, 1954, he was designated as a member of the directory of zone 2.

In November 1954, Benaouda was put in charge of operations on the plain between Bone and Guelma. He participated in the meeting of the zone 2 directory from June 25 thru July 1 1955 in Zamane, which decided to stage the August 20 insurrection in Constantine. A member of the CNRA in August 1956, at the outset of the Soummam Congress he was sent to Tunisia with Brahim Medhoudi to confirm the interior direction of the FLN. He failed in his mission, and gave power to Oumrane. A member of the military organization (Eastern zone), he was relieved of his duties at the same time as colonels Amara Bouglez and Mohammedi Said.

**Brahim Mezhoudi (PPA-MTLD member, delegate at the Soummam Congress)**

Originally from Nementchas, Brahim Mezhoudi, first a director of the Oulemas, rejoined the PPA while he was studying at the Zitouna University in Tunisia with Chaddy Mekky. He took up Messali’s position in the crisis of the MTLD, and then rejoined the

FLN as soon as it was creation. He was a commander of wilaya II. A delegate of North Constantine at the Soummam Congress, he was sent by the Congress to try to reestablish order in the Nememtchas, which was then prey to violent dissent.

### **Ali Kafi (militant of PPA-MTLN, commander of province II, member of the Central FLN Committee)**

Born in the region of El Harrouch, Ali Kafi, son of a peasant, was a member of the MTLN from the age of 16. He got his education in Arabic at the Madrasa El Kettania, in the same class as H. Boumedienne. Teaching in Arabic at Philippeville (Akikda), he professed himself for military action. A member of the FLN, sought for his activities, he became a maquis in 1955, secretary to Sighout Youssef, and then commander of the El Harrouch Skikda Sidi Mesrich zone. Then on August 20 1955 "his group, which he commanded with Bou Bnider, began to move, emerging as one of the principal directors of wilaya II. He was a delegate at the Congress of Soummam and replaced Ben Tobbal when the latter departed for Tunisia, at the head of wilaya II.

### **Hocine Rouibah**

Hocine Rouibah was born on June 22, 1922, at Jijel where he received his education at a city school. Born into a family of merchants, when he reached maturity he worked at his father's store. Since his youth, he had had political tendencies towards the PPA, and in 1943, he rose to the post of Head of Jijel. On May 14, 1945, Rouibah was arrested and detained at the military barracks of Jijel for almost 3 months, until he was transferred to another camp, at Mansourah, and then released in August of that year. He continued his profession as a merchant with his brother, but towards the end of 1945 and at the beginning of 1946, he joined the ranks of the MTLN alongside Mohammed Belouizdad. In 1947, the OS was established by Mohammed Belouizdad, and Hocine joined up. In 1948, being under police surveillance, he was arrested and then released later that year, to continue his political activity until 1950 when he fell into the hands of the French authorities in Jijel and was imprisoned for three months.

Returning to his hometown, he became the deputy for the Kasma, which stretched from El-Aouana to the village of Beni-Belaid. On November 4, 1954, he was again arrested by the colonial authorities, and though he was freed, he was arrested later that year, and kept at El-Koudia prison in Constantine for a month. He was transferred to a new prison in Constantine, sentenced to a year and a day in prison, and fined about five thousand francs.

When he was released, he joined the Mujahedeen and became a militant under Abane Ramdane- the latter sent a letter to Zighout Youcef advising him to watch over Hocine Rouibah, since he was one of the most senior militants known. In early 1956, he contacted Zighout Youcef, who appointed him deputy of the General Staff of the region, at this time controlled by Moudjahid Abdellan Ben Tobal. He became a full-fledged member of the General Staff of the region, and eventually reached the rank of commanding political officer of the wilaya. Commander Hocine differed from his

companions in the fight in his moral qualities- he never married, and was noted for his extreme selflessness.

### **Krim Belkacem (deputy of the PPA-MTLD in Kabylia, member of the CEE)**

Born 14 December 1922 in the village of Ait Yahia or Moussa, near Dra-El-Mizan, Krim Belkacem was the son of a groundskeeper (?), Hocine Krim. He attended the school at Sarrouy in Algiers, and there got his certificate. On August 21, 1942, he participated in youth workshops in Laghouat, and entered the army at the head of his class, on July 1, 1943. On November 26, 1944, he was named the chief-corporal in the first regiment of snipers. Demobilized on October 4, 1945, he returned to live in Dra-El-Mizan where he occupied the post of auxiliary secretary of the community. He was a member of the PPA and at the start of 1946, he helped start dozens of clandestine cells in villages around Dra-El-Mizan, which counted hundreds of militants and sympathizers. Accused of having killed a guard, he was chased and went undercover in 1947 (under the pseudonym of Si Rabah) with Moh Nachid, Mohand Talah, and Messaoud Ben Arab.

Twice condemned to death by French tribunals in 1947 and 1950, he became the deputy for the PPA-MTLD for all of Kabylie and at the head of the 22 fugitives who worked to multiply the contacts between militants and the civilian population. His closest collaborator was Omar Oumrane. In the crisis of the MTLD, he decided that the people of Kabylie would support the views of Messali against the Central Committee, advocating armed conflict. On June 9, 1954 Krim met Alger Ben Boulaid and Boudiaf and Didouche in Algiers, who tried to convince him of the need of a third force.

He did not break with the messalists, though two of his representatives (Ali Zamoum and Ait Abdesslam) participated in the Congress of Hornu in July. This group created an accord between the five deputies of the "Group of 22" and broke with Messali in August 1954, without keeping their men up to date. Becoming the sixtieth member of the interior directory of the FLN (the six historic chiefs), Krim was the deputy for the Kabylia zone at the outset of the insurrection, on November 1, 1954. He entered the CEE, as well as the Soummam Congress in 1956. Krim, who had left Algeria after the battle of Algiers, was allied with Ben Tobbal and Boussouf against Abane.

### **Mohammed Said (deputy of Wilaya 3 in FLN)**

A Kabylie born in 1912, and one of the oldest FLN leaders, he had grown up with early memories of a French officer slapping his grandparents. Fanatically religious, he claimed to have worked during the Second World War with the pro-Nazi Mufti of Jerusalem, Hajj Amin Husainin, joining the Muslim SS legion formed by Mufti. In 1943 he was parachuted into Tunisia as an Abwehr agent, was caught and sentenced to life imprisonment, but was paroled in 1952. Later, when a colonel in the FLN, he explained to an American journalist: "I believed that Hitler would destroy French tyranny and free the world."

Whether out of nostalgia for the good old days or detestation for the French, in photos he almost invariably appeared in an incongruous Wehrmacht Steel helmet. He was frequently at odds with Ait Hamouda, aka Amirouche, particularly after he became the effective leader of Wilaya 3 (Kabylia) upon the promotion of Krim and Oumrane.

**Amirouche- real name Aït Hamouda (member of the OS, commander of the FLN in the Soummam valley)**

“Born the 31 of October 1926 in Tassaft-Ouagemoun, a small locality in Djurdjura, Amirouche was the child of a modest family. His father, who sympathized with the cultural and political ideas of the Oulemas, gave him an education in Arabic. He began a small store and jewelry shop in Relizane. A member of the PPA-MTLD, in 1947 he left Relizane for Algeria where he worked for a while at a nationalist organization, placed in Chartres.

He entered the OS in 1948. He was arrested and imprisoned in 1950 during the repression. Freed in 1952 but forbidden to travel in Algeria, and watched closely by the police in Relizane, he decided to go to France. He soldiered in Paris in the MTLD’s sector of the 15<sup>th</sup> arrondissement. The MTLD, after 1 November 1954, would be one of the first to adhere to the Federation of France when it would be drafted by Terbouche. Returned to Algeria in December 1954, Amirouche made contacts with the resistance fighters of the FLN in the region of Ouacif when it took control after the death of the commander Sheik Amar.

At the suggestion of Krim Belkacem, he became the local commander of the FLN for the whole valley of the Soummam, from Sidi Aich to Bouria. In 1955, in the Soummam Valley, Amirouche engaged in combat against the armed resistance fighters of the MNA of Bellounis who he succeeded in repelling in the South of Algeria. He established his headquarters to the East of Djurdjura, in the region of Bibas and raised himself to the rank of principal adjunct of Krim Belkacem. Sharing the life of his low ranking soldiers, he instituted a strict discipline for avoiding the possibility of infiltration and treason in the ranks.

**Kaci Abdallah Mokhtar (director on 1 November for the FLN)**

“A militant of the MTLD in Algeria, he participated in the preparations for the insurrection on the 1<sup>st</sup> of November, training on a farm in Mitidja. He directed, with his nephew Abderrahmane, the group (made up of Kouini Nacer, Guesmia Abdelkader, Lehdjim Kaddour, Sekkat Brahim, Abdelkader and Omar Djaalal) who attacked a gas factory. He was arrested the 6 of November 1954.”

**Amar Oumrane- also called Buqaru**

He was an Algerian revolutionary, one of the first in the fight against the French presence, and an instigator of insurrection. He was born in 1919, in Draa El Mizan, a commune in Kabylie in Algeria, and he would rise through the ranks of the French army.

After obtaining his certificate of primary studies, he entered the military academy at Cherchell, where he became a part of a military formation and obtained the rank of sergeant. He deserted after the massacre of Setif on May 8 1945. He was arrested and condemned to death, then pardoned in 1946 by General Catroux.

He returned to Kabylie and became a commander in the PPA-MTLD, and an adjunct of Krim Belkacem. His political activities during the course of the municipal electoral campaign in 1947 got him arrested again, but he succeeded in evading capture, and from that moment on, he lived a clandestine life. November 1, 1954, at the start of the revolution, he directed the first operations in the Draa Ben Khedda region. He succeeded Rabah Bitat as the head of province IV (Algerois). Amar Oumrane participated, in August 1956, in the congress of the Soummam, at the beginning of which he accepted the grade of colonel of the ALN and, was named the CNRA of province IV (i.e. he was the national counsel for the Algerian Revolution of Algerois province).”

**Dehilès Slimane- called colonel Saddek (militant of the PPA, member of the CNRA)**

“Born in Ouadhias in the Grande Kabylie mountain range, Slimane Dehiles worked as a taxi driver, and was a member of the PPA in 1945. He found himself by the side of Krim while the latter was forming an armed resistance band in 1947. He thereafter established himself in the East of France in the town of Remiremont, and rejoined the Algerian resistance fighters on November 2, 1954. He attended the Congress of the Soummam, a delegate of Algerian zone IV, and directed the province from the moment Ouamrane left for Tunisia. A commanding colonel in province IV, he was a member of the CNRA from 1957 to 1962.

**Ahmed Bougerra- called Si M’Hammed (Algerian OS in 1948, Algerian provincial director of the FLN, 1955)**

“Born in 1930 in Affreville (El-Khemis), Ahmed Bougerra was the son of a teacher. He became a train conductor at the depot in Freeville. A member of the CGT, he was also a member of the PPA-MTLD, and rapidly became a leader in the OS in Algeria in 1948. In November 1954, he was an armed resistance fighter, commanding soldiers from the mountains of Amount. A political adjunct in 1955, a commander in 1956, a colonel in 1957, he always had a political mind, according to M. Habra, from the Algerois province.”

**Ali Mullah**

Born in Grande Kayla, Ali was a militant of the PPA, organizing future fighters from the OS, and at the same time a commander of the OS. A “marquise” after the dismantling of the paramilitary organization, he argued the point of view of Krim Belkacem about the MTLD crisis in February 1954. He was made one of the commanders of the Bases Kayla and participated in the insurrection of November 1 1954. He directed troops of the ALN in the spring of 1955 in the Boo Saada-Djelfa region. He was also a delegate of the

Southern zone to the Soummam Congress. Mellah was a member of the CNRA, in charge of wilaya VI under the name of Si Cherif, in Southern Algiers in March 1957.

### **Abbane Ramdane (Commander of the PPA from Setif in 1948, member of the CNRA and CEE FLN)**

Born 10 June 1920 in Azouza near Fort-National, into a very poor family, Abbane obtained his baccalaureate in 1941. A lower officer in the French army during WWII, he became a secretary adjunct to the town of Chateaudun du Rummel, and a member of the PPA in 1943. From that point on he devoted himself exclusively to political action.

A commander from the Setif region, he was arrested in 1950 in Annaba, where he had to take direction of the wilaya to replace Tayeb Boulahrouf. Involved in the affairs of the OS, he was condemned on March 7 1951 by the Algerian court of Appeals, to six years in prison, ten years of probation and privation of his civil liberties, plus a 500,000 F fine. Held in 1953, he related his terrible conditions in a letter published by l'Algeria Libre. He also began a hunger strike, which was interrupted by force. He was freed on January 19 1955 from the prison Maison-Carree, where the director refused to keep him any longer because of the trouble he caused. Contacted by Oumrane, he rejoined the FLN. He very quickly became a political counselor to the Algiers region group designed by Krim Belkacem, the political head of the FLN. His view was to call all sorts of Algerians to the FLN, excluding the Messalists. He developed the idea of centralization relations between the different zones in the interior of the country, like was already done with the exterior delegations.

The height of his influence coincided with the Soummam Congress in 1956 where he adopted a political platform and a vision that disapproved of Ben Bella and Boudiaf. A member of the CNRA and the CEE in 1956-57, he was weakened and isolated by the setback of the battle of Algiers, but refused to go back on his decisions from the Soummam Congress (the primacy of the interior over the exterior). His stringency was provoking hatred towards him, most of all on the part of the ALN colonels, who accused him of inadequacy and pushiness.”

### **Hacine Ait Ahmed**

Born August 20 1926, in Michelet in Grande Kabylia, Hocine Ait Ahmed was part of a big family “maraboutique”. Head of his class of the baccalaureate, he could speak many languages, and put up an excellent front as a good student and political activist, while he was also a member of the PPA during high school. Very active in Kabylia, he presented a report to the Central Committee in December 1948, which insisted on the necessity of armed conflict, tied to the political factors. Co-opted into the Political Bureau of the PPA, he was the principal deputy of the OS, and replaced Mohammed Belouizdad, who had died of tuberculosis. Ait Ahmed was the veritable instigator of the hold-up of an outpost in Ora that, on August 4 1949, took in 3,170,000 francs, necessary to buy arms. Accused of “barbarism”, he was replaced by Ahmed Ben Bella.

As soon as the French police discovered the OS he was condemned in absentia by a tribunal, but he got to Cairo in 1951. Under the pseudonym Said Ferhi, he was the voice of the MTLD in the anti-imperialist conferences. From the splitting of the MTLD, he declared himself for armed action, and defended the decisions of the FLN in November 1954. A member of the outside delegation of the FLN, he participated in the Conference of Bandung in 1955, and went to New York in preparation for the UN debates on the Algerian question. A member of the CNRA during the Congress of Soummam on August 20, 1956, he was arrested in the airport by the French army, along with Ben Bella, Boudiaf, Khider, and Lacheraf, on October 22, 1956.

This character will be stood in for by a representative who will have complete power to act in Ait Ahmed's name.

**Ahmed Ben Bella (municipal counselor of the MTLD in Marnia in 1947, a member of the Central Committee of the MTLD and director of the OS in 1949, he was the first president of the Algerian republic)**

Born on December 25, 1916 in Oran, Ahmed Ben Bella was part of a poor peasant family. His father died in 1939, was a farm laborer in a field near Marnia. Ben Bella did his secondary studies at Tlemcen, until he began his military service in 1937. He was demobilized in 1940, and then called up in 1943. He participated in all of the French campaigns in Italy.

Upon his return to Algeria in 1945, he was hit by the amount of repression that overran the countryside, after the events of May 8, 1945. He left the army and joined the PPA-MTLD. He was overflowing with activity, and rose quickly through the ranks of the nationalist organization. A municipal counselor of Marnia in October 1947, and was a candidate for election to the Algerian Assembly in April 1948. A deputy of the OS for Oran, he was with Aid Ahmed, one of those responsible for the hold up of the outpost of Oran in 1949.

A member of the Central Committee of the MTLD, he was replaced by Ait Ahmed in 1949, taking on the national responsibility of the OS. Arrested in 1950 in Algiers, he was condemned, two years later, by a civil tribunal in Blida, to seven years in prison for crimes against the state. On March 17, 1952 he escaped prison. He got to Cairo and became a member of the exterior delegation of the MTLD with Ait Ahmed and Khider. The heart of this team, he quickly became a specialist in military questions, formations, and attainment of arms. Traveling under various names, he narrowly missed being taken by agents of the Main Rouge, in Cairo and in Tripoli.

He was in disagreement with certain of the decisions of the Congress of the Soummam, and was arrested on October 22, 1956. He was interned at Santé, on the island of Aix, in the castle of Turquant and eventually at Aulnoye. During his detention, he did not agree with the view of the FLN on the question of alliances and the conduct of the war.

This character will be stood in for by a representative who will have complete power to act in Ben Bella's name.

**Mohammed Khider (member of the ENA in 1936, directing member of the PPA in 1938, deputy of the MTLD in 1946, member of the Central Committee of the MTLD in 1946, representative of the MTLD in Cairo in 1951)**

Born on March 13, 1912, Mohammed Khider was the son of a family originally from Biskra. His father was a laborer and the family's poverty did not allow him to go to school. Khider was first employed in a tobacco factory, and then received a position as a railway officer in Algiers. Before campaigning, he bettered himself, buying books with his modest pay. Before his departure for the army in 1936, he was a member of the ENA. He was also a member of the Directing Committee of the PPA, until he was arrested for the first time at the protests in Algiers on July 14, 1939, with Madame Messali and the general counselor Douar. Mohammed Khider took up Messali's position on the subject of collaboration with Germany. He was made federal secretary of the PPA, and was arrested in January 1940 and condemned by a military tribunal, in 1941, to eight years in prison. Freed in 1942, and given amnesty, he was not entirely free, and was kept in a house in Aumale. Arrested again several days after the incidents of May 8, 1945, and imprisoned in the Military Fort of Bouzareah, he spent one year in prison. Freed, he joined the Central Committee of the MTLD, from which he became the candidate for Mezerna in the 1946 elections. He was elected deputy of Algiers, and intervened in the debates of the assembly regarding the problem of Indochina. He advocated the cessation of hostilities, the respect of the rights of a people to govern themselves, and announced that the deputies of the PPA-MTLD were voting against the order of the day. *El Maghreb El Arabi* made him the secretary adjunct to the Committee Director of the MTLD, elected by the National Counsel of September 4, 1947.

Khider was at the 1948 Central Committee of Zeddine, which gave priority to the *Special Organization*. He was implicated, unbeknownst to him, in the hold up of the outpost at Oran, his car having served to carry the money from Oran to Algiers. He worked against the party's decision that told him to allow himself to be captured, and thanks to an aide of Abdallah Filali, succeeded in getting to Cairo on June 5, 1951. In the Egyptian capital he married, and with his brother in law Ait Ahmed, as well as Ben Bella, directed the activity of the MTLD in Cairo. An advocate for armed action, he tried in vain to reconcile the "centralists" with the "Messalists", and make them face the new problems as a united front. Khider rejoined the FLN after November 1, 1954, and was elected a member of the CNRA on August 20, 1956. In this capacity he participated in the secret conversations with the representatives of the SFIO, Begarra, and the Herbault Commune, none of which got him anything. He was arrested on October 22, 1956 while getting off an Air Morocco plane.

This character will be stood in for by a representative who will have complete power to act in Khider's name.

### **Ben Youssef Ben Khedda (Central Committee of the MTLN in 1947, member of the CEE FLN in 1956)**

Born on February 23, 1920 in Berrouaghia, Ben Khedda, whose father was a magistrate, campaigned with the Algerian scouts and later with Muslim students. An established pharmacist in Blida, he was also an underground member of the PPA in his village, and was arrested at the end of April 1943 for propaganda against the mobilization of the army- he was given 8 months in prison. He participated in the Conference of the PPA in 1946, and entered the Central Committee of the MTLN in 1947. He worked in the newspaper *A Free Algeria*, and became secretary general of that organization in 1953. During the crisis of the MTLN, after Messali's visit to Niort, he became the head of the centralist movement, and found himself at the heart of the battle against Messali in the Central Committee.

Arrested during the insurrection, but freed in April 1955, he immediately rejoined the FLN. Noticed by Abane Ramdane, he was elected a member of the CEE during the Soummam Congress. He was the political and military deputy of the autonomous zone of Alger, and the deputy for the liaisons between the CEE and the consolidated wilayas on one side, and the "exterior" delegation on the other. He left Alger in March 1957, when after the arrest of Ben M'hidi the CEE decided to withdraw; he went to Tunisia with other armed resistance fighters, as well as Krim Belkacem.

### **Saad Dhalub (member of the Central Committee of the PPA-MTLN in 1953)**

Born in 1919 in the village of Ksar Chellala, Saad Dhalub studied at a school in Blida, where he achieved the baccalaureate and became an employee of the tax apparatus. He came into contact with the PPA as he was finishing his studies in Blida. At the outset of 1945 he began his political career. He was a member of the PPA in the section of Ksar Chellala, where Messali Hadj had his forces in residence- he was one of the principal lieutenants of the nationalist leader. His fellows included Zitouni Ali Benmessaoud, Nasri Mohammed (called Sandid), and Benabdelwahab Mohand.

On April 7 1945, on the day of the weekly market, Dhalub went to a meeting in Chellala to give an account of the Congress of the AML. He made an impression on the gendarmes present, and on April 18 was charged by Messali to present a request to the prefect of Alger- Louis Perrillier. He was arrested at 2 in the afternoon with his companions, but escaped the truck that he was being carried in. Messali was then transferred to Ain Aalah and from there to Brazzaville. Learning the news, and isolated from the rest of the population, Saad Dhalub and his companions gave themselves up in April 1945. He was transferred to Bossuet on the morning of May 8, 1945.

Freed in March 1946, he collaborated in the printing of *A Free Algeria*, and became one of the directors of the Algerian Society of the Press, which installed a printing press in Alger. He entered the Central Committee in 1953, during the crisis of the nationalist organization, and took up a position against Messali Hadj. He participated in the last conciliatory delegation (with Lahouel Hocine Souiyah Houari and Sid Ali) which was

organized between Messali and the Central Committee. Dhalub joined the FLN after November 1 of that year. Arrested in December 1954, he was freed the following year. He became a member of the CCE.

**M'Hammed Yazid (Sec-gen of AEMAN in 1946, member of the Central Committee of the MTLD in 1948, representative of the FLN to the UN in 1956)**

Born in Blida, Yazid was the son and brother of officers, and a member of the PPA in 1942. He received his bachelors at Blida, and arrived in Paris in 1945, where he began studies at the School of Oriental Languages. He became the Secretary General of the Association of Muslim and North African Students (AEMAN) from 1946-1947, and was the deputy from the university section of the PPA. A member of the Central Committee of the MTLD, he was arrested in March 1948 at the White House airfield and condemned to two years in prison for "transporting suspect documents". At the prison of Barberousse, he was the director (along with Taieb Boulharouf) of a hunger strike that he continued until the end of his sentence. Returning to Paris after his liberation, he lived under the pseudonym of Zoubir, at a hotel between the sector controlled by the MTLD and that controlled by the AEMAN, as the representative of the MTLD in France. He was the driving force behind the weekly publication *A Free Algeria*, and worked at the head of the Algerian column on July 14, 1953 when the police broke up the demonstrations.

He was one of the principal actors of the centralist cause. The Central Committee sent him to discuss such matters with the delegation from Cairo (Aid Ahmed, Ben Bella, Khider), and he arrived in Cairo on October 27, 1954. He rapidly rejoined the RLN, and attended the Bandung conference in 1955, then becoming the delegate of the FLN to New York. He also attended the 10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup>, and 12<sup>th</sup> sessions of the UN General Assembly, pleading the cause of Algerian independence.

**Abderrahmane Kiouane (campaigned for the PPA in 1939, member of the Central Committee of the MTLD in 1947)**

Born to a family originally from Médéa, Kiouane became a campaigner for the PPA in 1939. The president of the *Association of Muslim Students of High Schools and Colleges* in 1944, he became the Secretary General of the AEMAN from 1946 and 1948, during his law studies. A lawyer, he rose rapidly among the intellectuals after the Second World War, into the directing ranks of the MTLD. A member of the Central Committee, he worked for the paper *A Free Algeria*. He returned to the municipal council of Alger, as the second adjunct to the mayor. In 1953 he abstained from voting on the budget, contrary to the practices of his party until that date. The Central Committee, which arose from the second Congress of the MTLD, spread out to encompass the political organizations of Kiouane and J. Chevallier. With Lahouel and Ben Khedda, he tried to orient the MTLD in a direction less strictly proletarian and Islamic. He became the symbol of reform in the nationalist organization, but was excluded from the MTLD by the Messalist delegations reunited at the congress of Hornu. Arrested in November 1954, he was later liberated in 1955. Kiouane defended a solution founded on the internal autonomy of Algeria. He sought to negotiate the collective action of the FLN centralists,

but Abane remained intractable on the principal of individual membership, and Kiouane was one of the centralists to join the FLN. In Belgrade and in Rome, in July August and September of 1956, he participated (with Khider and Yazin) at the meetings between P. Commun and P. Herbaut, the emissaries of G. Mollet.

### **Ferhat Abbas (Director of the UDMA)**

Born in 1899 in Taher near Constantine, Ferhat Abbas was the promoter of the *Association of Muslim and North African Students* in 1924, which he presided over from 1927 to 1931. A pharmacist, he lived in Sétif, and became a general counselor, municipal counselor, and financial delegate. At the same time, he participated actively in the *Young Algerian* movement and was the author of the celebrated quote “I would not die for the Algerian country, because that country does not exist. I have not found it”. A volunteer for the army in 1939, he undertook assimilationist positions during the war, and edited the *Manifesto of the Algerian People*, which gave birth to the AML. Arrested several times for the events of May 1945, he founded the *Democratic Union of a Manifest Algeria* in 1946. Abbas was elected to the second Assembly in 1946, and then the Algerian Assembly in 1948.

He was a moderate nationalist, and then, motivated by the political stalemate, rallied to the FLN in 1955. He went to Cairo on April 22, 1956. A member of the CNRA from August 20 1956, and a member of the CEE since August 1957, Abbas presided over the GPRA from September 1958 until August 1961. He took up the positions of the FLN, and lashed out against Messali Hadj, saying, “Hadj is in France. He has many friends among the French police. If he wants to negotiate, he can do it”.

douar = village composed of tents  
daira = sub department  
djounouds = low ranking soldiers  
fellah = farm laborer  
maquis = armed resistance fighters  
refonte = reform  
milite = soldier  
kasma = sector  
wilaya = province