

## Appendix C. Algerian National Movement Group Strength Data

Year	Hierarchy	Evidence for Movement Hierarchy
1944-1945	L1: AML C2: PPA C3: AAU C4: PCA	Abbas founded the AML, whose alliance had the most supporters (~500,000) <sup>1</sup> ; Abbas's group led the united movement, although the PPA won some votes over Abbas's group at the AML Congress <sup>2</sup> , while the AAU held political sway via cultural institutions <sup>3</sup> , PCA had slightly fewer members than the PPA (8,500 vs. 9,000) <sup>4</sup>
1946	L1. UDMA C2. MTLD S3: PCA S4: AAU	The MTLD had more members (150,000) than UDMA (100,000) <sup>5</sup> , but the UDMA performed better in elections, as it won 11 of 13 seats for nationalist parties in the French Constituent Assembly elections in June 1946 (MTLD abstained) <sup>6</sup> , while the MTLD won 5 of 15 seats in National Assembly Elections in November 1946 (UDMA abstained) <sup>7</sup> ; the AAU and PCA had far fewer votes, winning 0 and 2 seats, respectively, and the PCA's 2 seats were due to UDMA endorsement <sup>8</sup>
1947	L1. MTLD C2. UDMA S3: PCA S4: AAU	The MTLD received 31% of the nationalist vote in municipal elections as opposed to the UDMA's 27% and PCA's 4%, <sup>9</sup> while the MTLD had more members (150,000) than UDMA (100,000) and far more than the PCA and AAU <sup>10</sup>
1948	L1. MTLD C2. UDMA S3: PCA S4: AAU	In elections for the the new Algerian Assembly the MTLD won 30% of the vote (9 seats), the UDMA 18% (8 seats), and the PCA 2% (0 seats) <sup>11</sup> ; French electoral fraud prevented exact assessment, but the outcome is in line with other membership and voting data
1949	L1. MTLD C2. UDMA S3: PCA S4: AAU	After the MTLD withdrew its candidates, the UDMA got 10% of the vote for the General Council and the PCA 3% <sup>12</sup> , membership remained unchanged and best measures of support were from the 1948 elections
1950	L1. MTLD	UDMA got 11% of the vote for the Algerian Assembly as MTLD abstained <sup>13</sup> , some estimates put MTLD membership (20,000 total, 1,500 active OS militants) far

<sup>1</sup> Mahfoud Kaddache, *Histoire Du Nationalisme Algérien: Question Nationale et Politique Algérienne, 1919-1951* (Alger: Société Nationale d'édition et de diffusion, 1980), 671.

<sup>2</sup> William B. Quandt, *Revolution and Political Leadership: Algeria, 1954-1968* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1969), 49–50; Alistair Horne, *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria 1954-1962* (New: New York Review of Books, 2006), 43.

<sup>3</sup> Shoko Watanabe, "To Be Religious and to Be Political in Colonial Algeria: The Ulama and the Nationalists, Two Approaches," in *Secularization, Religion and the State*, vol. 17 (Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 2010).

<sup>4</sup> Allison Drew, "Communists, State and Civil Society in Colonial Algeria, 1945-1954" (Beirut: Orient-Institut Studies, 2010); Benjamin Stora, *Le Nationalisme Algérien Avant 1954* (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2010), 159.

<sup>5</sup> "The Current Situation in North Africa," September 12, 1952, National Intelligence Council Collection, CIA, [http://www.foia.cia.gov/sites/default/files/document\\_conversions/89801/DOC\\_0000119701.pdf](http://www.foia.cia.gov/sites/default/files/document_conversions/89801/DOC_0000119701.pdf).

<sup>6</sup> Henry F. Jackson, *The FLN in Algeria: Party Development in a Revolutionary Society* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1977), 16.

<sup>7</sup> Quandt, *Revolution and Political Leadership*, 54.

<sup>8</sup> Kaddache, *Histoire Du Nationalisme Algérien*, 750, 760; Drew, "Communists, State and Civil Society in Colonial Algeria, 1945-1954."

<sup>9</sup> Alf Andrew Heggoy, *Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Algeria* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972), 31; Michael Clark, *Algeria in Turmoil: A History of the Rebellion* (New York: Praeger, 1959), 51.

<sup>10</sup> "The Current Situation in North Africa"; "The Current Situation in French North Africa," December 18, 1947, ORE 63, CIA, [www.foia.cia.gov/sites/default/files/document\\_conversions/89801/DOC\\_0000256632.pdf](http://www.foia.cia.gov/sites/default/files/document_conversions/89801/DOC_0000256632.pdf).

<sup>11</sup> L. Gray Cowan, "The New Face of Algeria: Part I," *Political Science Quarterly* 66, no. 3 (September 1, 1951): 355; Clark, *Algeria in Turmoil*, 53.

<sup>12</sup> Clark, *Algeria in Turmoil*, 55.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 60–61.

	C2. UDMA S3: PCA S4: AAU	above that of UDMA (3,000) <sup>14</sup> , although CIA estimates placed them within 1/3 of each other
1951	L1. MTL D C2. UDMA S3: PCA S4: AAU	Significant French electoral fraud briefly led to a united movement; in the fraudulent elections, the UDMA “won” 9% of the vote, slightly more than the MTL D’s 8% and the PCA’s 3% <sup>15</sup>
1952	L1. MTL D C2. UDMA S3: PCA S4: AAU	UDMA membership began to decline, and the group won only 5 municipal seats as opposed to 25 for the MTL D <sup>16</sup> , CIA (over)estimated the PCA’s membership at 15,000, but that was below 1/3 of their estimate for the MTL D and UDMA <sup>17</sup>
1953	L1. MTL D C2. UDMA S3: PCA S4: AAU	In municipal elections, the MTL D won 19% of the vote (408 seats), the UDMA won 12% (289 seats), and the PCA won 4% (49 seats) <sup>18</sup> , MTL D had up to 20,000 militants, including 7,000 in France <sup>19</sup>
1954	L1. MTL D/MNA C2. UDMA C3. Centralists C4: PCA C5. FLN S6: AAU	A split with the Centralists weakened the MTL D as 27 out of 30 members from its Central Committee left to form a new group that was nonetheless smaller than the MTL D <sup>20</sup> ; MTL D now had 10,000 militants in Algeria and 10,000 in France, along with 35 million francs <sup>21</sup> , PCA had thousands of supporters but no militant wing <sup>22</sup> , FLN started the revolution with around 500 fighters and topped out just over 3,000 militants, with additional members and supporters <sup>23</sup> ; UDMA won 5 seats in Algerian Assembly elections, MTL D boycotted, and PCA ran but won 0 seats <sup>24</sup>
1955	L1. MNA C2. FLN C3: UDMA C4. Centralists S5: PCA	The FLN gained strength during the year, rose to the second strongest group with 6,000 fighters and 15,000 auxiliaries and 200 members in France <sup>25</sup> , getting within striking distance of the MNA’s 20,000 members (thousands of which were imprisoned by the French), although far behind its 60,000 supporters in France <sup>26</sup> ; the PCA formed a few small autonomous militant groups while the UDMA and

<sup>14</sup> John Douglas Ruedy, *Modern Algeria: The Origins and Development of a Nation* (Indiana University Press, 2005), 153; Matthew James Connelly, *A Diplomatic Revolution: Algeria’s Fight for Independence and the Origins of the Post-Cold War Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 25.

<sup>15</sup> Clark, *Algeria in Turmoil*, 61, 63.

<sup>16</sup> Malika Rahal, “A Local Approach to the UDMA: Local-Level Politics during the Decade of Political Parties, 1946–56,” *The Journal of North African Studies* 18, no. 5 (December 2013): 709; Benjamin Stora, *Messali Hadj: 1898-1974* (Paris: Hachette, 2004), 189.

<sup>17</sup> “The Current Situation in North Africa.”

<sup>18</sup> Clark, *Algeria in Turmoil*, 79.

<sup>19</sup> Mohammed Harbi, *Aux Origines Du FLN: Le Populisme Révolutionnaire En Algérie* (Paris: C. Bourgois, 1975), 88; Mohammed Harbi, *Le FLN, Mirage et Réalité Des Origines à La Prise Du Pouvoir (1945-1962)* (Paris: Editions Jeune Afrique, 1980), 155.

<sup>20</sup> Saad Dahlab, interview by William Quandt, April 13, 1967, William Quandt Field Notes, CEMA.

<sup>21</sup> Daho Djerbal, *L’Organisation Spéciale de La Fédération de France Du FLN: Histoire de La Lutte Armée Du FLN En France, 1956-1962* (Algiers: Éditions Chihab, 2012), 22; Clark, *Algeria in Turmoil*, 88.

<sup>22</sup> Philippe Tripiet, *Autopsie de La Guerre d’Algérie* (Paris: France-Empire, 1972), 49.

<sup>23</sup> Horne, *A Savage War of Peace*, 84; Omar Ouamrane, interview by William Quandt, March 11, 1967, William Quandt Field Notes, CEMA.

<sup>24</sup> Clark, *Algeria in Turmoil*, 86.

<sup>25</sup> David Galula, “Pacification in Algeria : 1956-1958” (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2006), 11; Charles R. Shrader, *The First Helicopter War: Logistics and Mobility in Algeria 1954-1962* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1999), 151–152; Djerbal, *L’Organisation Spéciale de La Fédération de France Du FLN: Histoire de La Lutte Armée Du FLN En France, 1956-1962*, 24.

<sup>26</sup> Stora, *Messali Hadj*, 230; Harbi, *Aux Origines Du FLN: Le Populisme Révolutionnaire En Algérie*, 145, 149.

	S6: AAU	Centralists struggled to maintain their members and autonomy amid increasing defections to the FLN. <sup>27</sup>
1956	L1. FLN C2. MNA S3. PCA S4: AAU	The French recognized that the FLN had surpassed the MNA by 1956, estimating 29,500 fighters for the FLN vs. 20,000 for the MNA <sup>28</sup> ; the PCA's armed wing of 200 fighters was merged into the FLN, although the PCA remained a separate party <sup>29</sup> ; the Centralists and UDMA dissolved their groups and joined the FLN <sup>30</sup>
1957	L1. FLN C2. MNA S3. PCA	The FLN grew to at least 38,000 fighters (the majority in Tunisia and Morocco) vs. 24,500 for the MNA (15,000 of which in France) <sup>31</sup> ; FLN had 30,000 monthly financial contributors in France vs. 19,000 for the MNA <sup>32</sup> ; after most AAU members joined the FLN in 1956 and the FLN took AAU funds, the group ceased to exist in 1957 <sup>33</sup>
1958	H1. FLN S2: MNA S3. PCA	FLN became the hegemon with 60,000 fighters, and even the lowest FLN estimate of 46,000 fighters puts it well above three times larger than the MNA's scattered hundreds in Algeria and 4,000 in France <sup>34</sup> ; the FLN received 50 million francs/month from 90,000 contributors in France and 16.7 billion francs from Arab states vs. 14.2 million francs/month for the MNA from 9,000 contributors <sup>35</sup> ; the PCA remained a subordinate with no hope of challenging the FLN in members, funds, or support
1959	H1. FLN S2: MNA S3. PCA	The French estimated the FLN at over 42,000 fighters as the MNA continued a steeper decline (estimated at 8,000 members) due to deaths, defections, and a lack of new recruits <sup>36</sup> ; the FLN had 22 billion francs while the MNA pulled in 14.2 million francs/month <sup>37</sup>
1960	H1. FLN	The FLN lost more than half of its combatants since 1958, but still had 20,000 fighters (the lowest estimate is 8,000), compared to fewer than 300 for the MNA <sup>38</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Gilbert Meynier, *Histoire Intérieure du F.L.N. 1954-1962* (Paris: Fayard, 2002), 181.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 456; Galula, "Pacification in Algeria : 1956-1958," 586; Jean-Charles Jauffret and Maurice Vaïse, eds., *Militaires et Guérilla dans la Guerre d'Algérie* (Bruxelles: Editions Complexe, 2001), 227.

<sup>29</sup> Slimane Chikh, *L'Algérie En Armes: Ou Le Temps Des Certitudes* (Algiers: Casbah Editions, 1998), 305–307; Emmanuel Sivan, *Communisme et Nationalisme En Algérie: 1920-1962* (Paris: Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 1976), 243; Mohammed Harbi, *Les Archives de La Revolution Algerienne* (Paris: Les Éditions Jeune Afrique, 1981), 111–112; Jackson, *The FLN in Algeria: Party Development in a Revolutionary Society*, 30.

<sup>30</sup> Benyoucef Benkhedda, interview by William Quandt, February 7, 1967, William Quandt Field Notes, CEMA; Hachemi Djiar, *Le Congrès de La Soummam: Grandeur et Servitude d'Une Acte Fondateur* (Algiers: Editions ANEP, 2006), 29.

<sup>31</sup> Tripier, *Autopsie de La Guerre d'Algérie*, Annexe 21; Helen Chapin Metz, ed., *Algeria: A Country Study*, Area Handbook Series 550-44 (Washington, D.C: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1994), 48; Jean-René Genty, *Le Mouvement Nationaliste Algérien Dans Le Nord, 1947-1957: Fidaou Al Djazaïr*, CREAC-Histoire (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008), 213; Harbi, *Le FLN*, 155.

<sup>32</sup> Chikh, *L'Algérie En Armes: Ou Le Temps Des Certitudes*, 296.

<sup>33</sup> Djiar, *Le Congrès de La Soummam: Grandeur et Servitude d'Une Acte Fondateur*, 29; James McDougall, "S'écrire Un Destin : l'Association Des Ulama Dans La Révolution Algérienne," *Centre National de La Recherche Scientifique*, no. Bulletin 83 (2004).

<sup>34</sup> Tripier, *Autopsie de La Guerre d'Algérie*, Annexe 21, 194; Jauffret and Vaïse, *Militaires et Guérilla dans la Guerre d'Algérie*, 80; Rabah Aissaoui, *Immigration and National Identity* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2009); Horne, *A Savage War of Peace*, 321.

<sup>35</sup> Connelly, *A Diplomatic Revolution*, 2002, 195; Jacques Valette, *La Guerre d'Algérie Des Messalistes, 1954-1962* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2001), 61, 76–77; Chikh, *L'Algérie En Armes: Ou Le Temps Des Certitudes*, 296. Note that France revalued the franc in 1960, making 1 new franc equivalent to 100 existing francs. The figures used here are for pre-1960 francs for consistency.

<sup>36</sup> Shrader, *The First Helicopter War*, 151–153; Valette, *La Guerre d'Algérie Des Messalistes*, 76.

<sup>37</sup> Meynier, *Histoire Intérieure du F.L.N. 1954-1962*, 730; Valette, *La Guerre d'Algérie Des Messalistes*, 76–77.

<sup>38</sup> Xavier Yacono, *De Gaulle et le F.L.N. : 1958-1962, l'echec d'une politique et ses prolongements* (Versailles: Editions de l'Atlantique, 1989), 36; Matthew James Connelly, *A Diplomatic Revolution: Algeria's Fight for Independence and the Origins of the Post-Cold War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 290; Meynier,

	S2: MNA S3: PCA	
1961	H1. FLN S2: MNA S3: PCA S4: FAAD	The FLN maintained 45,000 fighters and at least 6,000 in Algeria with over 100,000 more non-combatant members <sup>39</sup> ; FLN received over 500 million francs/month from the diaspora in France alone, giving the FLN more than ten times the amount of members and funding as any other group <sup>40</sup> ; FAAD's few hundred members were jailed, killed, or joined the FLN <sup>41</sup>
1962	H1. FLN S2: MNA S3: PCA	The FLN had 46,000 fighters and 27 billion francs at the end of the war, while the MNA and PCA were spent forces politically and militarily <sup>42</sup>

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*Histoire Intérieure du F.L.N. 1954-1962*, 726; Shrader, *The First Helicopter War*, 151–153; Valette, *La Guerre d'Algérie Des Messalistes*, 269–270.

<sup>39</sup> “Effectifs Combattants ALN,” March 9, 1961, 81F2435, CAOM; Valette, *La Guerre d'Algérie Des Messalistes*, 266; Shrader, *The First Helicopter War*, 151–153.

<sup>40</sup> Meynier, *Histoire Intérieure du F.L.N. 1954-1962*, 473; Neil MacMaster, *Inside the FLN: The Paris Massacre and the French Intelligence Service* (University of East Anglia, 2013), 101, <https://ueaeprints.uea.ac.uk/55581/1/Zbookfinalcopy.pdf>.

<sup>41</sup> Valette, *La Guerre d'Algérie Des Messalistes*, 286–290.

<sup>42</sup> Jackson, *The FLN in Algeria: Party Development in a Revolutionary Society*, 26; Shrader, *The First Helicopter War*, 151–153; Meynier, *Histoire Intérieure du F.L.N. 1954-1962*, 473.