

**CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE ALGERIAN WAR
APPELÉS IN FRENCH CULTURAL MEMORY**

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SUMMARY OF THESIS

The Algerian War (1954-62) has been recognised by historians, sociologists and cultural theorists as one of the most divisive episodes in recent French history. Yet the historiography of the conflict is marked by periods when the war was broadly absent from the national memorial sphere, contrasting against others where violent memories of the conflict have coalesced around issues such as immigration, torture, and historical education. This thesis articulates how these and other social frameworks have influenced the cultural memory of the 1.2 million French military service conscripts, or *appelés*, who served during the Algerian War. Taking a quantitative and qualitative approach, informed by a Halbwachsian model of collective memory formation, and interdisciplinary readings on the social frameworks of Algerian War memory in France, this thesis thus outlines a historiography of constructions of the *appelés* in French cultural memory, which pays due attention to the medium in which that memory is constructed.

Beginning with an overview of a wide corpus of *appelé* cultural memories from five media, through dialogue with historical, cultural and sociological literature about the conscripts and models of Algerian War memory, the thesis develops an *appelé* specific phasing of cultural memory. The thesis then advances four case studies which each examine constructions of the *appelés* in a distinct medium, and situates them within the appropriate phase in the evolution of *appelé* cultural memory. These studies consider the construction of the *appelés* in: firstly, television news magazine *Cinq colonnes à la une* (1959-60); secondly, two prose texts, Philippe Labro's *Des Feux Mals Éteints* (1967) and Noël Favrelière's *Le Déserteur* (1973); thirdly, Marc Garanger's photo album *La Guerre d'Algérie vue par un appelé du contingent* (1984); and finally, three sets of texts drawn from contemporary online digital media.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page.....	i
Summary of Thesis.....	ii
Table of Contents.....	iii
List of Illustrations.....	vi
Declarations.....	viii
Acknowledgements.....	ix
List of Acronyms.....	x
Chapter 1: Introduction: Constructions of the Algerian War <i>appelés</i> in French Cultural Memory	1
Section 1: Silence and the <i>appelés</i>	2
Section 2: Theoretical context.....	8
Section 3: Models of Algerian War memory.....	12
<i>Stora</i>	13
<i>House and MacMaster</i>	17
<i>McCormack</i>	18
<i>Dine</i>	20
Section 4: Media and memory of the <i>appelés</i>	22
<i>The Algerian War <i>appelés</i> through media</i>	23
<i>Trends in television and radio</i>	25
<i>Trends in publishing</i>	31
<i>Photographic books</i>	33
<i>Trends in cinema</i>	34
<i>Overall trends</i>	36
Section 5: Conclusion.....	39
Chapter 2: Constructions of the Algerian War <i>appelés</i> in <i>Cinq colonnes à la une</i> (1959-60)	40
Section 1: Introduction.....	41
Section 2: Social frameworks.....	48
i) <i>Social perceptions of military service in Algeria</i>	48
ii) <i>Colonial imaginary</i>	50
iii) <i>Modernisation</i>	52
iv) <i>State framing of the Algerian War on television</i>	53
Section 3: Televisual Readings.....	58
i) <i>Mission civilisatrice and pacification</i>	61
ii) <i>Colonial masculinity</i>	66
iii) <i>Family bonds</i>	71
iv) <i>The battlefield</i>	76
Section 4: Conclusion.....	80

Chapter 3: Constructions of the Algerian War <i>appelés</i> in French prose narratives (1967-73)	84
Section 1: Introduction.....	85
<i>Theoretical approach</i>	88
Section 2: Social frameworks.....	92
<i>Social amnesias and the Algerian War</i>	92
<i>Anti-colonial theory</i>	96
Section 3: Textual Readings.....	100
<i>Representing the contingent</i>	101
<i>Remembering the Second World War</i>	106
<i>Narrative strategies and memory discourses</i>	108
Section 4: Conclusion.....	112
Chapter 4: Constructions of the Algerian War <i>appelés</i> in Marc Garanger's <i>La Guerre d'Algérie vue par un appelé du contingent</i> (1984)	114
Section 1: Introduction.....	115
<i>Contextual and theoretical readings</i>	116
<i>Photography and representation</i>	124
Section 2: Social frameworks.....	129
<i>Immigration from the Maghreb in the 1960s and 1970s</i>	129
<i>Mediatization, Les Minguettes, and the Algerian War</i>	133
Section 3: Photographic Readings.....	138
<i>Masculinity</i>	142
<i>Images of pacification</i>	148
<i>Images from the battlefield</i>	155
<i>Reception of the album</i>	158
Section 4: Conclusion.....	160
Chapter 5: Constructions of the Algerian War <i>appelés</i> in online digital media	163
Section 1: Introduction.....	164
<i>Theoretical approach</i>	168
Section 2: Social frameworks.....	175
<i>Fracture coloniale and the instrumentalisation of Algerian War memory</i>	175
<i>Victimisation</i>	182
<i>French military abuses in Algeria</i>	183
<i>Generational transmission of memory</i>	186

Chapter 5: (cont.)	
Section 3: Digital readings.....	190
<i>Victimisation</i>	190
<i>French military abuses in Algeria</i>	195
<i>Generational transmission of memory</i>	206
Section 4: Conclusion.....	214
Chapter 6: Conclusion	217
<i>From ‘le contingent’ to ‘les appelés’</i>	221
<i>Reflections on media and memory</i>	223
<i>Future directions</i>	224
Bibliography	227
Appendix: Table of primary material used in Chapter 1	247

TABLE OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Title Page:

Portrait of Norbert Senis, *appelé* in class '58 ²B. i

Chapter 1: Introduction: Constructions of the Algerian War *appelés* in French Cultural Memory

- Figure 1: Number of broadcasts/releases/publications per year which featured a construction of the *appelés* on television, radio, film and in published books (1956–2009) 24
- Figure 2: Number of TV programmes broadcast per year featuring a construction of the *appelés* (1956–2009) 28
- Figure 3: Number of radio programmes broadcast per year featuring a construction of the *appelés* (1956–2009) 28
- Figure 4: Comparison between TV and Radio broadcasts 29
- Figure 5: Number of books published featuring a construction of the *appelés* per year (1956–2009) 31
- Figure 6: Number of films released featuring a construction of the *appelés* per year (1956–2009) 35
- Figure 7: Chart highlighting the relative patterns of cultural artefacts published/broadcasted/released per year in France across Television, Radio and Print and Film media which featured a construction of the Algerian War *appelés* (1956–2009) 38

Chapter 4: Constructions of the Algerian War *appelés* in Marc Garanger's *La Guerre d'Algérie vue par un appelé du contingent* (1984)

- Figure 8: 'Le commandant Bencherif, de l'A.L.N., fait prisonnier le 25 octobre 1960. Le colonel français avait commandé ce portrait pour le faire imprimer au dos d'un tract délateur. La photographie n'a finalement pas été utilisée. Aumale, novembre 1960.' 143
- Figure 9: 'Le tract' 143
- Figure 10: 'Militaire français fêtant le « Père Cent ». Aïn Terzine, juillet 1960.' 145
- Figure 11: 'Appelés du class 58 2/B fêtant le « Père Cent ». Aïn Terzine, octobre 1960.' 147
- Figure 12: 'Après la décision du commandant de déplacer les habitants du douar des Rouabas dans le village de regroupement de Meghnine, les hommes viennent protester. Le commandant leur oppose d'abord un « half-track ». Aïn Terzine, mai 1960.' 149

Chapter 4: (cont.)

Figure 13: 'Algérien, chef de village, venu porter plainte au 3 ^e bureau « Pacification » du secteur d'Aumale, contre le commando 11, pour coups et mauvais traitements. Aumale, novembre 1961.'	151
Figure 14: 'Saïd Bouakli, commissaire politique du F.L.N., fait prisonnier à Bordj Okriss, le 19 mars 1960. Blessé à la jambe droite lors de son arrestation. Le certificat de décès dit : « transfixion par balle de la jambe droite. — Deux transfixions thoraciques par balles antéro-postérieures. — Transfixion crânienne par balle. » Le constat de gendarmerie dit : « Il est décédé le 25 mars 1960 des suites de ses blessures. »'	152
Figure 15: 'Soldats français « cueillis » par les balles des combattants F.L.N. A droite, gerbe de terre soulevée par un impact de balle. Djebel el Kantara, mars 1961.'	155
Figure 16: Combattant F.L.N. fait prisonnier. Opération H. Octobre 1960	156
Figure 17: Fête de l'Aïd-El-Kebir. La Prière du matin. Bordj Okriss, mai 1961.	159

Chapter 5: *Constructions of the Algerian War appelés in online digital media*

Figure 18: Screenshot of the LeMonde.fr 'Visuel Interactif'	165
Figure 19: Map of the location of viewers of 'ALGERIE - Les Auschwitz de la France en Algérie'	198
Figure 20: Opening still from 'ALGERIE - Les Auschwitz de la France en Algérie'	200
Figure 21: Still from 'ALGERIE - Les Auschwitz de la France en Algérie'	201

DECLARATION

This work has not been submitted in substance for any other degree or award at this or any other university or place of learning, nor is being submitted concurrently in candidature for any degree or other award.

Signed: (Iain J. Mossman, Candidate) Date:

STATEMENT 1

This thesis is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of PhD.

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STATEMENT 2

This thesis is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by explicit references. The views expressed are my own.

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I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available for photocopying and for inter-library loan, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organisations.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AFN	L'Afrique du Nord
ALN	L'Armée de Libération Nationale
BNF	La bibliothèque nationale de France
CATM	L'Association des Combattants en Algérie, Tunisie et Maroc
ECPAD	L'établissement de communication et de production audiovisuelle de la défense
FLN	Le Front de Libération Nationale
FMA	Français Musulman d'Algérie
FN	Le Front Nationale
FNACA	La Fédération Nationale des Anciens Combattants en Algérie
FSNA	Français de Souche Nord-Africaine
GPRA	Le Gouvernement provisoire de la République algérienne
HLM	Une habitation à loyer modéré
INA	L'Institut National de l'Audiovisuel
JT	Un Journal télévisé
MAT	La Manufacture d'armes de Tulle
MNA	Le Mouvement national algérien
OAS	L'Organisation armée secrète
ONI	L'Office National d'Immigration
ORTF	L'Office de Radiodiffusion-télévision française
RCP	Le Régiment de Chasseurs Parachutistes
RTF	La Radiodiffusion-télévision française
SCA	Service cinématographique des Armées
SHAT	Service Historique des Armées de Terre
TF1	La Télévision Française 1
I'UNCAFN	L'Union Nationale des Anciens Combattants en Afrique du Nord
ZUP	Zone à Urbaniser en Priorité

CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Constructions of the Algerian War *appelés* in French Cultural Memory

SECTION 1: SILENCE AND THE APPELÉS

If there were to be one word recognised as uniting the experiences of the French military service conscripts of the Algerian War, then it would likely be silence. It is a term that permeates many cultural representations of the conscripts, contrasting starkly against the French term ‘*appelés*’ meaning, literally, those who have been called up. The experience of being sent (or in some cases recalled) to serve overseas for up to twenty-seven months, as young men aged twenty, is not one we might intuitively associate with silence; yet it is a direct and indirect part of every *appelé* testimony, and it appears to encapsulate the relative lack of interest the academe has invested in this group of actors in the Algerian War: for they have remained, until recently, silent.

A sense of silence feeds into a number of the expressions commonly associated with the Algerian War: Bernard Sigg, named his book on the *appelés* quite directly, *Le silence et la honte: névroses de la guerre d’Algérie*.¹ Bertrand Tavernier and Patrick Rotman’s 1992 film, *La Guerre Sans Nom*, highlighted in its title the inherent silence of a conflict that (at that point) had not been officially recognised with a name by the French Government.² And Benjamin Stora’s frequently cited 1991 work, *La Gangrène et l’oubli*, characterised the French and Algerian responses to the conflict as a gangrenous process of selective forgetting, the silence of amnesia.³ These metaphors and invocations of silence suggest the existence of a rich seam of repressed, traumatic narratives, waiting to be recognised, catalogued and understood.

As testimonies, personal documents and fictional narratives of the war have emerged, this silence, during years of collective French indifference to the ‘events’ in Algeria, has been touted as a burden through which *appelé* memories of the war persisted. For *appelé* photographer Marc Garanger: ‘Je lance ces images

¹ Bernard W. Sigg, *Le silence et la honte: névroses de la guerre d’Algérie* (Paris: Messidor/Éditions sociales, 1989).

² *La Guerre sans nom*, dir. by Bertrand Tavernier (GMT Productions, 1992). The film’s name was drawn from John Talbot’s influential history: *The War without a name: France in Algeria, 1954-1962* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1980).

³ Benjamin Stora, *La Gangrène et l’oubli: La mémoire de la guerre d’Algérie* (Paris: La Découverte, 1998; First ed., 1991).

pour tous ceux qui ont vécu cette guerre, pour libérer la parole, pour lever la chape de silence qui la recouvre.⁴ Or, as Claude Liauzu remarks:

Le silence, ce serait l'impossibilité de dire le désarroi et la souffrance, de les exorciser par un partage, ou par la reconnaissance de la société et de la nation.⁵

Thus, in response to such testimonies of repressed traumatic experiences, psychoanalytical frameworks for the understanding *appelé* memories emerged as a response to the burden of silence.⁶ This focus has been echoed in the construction of *appelé* characters in one of the most lauded recent novels written about the Algerian War. Laurent Mauvignier's *Des Hommes*, winner of the 2009 Prix Goncourt, structures its narrative around the silent, solitary character of Bernard (or Feu-de-Bois, his nickname amongst other *appelés*), whose violent memories of the war burst out during his sister's sixtieth birthday party, forcing his former service-mates to re-evaluate their collective experiences in Algeria.⁷

But yet, contrasting against these reflections on trauma, there remains a significant portion of *appelés* who would suggest that their experiences in Algeria merited this period of silence. In many cases the life of a military service conscript was monotonous, and the *contingent* as a whole had little impact on the outcome of the war.⁸ The sheer scale of the French army's deployment in Algeria in terms of

⁴ Marc Garanger, *La Guerre d'Algérie vue par un appelé du contingent* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1984), rear cover.

⁵ Claude Liauzu, 'Le contingent entre silence et discours ancien combattant' in *La Guerre d'Algérie et les Français*, ed. by Jean-Pierre Rioux (Paris: Fayard, 1990), 509–16, p. 511.

⁶ See: Sigg, pp. 21–28. Also, see discussion of *La Gangrène et l'oubli* later in this chapter.

⁷ Laurent Mauvignier, *Des Hommes* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 2009). While post-traumatic stress disorder was only formally recognised as a legitimate medical condition in 1980, some estimates suggest that as many as 250,000–300,000 veterans from the Algerian War may suffer from the condition. Jacques Inrep, 'Le problème, ce n'est pas de raconter, c'est d'être entendu', *Alternatives non-violentes*, 161 (2011), pp. 43–7.

⁸ There were two exceptions to this: Firstly, the protests by the *rappelés* [reservists] in 1956. The *rappelés* who had already completed 18 months military service, but remained on reserve, were called up to serve again in two waves, in 1955 and 1956, as France expanded its military presence on the ground in Algeria. In 1956, a widespread surge of influential protests broke out against this practise. For more on this see: Jean-Charles Jauffret, 'Le mouvement des *rappelés* en 1955–1956' in *La Guerre d'Algérie 1954–2004 la fin de l'amnésie* ed. by Mohammed Harbi and Benjamin Stora (Paris: Robert Laffont, 2004), pp. 133–60. The second exception came during the 'Generals' Putsch' of 1961, when the *contingent en masse* rallied against the four army Generals who hoped to unseat De Gaulle, following De Gaulle's radio denouncement of the coup. For more on this see: Bernard Droz and Evelyne Lever, *Histoire de la guerre d'Algérie 1954–1962* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1982), pp. 296–313.

the number and diverse backgrounds of conscripts,⁹ the variety of settings in which the *contingent* was deployed, and the shifting degrees of intensity of the war, mean that it is impossible to generalise any one *appelé's* traumatic experience more broadly.¹⁰ For those *appelés* who do not vest their memories of the war with any significant meaning, broader social silences around the legacy of war do not draw out the same neuroses as those popularised in many cultural texts.

Having completed an MA by Research on Marc Garanger, (whose work we will examine in Chapter 4), the project leading to this thesis was borne of my desire to probe into the silences that are continually stressed in Garanger's body of work. I aimed to promote a broader understanding of cultural memories of the *appelés*, one whose place in the history and historiography of the war seemed muted. However, upon stepping outside the paradigm of the photographic medium, and delving deeper into the broader cultural afterlives of the *appelés*, it became clear that silences were harder to find than I first imagined. Indeed, as we shall see over the course of this introduction, cultural memory of the *appelés* has been regularly produced from the war period to the present day. Perhaps silence is in fact an inappropriate word to use, as it appears not that the *appelés* have been silent, but that no one was listening.¹¹

⁹ It should be noted that this thesis is concerned with the cultural memory of metropolitan French *appelés* and *rappelés*. During the course of the War, upwards of 100,000 Algerian men served as *appelés* under the denomination of FMA or FSNA *appelés* [Français Musulman d'Algérie / Français de Souche Nord-Africaine]. For detailed examinations of these *appelés* see: Stéphanie Chauvin, *Les appelés français de souche nord-africaine dans l'armée française pendant la guerre d'Algérie* (Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Paris-IV, 1995); Stéphanie Chauvin, 'Des appelés pas comme les autres ? Les conscrits 'français de souche nord-africaine' pendant la guerre d'Algérie', *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'Histoire*, 48 (1995), pp. 21–30; and Hélène Bracco, 'Un appelé du contingent: Bachir Hadjadi', in *La France en guerre 1954–1962: expériences métropolitaines de la guerre d'Algérie*, ed. by Branche, Thenault and Albert (Paris: Autrement, 2008), pp. 255–64.

¹⁰ For more detail on the diversity of the French army's deployment in Algeria and on the makeup and shifting numbers in the *contingent* see: Jean-Charles Jauffret, 'Une armée à deux vitesses en Algérie (1954–1962): Réserves générales et troupes de secteur', in *Militaires et guérilla dans la guerre d'Algérie*, ed. by Jean-Charles Jauffret and Maurice Vaisse (Paris: Éditions Complexe, 2001), pp. 21–37; and Alban Mahieu, 'Les effectifs de l'armée française en Algérie (1954–1962)', in Jauffret and Vaisse, pp. 39–47.

¹¹ Jelin and Kaufman reflect on such gaps in cultural memory, suggesting that the transmission of memory needs 'good transmitters, but also open receptors.' Elizabeth Jelin and Susana Kaufman, 'Layers of memories: twenty years after in Argentina', in *The politics of war memory and commemoration*, ed. by T.G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 89–110, p. 106.

Leaving aside, for the time being, the sphere of cultural memory of the *appelés*, which will be examined throughout this thesis, it is fair to suggest that the particularity of the *appelés* collective experiences in Algeria have only recently been subjected to academic scrutiny. This is perhaps due to the vastness of the *appelés* as a group,¹² the broad spectrum of their experiences in Algeria, and the fact that, as Mireille Rosello has noted, unlike other groups of actors in the war (such as the *Pieds Noirs* or the *Harkis*) the *appelés* ‘were only temporarily and artificially united by their mission.’¹³ This lack of collective unity in the post-war period has meant that the two main strands of research that have coalesced around the *appelés* are: firstly, the construction of a history of the *appelés* in Algeria; and secondly, the collection and analysis of individual *appelé* oral testimonies.

The first category, the writing of a history of the *appelés* involvement in the war, has focused on using military archival material, personal letters and journals, and both amateur and official photographs to construct an impression of the experiences of the *contingent* in Algeria. The first such work was Martine Lemalet’s *Lettres d’Algérie*, which pieced together an epistolary account of the *appelés*’ experiences.¹⁴ The following year FNACA [*Fédération Nationale des Anciens combattants en Algérie, Maroc et Tunisie*], the largest *appelé* association, commemorated the 30th Anniversary of the end of the war with a book collecting documents and photographs which contextualised a historical account of the *appelés*.¹⁵ Subsequent academic works have followed, notably Benjamin Stora’s *Appelés en guerre d’Algérie*, Jean-Charles Jauffret’s *Soldats en Algérie*, and Claire Mauss Copeaux’s *À travers le viseur*, which constructs the *appelés* experiences during the war through a study of amateur photography.¹⁶

The second category, oral testimony, first grew under the impulse of FNACA and other politically engaged *appelés*. FNACA’s gargantuan *Témoignages*

¹² Jauffret suggests around 1.2 million *appelés* served in Algeria. Jauffret, ‘Une armée à deux vitesses’, p. 25.

¹³ Mireille Rosello, *The Reparative in Narrative, Works of Mourning in Progress* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010), p. 64.

¹⁴ Martine Lemalet, *Lettres d’Algérie, 1954-1962 : La guerre des appelés, la mémoire d’une génération* (Paris: J. C. Lattès, 1992).

¹⁵ FNACA, *Algérie 1954-1962: Arrêt sur Images Inédits* (Paris: FNACA, 1993).

¹⁶ Benjamin Stora, *Appelés en guerre d’Algérie* (Paris: Gallimard, 1997); Jean-Charles Jauffret, *Soldats en Algérie, 1954-62: Expériences contrastées des hommes du contingent* (Paris: Autrement, 2000); Claire Mauss-Copeaux, *À travers le viseur: Algérie 1955-1962* (Lyon: Ædelsa, 2003).

brought together the testimonies of over two hundred veterans from Algeria, with Gérard Marinier's *Ils ont fait la guerre d'Algérie* also influential.¹⁷ These foundational works have been followed by a large body of testimony collection by (and often published exclusively for) *appelés*; such work is often carried out on a regional level with the support of veterans associations and is self-published.¹⁸

Claire Mauss-Copeaux was the first academic to scrutinise *appelé* testimonies in *Les Appelés en Algérie: La parole confisquée*.¹⁹ Mauss-Copeaux's book suggests that oral memory of the *appelés* distinguished itself from the scientific historical works by making memory 'l'objet de l'histoire.'²⁰ She sets out thirty-nine interviews with *appelés* from the Vosges region, and eloquently elaborates the discourses that unite and divide their memories. In particular she looks at the variety of temporal spaces that the men invoked as they reflected not only on their memories of the war, but also unintentionally channelled their narratives through events and experiences prior and subsequent to their military service.²¹ This is a central question in Andrea Brazzoduro's recent work on *appelé* testimony, whereby he suggests that themes in contemporary politics and culture, such as hygiene and veiling, which were less influential during the late 1950s and early 1960s, shape the *appelés* recollections of their experiences in Algeria.²² As such, developing an understanding of the framing narratives that structure memory of the *contingent* is an important step in further gauging the implications of the war on the contemporary lived experiences of the *appelés*.

As we have outlined above, an increasing number of studies now engage with *appelé* testimony and history; however there remain few which consider the detail and specificity of cultural texts about and by the *appelés*. *Appelé* texts are frequently invoked in more general studies on the war, but rarely in more detail

¹⁷ FNACA, *Témoignages. Ils avaient vingt ans* (Paris: FNACA, 1986); Gérard Marinier, *Ils ont fait la guerre d'Algérie. 40 personnalités racontent...*, 2 vols. (Mâcon: Éditions Mâcon Imprimerie, 1987).

¹⁸ See for example the collections published by Claude Herbiet, such as: *Nous n'étions pas des guerriers*, (Cosne-Cours-sur-Loire: [The Author], 2007; first ed., [2002]).

¹⁹ Claire Mauss-Copeaux, *Les Appelés en Algérie: La parole confisquée* (Paris: Hachette Littératures, 1998).

²⁰ Mauss-Copeaux, *Les Appelés*, p. 10.

²¹ See the chapter: 'Le temps de la guerre et le temps du récit', pp. 13–76.

²² Andrea Brazzoduro, 'Postcolonial Memories of the Algerian War of Independence, 1955–2010: French Veterans and Contemporary France' in *France and the Mediterranean. International Relations, Culture and Politics*, ed. by Emmanuel Godin and Natalya Vince (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2012), pp. 275–304.

than with a reference to their existence (this is often the case in Benjamin Stora's work which we will examine in due course). While there are a number of articles and chapters written about individual *appelé* texts, few engage with the wider body of work to which they relate, nor with cultural memory theory. We shall not seek to list them all here, but will consider them at appropriate junctures in this thesis. We will draw from the most authoritative study, Philip Dine's *Images of the Algerian War*, later in this chapter.²³

As a whole, this thesis aims to articulate how the cultural construction of the *appelés* has evolved from the war period to the present day; drawing in particular on periods of the historiography of the war which have been only partially exploited. It aims to articulate the ways in which shifting social frameworks surrounding the Algerian War in France impacted on the construction of the *appelés* across a diverse range of media, comparing the phasing of *appelé* memory against some of the cultural vectors through which it has been transmitted including television, prose texts, photography and contemporary digital media. While this thesis is not sufficiently long to grapple with the full corpus of cultural memory of the *appelés* in its inestimable complexity, it is intended as a signpost of how an interdisciplinary or an inter-media approach can develop fruitful new insights into this group of actors in the war and their memories.

In this chapter we will set out the reasoning behind the four cultural case-studies which will be presented in this thesis. We will first consider the theoretical field of memory studies, relating key concepts with the objectives and methodologies of this project; subsequently, we will outline several studies of the historiography of memory of the Algerian War, picking apart the phasing and social frameworks of Algerian War memory that they develop; finally through combining these insights with a study of the media in which cultural memory of the *appelés* has been produced, we will put together a synopsis of the phasing of *appelé* memory, which we shall pursue in greater depth through the course of this thesis.

²³ Philip Dine, *Images of the Algerian War in French Fiction and Film* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

SECTION 2: THEORETICAL CONTEXT

The study of memory is a field which has inspired many theories and methodologies, resulting in the terms of ‘memory’, ‘collective memory’ and ‘cultural memory’ entering the academic lexicon, but often in a manner which obscures argument more than clarifies it.²⁴ This section will therefore draw out the understanding that this thesis takes of these terms, which we will use in the remainder of the introduction to establish and justify the approach we will take in studying cultural memories of the *appelés*.

The foundations of the contemporary field of memory studies were laid by French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs’ work on memory in the 1920s.²⁵ Halbwachs posited that the meaning of an individual’s memories could not be solely found in their subconscious mind, immediate surroundings, or individual experiences. Instead, Halbwachs suggested that memories were inextricably linked to the beliefs and traditions of the groups and society in which the individual belonged. For Halbwachs, if it had been possible for an individual to remember without recourse to these collective structures, the individual would not remember but relive their experiences.²⁶ Halbwachs thus defined a memory as an individual’s lived experiences which have been catalogued according to a set of social frameworks; these social frameworks were the ‘collective memory’ that every member of a group or society shared.²⁷ As translator of Halbwachs’ work,

²⁴ Indeed in *La Gangrène et l’oubli*, perhaps the single most influential work on memory of the Algerian War, Stora makes no attempt at defining these terms, despite repeatedly using all three.

²⁵ In particular in the texts: *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris: Librairie Alcan, 1925; repr. Paris: Albin Michel, 1994); and *La mémoire collective* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950). Aby Warburg, an Art Historian, also developed theories of ‘social memory’ at this time. For a detailed elaboration on the relation between Halbwachs’ and Warburg’s work see: Astrid Erll, *Memory in Culture*, trans. by Sara B. Young (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), pp. 14–22.

²⁶ Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, p. 275.

²⁷ It is important to note that Halbwachs stressed the importance of the long term stability of a group in order to enable the construction of social frameworks. This stability is not something easily attributed to the *appelés*. Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective*, pp. 58–9.

Lewis Coser, suggests, ‘for Halbwachs, the past is a social construction mainly, if not wholly, shaped by the concerns of the present.’²⁸

While more recent formulations of memory theory have relabelled Halbwachs’ conception of a collective memory—Jan Assmann posits a ‘communicative memory’, Nancy Wood a ‘performative memory’—the basic concept remains the same:²⁹ that an individual’s memory can only exist through an established relationship with a shared set of beliefs, traditions and values, be they at a familial, neighbourhood, political, national or any other level.³⁰ As Assmann suggests, ‘every individual belongs to numerous such groups and therefore entertains numerous collective self-images and memories.’³¹ Common to these conceptions of collective memory however is an active engagement with a memory by an individual; for Halbwachs this was through language:

C’est le langage, et c’est tout le système des conventions sociales qui en sont solidaires, qui nous permet à chaque instant de reconstruire notre passé.³²

Likewise Assmann uses a definition of collective memory as passing through language to distinguish ‘communicative memory’ from cultural memory.

Just as the communicative memory is characterized by its proximity to the everyday, cultural memory is characterized by its distance from the everyday. [...] Cultural memory has its fixed point; its horizon does not change with the passing of time. These fixed points are fateful events of

²⁸ Lewis Coser, ‘Introduction: Maurice Halbwachs 1877–1945’ in *On Collective Memory*, by Maurice Halbwachs, trans. by Lewis Coser (London and Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 25.

²⁹ Jan Assmann, ‘Collective Memory and Cultural Identity’, trans. by John Czaplicka, *New German Critique*, No. 65 (Spring–Summer, 1995), 125–133, pp. 126–7; Nancy Wood, *Vectors of Memory: Legacies of Trauma in Postwar Europe* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1999), p. 2.

³⁰ Studies theorising the constructions of national level collective memory abound. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger’s *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), for example, established how the active management and construction of traditions within modern society, was a means of emphasising continuity between the past and present, reinforcing national identities. Similarly, Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities* (London and New York: Verso, 1983), analysed the mechanisms behind the forging of national imaginaries from previously disparate communities. Finally, Pierre Nora’s, *Les Lieux de mémoire*, 7 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1984–97), documented the concrete or abstract sites (or realms) which make up the French national community’s memorial heritage. Studies which consider the generation and reception of collective memory at subordinate levels to the national are less abundant.

³¹ Assmann, p. 127.

³² Halbwachs, *Les Cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, p. 279.

the past, whose memory is maintained through cultural formation (texts, rites, monuments) and institutional communication (recitation, practise, observance).³³

Cultural memory therefore preserves the more fluid collective or communicative memories, particular to a group, through crystallizing them in a cultural artefact, or by embedding them in a fixed form of commemorative practise. The permanency of a cultural memory means that it can occur in two modes: actuality and potentiality. For Wulf Kansteiner, developing Assmann's concept:

Cultural memories occur in the mode of potentiality when representations of the past are stored in archives, libraries, and museums; they occur in the mode of actuality when these representations are adopted and given new meaning in new social and historical contexts.³⁴

Through embedding a memory in a fixed form and storing it (in potentiality) across time, a cultural memory can be exposed to new sets of social frameworks, dependent on the time and date in which the cultural memory is reconsidered, passing into the mode of actuality. This process can happen repeatedly, with the memory reconstructed each time; each time with new nuances of meaning, relevance and social depth.³⁵ A further point arises from the reconstruction of a cultural memory: how to negotiate the divide between the implicit intentionality in a cultural memory's actualisation from its general impact on reception. Nancy Wood suggests:

If particular representations of the past have permeated the public domain, it is because they embody an intentionality—social, political, institutional and so on—that promotes or authorizes their entry.³⁶

The agency stressed by this instrumentalisation of a memory is one which (as we shall see in the following section on models of Algerian War memory) leads to studies of memory that focus predominantly on the politics of memory, the elite (often governmental) decisions that influence the (re)construction or selective forgetting of a memory on a national scale. These studies often establish why a memory has been constructed, without then examining how it was culturally

³³ Assmann, pp. 128–9.

³⁴ Wulf Kansteiner, 'Finding Meaning in Memory: a Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies', *History and Theory*, 41 (May 2002), 179–197, pp. 182–3.

³⁵ Kansteiner, p. 182.

³⁶ Wood, p. 2.

mediated or received.³⁷ Both Alon Confino and Kansteiner, in their articles on the methodology of memory studies, stress that the way in which cultural memories are received by a group or society is as crucial as why they were constructed; however, the difficulties in fully documenting the historical reception of a cultural text mean that there are few studies which engage with this aspect of cultural memory.³⁸ Thus, Kansteiner argues that it is only through an interdisciplinary approach which connects ‘memorymakers, memory users, and the visual and discursive objects and traditions of representations’ that a study of collective memory can ever claim to engage fully with its subject.³⁹

In the next section, we will examine several important analyses of Algerian War memory, which attempt (more or less successfully) to model the evolution of memory of the war into a set of phases. We shall address the ways in which they align methodologically with the theory of memory studies outlined in this section; and consider their qualitative phasing of Algerian War memory, which we shall use in the final section of this introduction to hone the approach that this thesis will take to memory of the *appelés*.

³⁷ This was one of the key criticisms of Henry Rousso’s *Le Syndrome de Vichy* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1987), that the text was overly concerned with the ‘top down’ elite framing of Second World War memory, rather than how memories of Vichy France played out on a day-to-day level. For more on this see: Alon Confino, ‘Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method’, *The American Historical Review*, 102:5 (December 1997), 1386–1403, pp. 1394–7.

³⁸ Confino, pp. 1399–1403; Kansteiner, pp. 192–3.

³⁹ Kansteiner, p. 198.

SECTION 3: MODELS OF ALGERIAN WAR MEMORY

The modelling of the memory of an historical event or group is a relatively new aspect of historiography,⁴⁰ but it is one which has proved illuminating in studies of Algerian War memory, notably in Benjamin Stora's *La gangrène et l'oubli* which covers a broad spectrum of Algerian War memories in France and Algeria; in Jim House and Neil MacMaster's study on the events and memorial afterlives of the 17th October 1961 massacre in Paris; and in Jo McCormack's interdisciplinary study of how Algerian War memory emerged through the vectors of education, family and the (news) media.⁴¹ Despite their differing subject matters, common to these studies is an attempt to qualitatively outline a model for the phasing of memory, be that at a macro-level (Stora and McCormack) or around one specific event (House and MacMaster). Similarly they piece together the patterns in the production or actualisation of the memories they study, and seek to understand the underlying frameworks which structure this phasing.

In this section we will examine these works in more depth, understanding the models and methods they put forward for examining Algerian War memory, in order to piece together the approach this thesis will take. We will argue that these models are unsatisfactory with regards a cultural memory of the *appelés*: in the case of Stora's work because the underlying theory of memory it promotes is troublesome, the approach taken towards cultural texts is overly general, and the work focuses on elite-level memory work without considering the way in which the memories were received; in the case of *Paris 1961* because the memory frameworks relate to a different group of actors in Algerian War memory and the study is concerned more with communicative rather than cultural memory; and in the case of *Collective Memory* because it follows the evolutions in academic

⁴⁰ Notable works include: Rouso, *Le Syndrome de Vichy*; and Kristen Ross, *May '68 and its afterlives* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002). An emerging term for this meta-study of the evolution of memory is that of 'memoriography', see for example the conclusion to Martha Langford's, *Scissors, Paper, Stone: Expressions of Memory in Contemporary Photographic Art* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), which conceptualises the study of the evolution of memory in photography through this term.

⁴¹ Jim House and Neil MacMaster, *Paris 1961: Algerians, State Terror, and Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Jo McCormack, *Collective Memory: France and the Algerian War, 1954–1962* (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2007).

historiography over cultural materials. We will therefore end the section by examining the model of *appelé* historiography put forward by Philip Dine, which considers the image of the *contingent* in fiction and film.⁴²

Stora

Benjamin Stora's *La Gangrène et l'oubli* has been a particularly influential text in bringing to light the mechanisms behind the lacuna in French history and memory surrounding the Algerian War.⁴³ First published in 1991, the book sketched out the disparate ways in which memory of the war had been reformulated in Algeria and France. Stora drew on the war's complexities—ostensibly a Franco-Algerian conflict yet complicated by civil disputes on both sides—to explain certain dysfunctions in the two societies in the late 1980s and early 1990s:⁴⁴ Algeria, despite gaining independence from France, had suppressed and repressed—in its official commemorations—memory of the civil conflicts which had been as bloody as the war of independence itself;⁴⁵ France had quickly forgotten its role in Algeria, but had retained many of the political divisions and inequalities caused by the war.⁴⁶ Stora's introduction to the book begins with a quotation from Freud:

En proie à une rage aveugle, la guerre renverse tout ce qui lui barre la route, comme si, après elle, il ne devait y avoir pour les hommes ni avenir, ni paix. Elle rompt tous les liens faisant des peuples qui se combattent actuellement une communauté et menace de laisser derrière elle une animosité qui, pendant longtemps, ne permettra pas de les renouer.⁴⁷

Stora's analysis of memory emerges as one linked to psychoanalytical conceptions of trauma. Stora's notion, developed in *La gangrène et l'oubli* but also in later works, is to personify France and Algeria, breaking down their historical, social and memorial complexities, and psychoanalyse their repression of the traumas

⁴² Dine, pp. 109-45.

⁴³ Rosello, p. 66.

⁴⁴ William B. Cohen, 'The Algerian War and French Memory', *Contemporary European History*, 9/03 (2000), 489-500, p. 491.

⁴⁵ *La gangrène et l'oubli*, Chapters 8-13.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Chapters 1-7.

⁴⁷ Sigmund Freud, 'La désillusion causée par la guerre', *Essais de psychanalyse*, 1915. Cited in: *La Gangrène et l'oubli*, p. 7.

endured while at war; subsequently suggesting that this repression has led to emergent neuroses.⁴⁸

This overt focus on national-level repression, means that Stora's approach in *La gangrène et l'oubli* is to consider in detail the elite-level factors involved in the silencing of Algerian War memory in France: he subsequently skims through the ways this may have impacted on the actors in the war and the general population in France. Cultural materials are used illustratively, exemplifying the broad trends in the elite-level fostering or subjugation of memory, rather than actively reading them as cultural memory in their own right.⁴⁹

The book nevertheless sketches out, through its argument and in a detailed timeline attached as an appendix, an important model for the phasing of French and Algerian memory of the conflict. The first phase, from 1962 to 1968, which Stora labels as 'La gestion du temps de guerre',⁵⁰ marked the continuation of the mechanisms by which silence was enabled: specifically the lack of official recognition of the war, censorship of materials deemed overly sensitive, and amnesties which removed legal routes to challenge the State vision of Algerian 'events'; these built upon the methods employed during the war to fabricate silence such as the imprisonment of dissenters and the promotion of an illusory image of a peaceful Algeria. The events of May '68 were a distinct turning point, whereby the profound political, social and cultural shifts of the month of May, enabled France to create a clear break with its colonial past. Stora posits the subsequent phase, from 1969–81, as one of silence and amnesia, with memory 'mise entre parenthèses [...] bouffées de mémoire'.⁵¹ Stora sees the *appelés* as having played a part in these 'puffs' of memory, whereby he suggests that cultural productions of the *appelés* were a small, potential cultural memory, unreceived by

⁴⁸ In 2004, Stora defended his focus on traumatic memory, suggesting it lies in a different paradigm to memory studies influenced by the Halbwachsian model. Benjamin Stora, 'Guerre d'Algérie: Les instruments de la mémoire' in *La Guerre d'Algérie dans la mémoire et l'imaginaire*, ed. by Anny Dayan Rosenman and Lucette Valensi ([Paris]: Éditions Bouchene, 2004), p. 216.

⁴⁹ For example, Stora's main reference to one of the texts we shall examine in this thesis, Philippe Labro's *Des Feux Mal Éteints* (Paris: Gallimard, 2007; First ed., 1967), is: 'Loin de se sentir soutenus, compris, ils [les appelés] constituaient, comme l'a écrit Philippe Labro dans son roman *Les Feux mal éteints* [sic.], dès 1967, « une multitude de solitudes ».' (p. 268).

⁵⁰ *La gangrène et l'oubli*, p. 323.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 331.

the French public: 'Dans ces années soixante/quatre-vingt, [les appelés] sont quand même quelques-uns à écrire, publier [...] La prise de parole dépend de la capacité d'écoute'.⁵² Stora's third phase, from 1982-1990, then marks the 'retour des conflits de mémoire. L'impossible consensus'.⁵³ In this phase, Stora suggests that the social frameworks of racism and anti-racism, in response to immigration debates, structured the return of Algerian War memories, particularly among immigrant communities in France. In subsequent additions to this phasing, in the period since *La gangrène et l'oubli* was published, Stora has added a fourth phase, that can perhaps be seen as a subdivision of the third, from 1992 to present. This phase has been marked by the acceleration of memory processes: through academic reappraisals of the war, the Papon trial, revelations of torture by Generals who served in the Algerian War and the growing competition between different groups' memories of the conflict.⁵⁴

The general trend in Stora's phasing of Algerian War memory, however, is that it is focused on ways in which a political elite structured the forgetting of the Algerian War (during the war and in the first memory phase), and moving to the social factors which perpetuated this amnesia, before slowly enabling memory to resurface in the third (and fourth) phases. This focus on the high-level framing of memory, with little consideration of way cultural factors intermingled with the political and social frameworks has drawn criticism.⁵⁵ However, this is to belittle the contribution that Stora has made to understanding of cultural memory of the war. In a 2004 chapter on his method, Stora argues that the three primary channels of memory are the state, family, and media (in which he includes the press, books, and television). However, he suggests that the fabrication of amnesia about the war was caused by the first two channels, leaving the media as the only channel through which memory could be transmitted.⁵⁶ He has developed this understanding through a long series of important interventions focusing on one cultural medium at a time. The television series he produced in the early 1990s, *Les Années Algériennes*, marked an important milestone in understanding the

⁵² Ibid., pp. 265-6.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 343.

⁵⁴ Stora, 'La Guerre d'Algérie: les instruments de la mémoire', pp. 222-4.

⁵⁵ Cohen, p. 492.

⁵⁶ Stora, 'La Guerre d'Algérie: les instruments de la mémoire', pp. 217-20.

significance of television on Algerian War memory.⁵⁷ Likewise he has made two significant contributions to cultural analysis of the written word: a reference work cataloguing every book published about the war and *Le livre, mémoire de l'Histoire* which mapped out the state of the field of published books, and then considered (albeit without detailed textual analysis) the cultural, political and social memories they contained.⁵⁸ In *Imaginaires de guerre*, Stora analysed French cinematic memory of the Algerian War in comparison to Hollywood's production on Vietnam.⁵⁹ And his involvement in the exhibition and book *Photographier La Guerre d'Algérie*, have put him at the forefront of the work on the photography of the war.⁶⁰ As such, Stora can be seen to have dabbled in many fields of the media of Algerian War memory, and this thesis will engage with his work regularly in every chapter.

Our primary criticism of Stora however, which comes through strongly in *La gangrène et l'oubli* but also particularly in his work on the *appelés*, is one of approach, where rather than a detailed reading of cultural text(s) informing his analyses of memory, he either offers brief overviews and unsubstantiated opinions on their value, or uses them as illustrative material in a broader historical narrative. For example, his article on two *appelé* photographers, Marc Flament and Marc Garanger, sketches out a detailed biography of both photographers and their places in the canon of Algerian War imagery, but then offers only vague readings of their corpuses.⁶¹ Similarly, his short book, *Appelés en guerre d'Algérie*, a study of the *appelés* involvement in the war, is illustrated with 150 photographs, but does not critically examine even one of the images.

So while Stora has been instrumental in bringing memory of the Algerian War to a wider body of public and academic scrutiny, we propose to adopt an alternate method in this thesis, engaging a smaller corpus of cultural materials

⁵⁷ *Les Années Algériennes*, prod. by Philippe Alfonsi, Bernard Favre, Patrick Pesnot and Benjamin Stora, Antenne 2 (1991).

⁵⁸ Benjamin Stora, *Le dictionnaire des livres de la guerre d'Algérie* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996); Benjamin Stora, *Le livre, mémoire de l'Histoire – Réflexions sur le livre et la guerre d'Algérie* (Paris: Éditions Préau des collines, 2005).

⁵⁹ Benjamin Stora, *Imaginaires de guerre: Algérie-Viêt nam en France et aux États-Unis* (Paris: La Découverte, 1997).

⁶⁰ Benjamin Stora and Laurent Gervereau (eds.), *Photographier La Guerre d'Algérie* (Paris: Marval, 2004).

⁶¹ Benjamin Stora, 'Les photographies d'une guerre sans visage (images de la guerre d'Algérie dans des livres d'histoire(s))', in *Algérie: vers le cinquantième de l'indépendance: regards critiques*, ed. by Naaman Kessous [et al.] (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2009).

which will provide room for closer textual readings, and a more nuanced understanding of the specificity of cultural memory of the *appelés*.

House and MacMaster

In contrast to Stora's general approach, House and MacMaster's model of Algerian War memory narrows the line of enquiry to the memory of one important event from the war, that of the massacre of around two hundred Algerians protesting in favour of Algerian independence by the Paris police on the night of 17th October 1961. In the first section of the book, Neil MacMaster sets out a detailed historical study of the event, and in the second section, Jim House moves their inquiry into the field of memory, questioning the ways in which the application of state violence—through the police—and attempts to conceal the events of 17 October from public consciousness, intertwined with memories of the events. He subsequently works through the political, social and cultural shifts which engendered the return of 17 October memories.⁶² This rigorous focus on the social frameworks of 17 October memories is one this thesis will seek to replicate.

As with Stora, House structures the evolution of memory of 17 October into three phases: virtual public silence from 1961 until 1979; a slow emergence from 1980–1997; and a higher visibility from 1997 onwards.⁶³ The initial marginalisation of the memories, he argues, came as a result of the French government amnesty policies following the end of the war, denying victims of state violence any legal route to reparation or legitimacy.⁶⁴ Thus memories of 17 October went 'underground', remaining a part of the actualised memory of the war but only at a familial level or through small, marginal associations.⁶⁵ This started to change, albeit slowly, through the 1980s and 1990s. The success of the anti-racist movements established Algerian immigrants as significant political actors, and enabled new and existing associations to bring memories of 17

⁶² House and MacMaster, p. 186.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 242–64.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 265–87.

October to the public stage.⁶⁶ But it was the Papon trial of 1997 which cemented the place of 17 October in public memory, with the 40th anniversary of the end of the war and the other resurfacings of the legacies of colonial violence in 2001, which provided potent public reminders of the memory's importance.⁶⁷

While House and MacMaster's detailed elaboration of the complex intersections of memory and social frameworks of 17 October does not actively engage with cultural memory, their book laid the groundwork for a number of significant studies of cultural memories, such as Michael Rothberg's two chapters pitting cultural memories of 17 October between the prism of memories of the Holocaust and colonialism.⁶⁸

McCormack

In the first chapter of *Collective Memory*, McCormack sets out a detailed survey of the historiography of the war, focusing in particular on the interaction between scholarly work and historiographical phasing based on analysis of the yearbook, *l'Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord*.⁶⁹ While the model does not explicitly relate to cultural memory of the war or memory of the *appelés*, it will be productive to outline it briefly to compare against the political and cultural models of Stora and House and MacMaster.

McCormack's model posits four phases to the historiography of the war: the first phase, from 1962 to the late 1970s, was dominated by testimonies, with smaller numbers of journalistic and scholarly work; McCormack notes that the testimonies evolved from an overtly political focus in the aftermath of the war, towards to less polemical memoirs.⁷⁰ As this phase drew to a close there was a particular surge in Algerian works on the war, particularly from Mohammed Harbi. McCormack's second phase, in the early 1980s, marks the publication of

⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 288–309.

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 301–34.

⁶⁸ Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2009), pp. 227–308.

⁶⁹ The yearbook is published annually by the CNRS [Centre National de Recherche Scientifique], it was compiled by Guy Pervillé until 1993, and continued after by other scholars. For this section of *Collective Memory* see: pp. 24–33.

⁷⁰ McCormack, pp. 25–7.

the first historical account of the war: Droz and Lever's *Histoire de la guerre d'Algérie*.⁷¹ However, McCormack also notes the general paucity of other histories, particularly in France, with Algerian scholars still influential. The third phase, from the late 1980s until the early 1990s, marked the surge in scholarly work on the war, such as Stora's, and in film production, with the anniversaries in 1991-92 influential.⁷² Qualitatively, McCormack reflects that the mood of this phase in scholarly circles was that enough time had passed for history and memory of the war to emerge authoritatively. The fourth phase, from 1992-2004 (*Collective Memory* was published in 2007), marked for McCormack a reduction in the pace of scholarly progress, despite the publication of a number of significant works.⁷³ He reflects that scholars were unable to account for the polemical 'memory battles' that played out around the Algerian War in the media.⁷⁴

While these three models of Algerian War memory and historiography exhibit trends of silences and surges, they do have some important differences: the memory of 17th October, House and MacMaster argue, was more swiftly silenced than that of the Algerian War more broadly, with a virtual public silence from the end of 1961. Stora argues that it was only with May '68 that the door was shut fully on Algerian War memory. While the slow re-emergence of Algerian War memory was relatively synchronous with that of 17 October memory in the 1980s; the broader accelerations towards higher visibility occurred at different times, with 1992 marking the beginning of the wider acceleration, and the Papon trial marking the same for 17 October. By contrast, McCormack's outline stressed a permanent low level of activity, with surges in Algeria in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and in France during the late 1980s and early 1990s. The differences between these general models and that of one specific event suggest that we must remain alert to the specificities of the *appelés* situation in considering the phasing of their memory of the war. With this in mind let us turn briefly to Philip Dine's work on cultural texts by the *contingent*.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-8.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 28-30.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-3.

⁷⁴ P. 33.

Dine

Philip Dine's *Images of the Algerian War*, is one of the only studies to consider a broad spectrum of *appelé* texts, considering their production of prose fiction in some detail, and in a chapter on Algerian War film more generally. While Dine's chapters are not particularly concerned with cultural memory and thus with contextualising the texts against the social frameworks of memory, his chronological approach to a large corpus of texts does draw out some interesting trends which we will consider in the next section. In particular, Dine argues that post-war *appelé* fiction was overly concerned with generating an 'adversary myth',⁷⁵ positing themselves as heterogeneous victims of the war, in contrast to the pro-military construction of the *contingent* during the war years as part of a unified 'Armée d'Algérie'.⁷⁶ Dine argues that this victim narrative was the reason *appelé* fiction was unread because it failed to articulate any coherent collective identity but focused instead on individualising tropes.⁷⁷ Likewise in cinema, which, Dine argues, failed to articulate a nuanced image of the war because it was overly factionalised between left-wing (anti-colonial) and right-wing (pro-military) ideologies belittling the significance of the memories it promoted.⁷⁸ Dine's conclusion to the book also makes an important point about media and memory, stressing that the influence of television on memory of the Algerian War overwhelms that of the fiction and film he studies:

It must be recognised that the end of empire coincided to a large extent with the decline of both literature and cinema in the face of the rise of a mass televisual culture, with the dramatic relaxation of official censorship since the Algerian War accurately reflecting the eclipse of the established media. Whether this new communicative regime will seek to address the officially defunct symbolic order of French colonialism, and if so, to what ideological ends, remains to be seen.⁷⁹

By comparing separate forms of cultural production, Dine implies that we cannot fully understand the impact of a text without first placing it in the broader media context of the society in which it was produced. This is a thought which was

⁷⁵ Dine, p. 145.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

echoed in our theoretical methodology, which warned against conceptualising of cultural memory through a singular medium.

And yet, as has been previously asserted in this introduction, studies of Algerian War memory have often been concerned with oral testimony, and when other cultural memories are analysed, it is primarily in the print medium or through individual studies of photography, film, or television in isolation, as if each medium of cultural production represented a paradigm independent of influences from other media or genres.⁸⁰

In the next section we will therefore turn our attention to a phasing of *appelé* memory, but with a specific focus on mapping out the influence that media have had on memory of the *appelés*. We will seek to determine the intersecting nodes between the phases of *appelé* memory and the moments when specific media were of particular importance. From this mapping we shall then set out the periods and texts which this thesis will contextualise and read.

⁸⁰ In the rare instances where media have been compared, the conclusions are often bleak about the broad compatibility of mediated memories of the war. For example in the introduction to the book, *La Guerre sans nom: Les appelés d'Algérie 54-62* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1992), which accompanied the 1992 film, Tavernier and Rotman state simply, 'Pour une fois, l'image et l'écrit son complémentaires' (p. 8).

SECTION 4: MEDIA AND MEMORY OF THE APPELÉS

As we have seen in the previous sections of this chapter, Algerian War memory has in many cases suffered a temporal disparity between the production of potential memories and the subsequent reception and actualisations of those memories. The Stora model of the phasing of memory suggests that State and familial vectors engendered the silence of the *après guerre*, with cultural modes slowly breaking through in ‘puffs’ over time, and McCormack’s model suggested the low-level of academic interest has been broken by two surges of study of the war. This was corroborated by House and MacMaster’s study, whose period of virtual public silence about the 17 October massacre lasted from 1961-1979. Yet there seems an odd disparity in reconciling these models against Dine’s elaboration of *appelé* and *rappelé* fiction and film, whereby the production of cultural memories remained fairly constant throughout the period of silence.

So in this section of the chapter, we will extend our enquiry to look at the way in which the waxing and waning production of cultural memories of the *appelés* has been channelled through a variety of media: television, radio, film and books.⁸¹ This inquiry will primarily focus on the quantitative production of cultural memories however, in an attempt to reconcile the disparities between these models. Through examining the intersections between the media of cultural memories of the *appelés* and the more general models of the phasing of Algerian War memory, we will begin to develop an *appelé* specific phasing of cultural memory of the war, which we will question and develop through detailed case studies in the rest of this thesis.

⁸¹ It is worth noting at this point that as vectors of cultural memory these media are very different: television and radio are implicitly ‘immediate’ genres, which are produced by memorymakers and consumed by memory users within quick succession; by contrast a book can be written and published and yet lay unread for a considerable period of time, with a longer delay in reception.

The Algerian War appelés through media

As Benjamin Stora and Laurent Gervereau suggested in their 2004 exhibition and catalogue, *Photographier la guerre d'Algérie*, one of the peculiar facets of the historical timing of the conflict in Algeria was that it came at a crossroads moment in the representation and mediatisation of wars.⁸² The Indochinese War had seen the decline of French war artists, and rising in their place were an increasing number of photographers, both amateur and professional.⁸³ Similarly, while the techniques and technologies already existed which would lead to the widespread mediatisation of the Vietnam War, these technologies had only been sparsely used in Indochina (most notably by Pierre Schoendoerffer) and were still in their infancy in Algeria. Radio was an important vector of news and entertainment, but moved into slight decline as the dawn of the televisual age came in the early 1960s, which, as Dine elaborated, soon began to eclipse cinema and even print as the dominant medium of cultural production.

The combination of these factors highlights the diverse cultural influences of the conflict. As we have seen, this diversity is rarely touched on in studies of *appelé* memory, which have focused on testimonies, histories and individual mediums. Yet, as Astrid Erll suggests, cultural memory and media are intrinsically linked:

Because of the complex intertwinings of media and cultural memory – media first create memory culture; the trace of the medium is retained in the memory – histories of memory are often written as histories of its changing media.⁸⁴

So, with this and the diversity of Algerian War representations in mind, it is important to map out at a macro-level the media in which constructions of the *appelés* have been put forward, and the differing time frames which corresponded with these media. As we shall see, while in isolation a medium can be used to highlight aspects of the general Algerian War memory models, when we combine

⁸² Gervereau and Stora, pp. 7–9.

⁸³ This was the course charted by Marc Flament, who initially worked as a war artist and cartoonist in Algeria for the French army newspaper *Le Bled*, but took up photography as part of his job. He subsequently became personal photographer for (then) Colonel Bigeard in the 3^{ème} RCP [*Régiment de Chasseurs Parachutistes*], and the archive of his photographs is held at the ECPAD [*Établissement de Communication et de Production Audiovisuelle de la Défense*] in Paris.

⁸⁴ Erll, p. 116.

their respective broadcast/publication patterns, a different model emerges: that cultural memories of the *appelés* have been a constant, but nevertheless highly variable presence in the French cultural sphere from the war period up until the present day (see Figure 1).

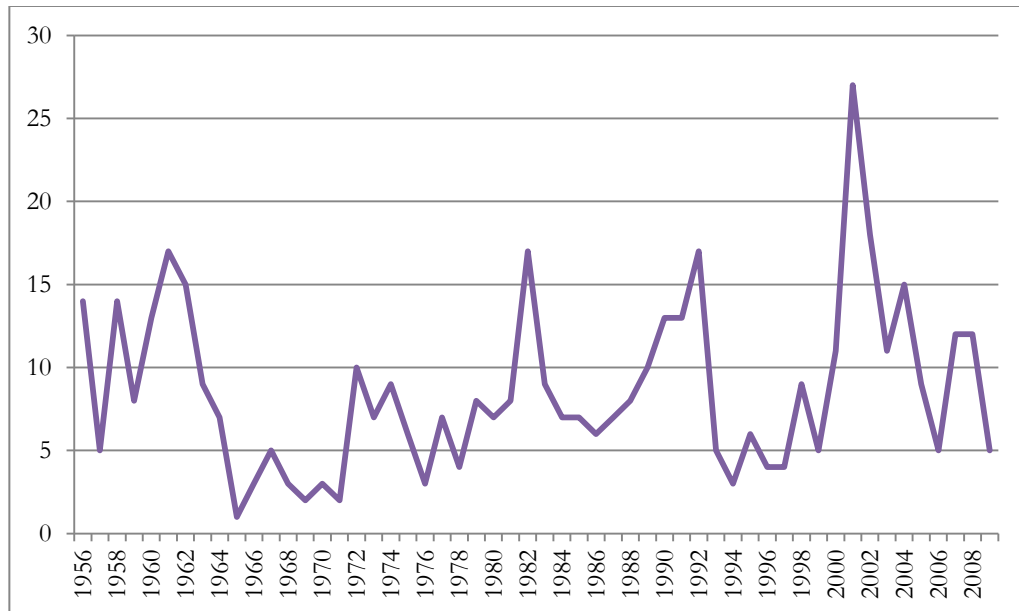


Figure 1: Number of broadcasts/releases/publications per year which featured a construction of the *appelés* on television, radio, film and in published books (1956–2009).⁸⁵

This chart shows that there were cultural constructions of the *appelés* published or broadcast or released every year, with above average production in the war years, a slight reduction in the decade after the war, followed by average numbers of publications from the 1970s through to the 1990s with significant peaks in the 20th and 30th year anniversaries of the end of the war. Another reduction followed between 1993 and 1999, followed by a large peak in 2001/2002 (a combination of the emerging polemic of French military abuses in Algeria and the 40th anniversary of the conflict) and above average production ever since.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ The data used to create this and the other charts in this section is attached to this thesis as Appendix 1.

⁸⁶ The research into Television and Radio, making up a part of this graph, was conducted in May 2010, so the time period compared stops at the end of 2009. Given the extensive coverage that the Algerian War has had in the commemorations surrounding the 50th Anniversaries of events in 2011 and 2012, we suspect that there would be a very significant new peak to add to this graph. Furthermore, the final chapter of this thesis will consider online digital media, which are not covered in this chapter as the medium has only sprung up in the last decade or two.

While our above analysis implied why there were peaks, the lack of absolute troughs is troublesome. If such a graph does not map easily onto the models previously examined, how can we go about constructing a phasing of *appelé* memory? Furthermore, if cultural memories of the *appelés* have been regularly produced, in what ways were they received, and by whom, and in what context? In line with the methodologies of memory studies, it is important to see how this graph breaks down by media, and it is only through this inter-media study that we can begin to think of phases of *appelé* memory.

*Trends in television and radio*⁸⁷

In order to study television and radio representations of the *appelés*, research was conducted at the *Inathèque National de France* [INA] in Paris, which hosts a vast archive of radio and television recordings from 1933 onwards, in analogue and digital forms. All materials must be searched for in the INA proprietary search programme, hyperBase, and before commenting on the distribution of programmes across the 53 year time period, it will be useful to reflect both methodologically and qualitatively on the process of this research and the programmes it unearthed.⁸⁸

In approaching the hyperBase software I was advised by INA staff to use a web of both necessary and variable search criteria, using keywords to whittle down a potential corpus of relevant material, which I could more closely

⁸⁷ I am hugely grateful to the staff of the Inathèque de France in Paris, in particular for their help in putting together this data, and for their permission to use it in this thesis.

⁸⁸ Some methodological caveats in putting together this material: The corpus of television and radio programmes comprises of 172 broadcasts, which dealt with the experiences and memory of military service conscripts during the Algerian War (including *rappelés* and *appelés*). These broadcasts were all recorded and archived by the *Inathèque de France*. In 1995, the INA took on *Dépôt Légale* status, meaning that it significantly increased the number of television and radio programmes it archived. I attempted to compensate for this potential skewing by being selective in the archives searched on the INA database, restricting TV to the Archives INA TV (code: imago) which covers the period 1949-present; DLTV (post-1995) and DL Régions (2007-present). These databases cover terrestrial French television channels, eliminating cable and satellite channels archived in the CabSat archive (note: Canal+ is archived in DLTV). Within the Radio archives such an option was not possible, with the DL Radio archive (1995-present) being the only addition to the Archives INA Radio (code: sonp) archive (1933-Present), it is therefore possible that these results are skewed with heavier hits towards the contemporary, particularly as the sonp archive is not comprehensive in the 1950s and 1960s.

scrutinise for inclusion into my corpus of programmes. I thus defined the programmes and broadcasts that I was searching for as those which ‘posited or questioned a construction of the *appelés* in the Algerian War, whether real or fictive’. I therefore tailored my hyperBase searches with the following criteria:

Necessary keyword(s):	‘Algérie’; (‘guerre’). ⁸⁹
Variable search terms:	‘appelé(s)’; ‘rappelé(s)’; ‘contingent’; ‘service militaire’. ⁹⁰

Running combinations of these search terms across the five databases, brought up around 600 potential broadcasts. I then went through each detailed archival listing, cutting down this number to around 200 with further viewings and listenings of the material bringing the total number of broadcasts down to 172 across television and radio combined.

Within the records found from the war period itself (1956-1962), the most productive keyword was ‘contingent’ (followed by ‘rappelé(s) in 1956, the year of the recall and accompanying dissent). However, for the records from the 1980s onwards, the terms ‘appelé(s)’, ‘service militaire’ and to a lesser extent ‘rappelé(s)’ were the most productive, with ‘contingent’ bringing up almost no hits. While by no means a scientific survey, this qualitative trend suggests that there has been a quite significant lexical shift in the terminology used to describe military service conscripts of the Algerian War across this time period, from ‘contingent’ during the war years, through to ‘appelé(s)’ and ‘service militaire’ in more modern broadcast media.⁹¹ This shift from a collective noun, through to individualised monikers caused me to question how the *appelés* were perceived as a group across time. For example, how did this qualitative evolution relate to trends in other media? Would such a suggestion bear up to closer scrutiny upon close, critical readings of texts from these separate time periods? These are questions that we

⁸⁹ Note the keyword ‘guerre’ was used selectively and judiciously to eliminate programmes which mentioned military service in Algeria, but which was not related to the Algerian War. Effort was made to balance using this keyword against the likelihood that programme descriptions from the 1950s and 1960s would have been unlikely to refer to the conflict as a ‘guerre’.

⁹⁰ Each of the variable search terms brought up irrelevant hits (i.e. programmes which when consulted did not address military service in the Algerian War), this was particularly true of ‘appelé’ and ‘rappelé’ given their frequent verbal usage (to call and recall) in French. Such programmes (around 300-400) were not included in the final corpus.

⁹¹ ‘Service militaire’ for instance was oft used in the sentence such as ‘Monsieur X qui a fait son service militaire en Algérie parle de Y...’

shall begin to examine in this chapter, but will return to in the subsequent chapters of this thesis.

Figures 2 and 3 highlight the number of programmes broadcast in France on television and radio separately which feature a construction of the Algerian War *appelés*, mapped per year from 1956 until 2009, while Figure 4 combines the two. While the corpus of 172 broadcasts over the 56 year period equates to an average of three broadcasts per year, the graphs illustrate that the distribution of broadcasts by year marks a strong correlation with the models of the phasing of Algerian War memory from Stora and House and MacMaster as outlined in the previous section.

There is a large gap between the end of the war and the early 1980s, at which point a sporadic production begins, a slow emergence (*pace* House and MacMaster), peaking during the 1982 anniversary with another peak in 1992 during the thirtieth anniversary (the year of the broadcast of Stora's *Les Années Algériennes*). However, from 1997 onwards a real acceleration in terms of the numbers broadcasts occurs across both media, corresponding with the renewed interest in the legacy of the Algerian War instigated by the Papon trial, and in 2002 by the emerging narratives of torture and military abuses in Algeria, firstly from retired Generals but subsequently by *appelés*.

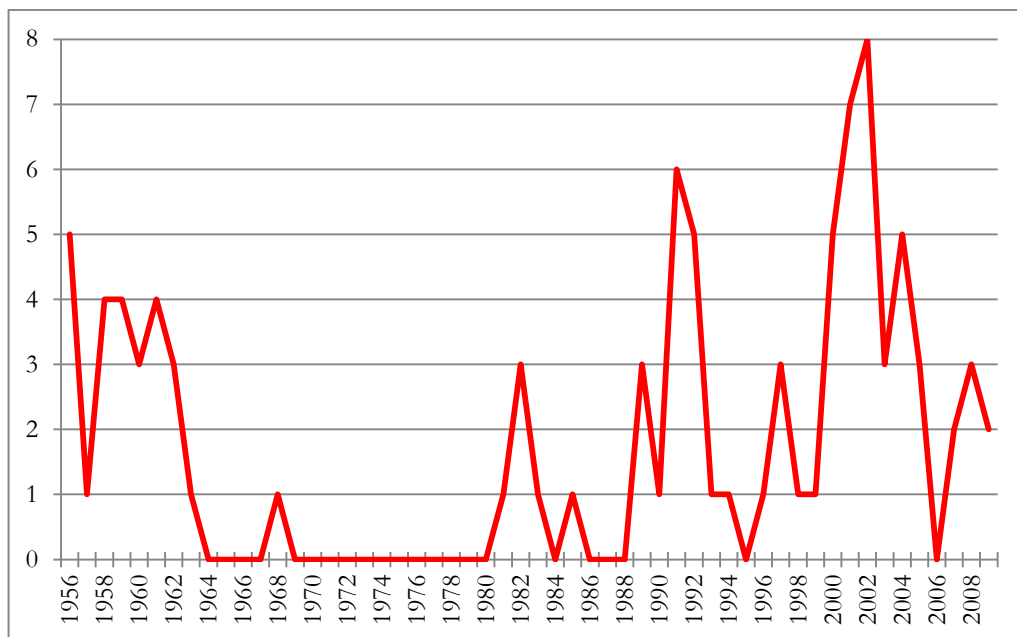


Figure 2: Number of TV programmes broadcast per year featuring a construction of the appellés (1956–2009)

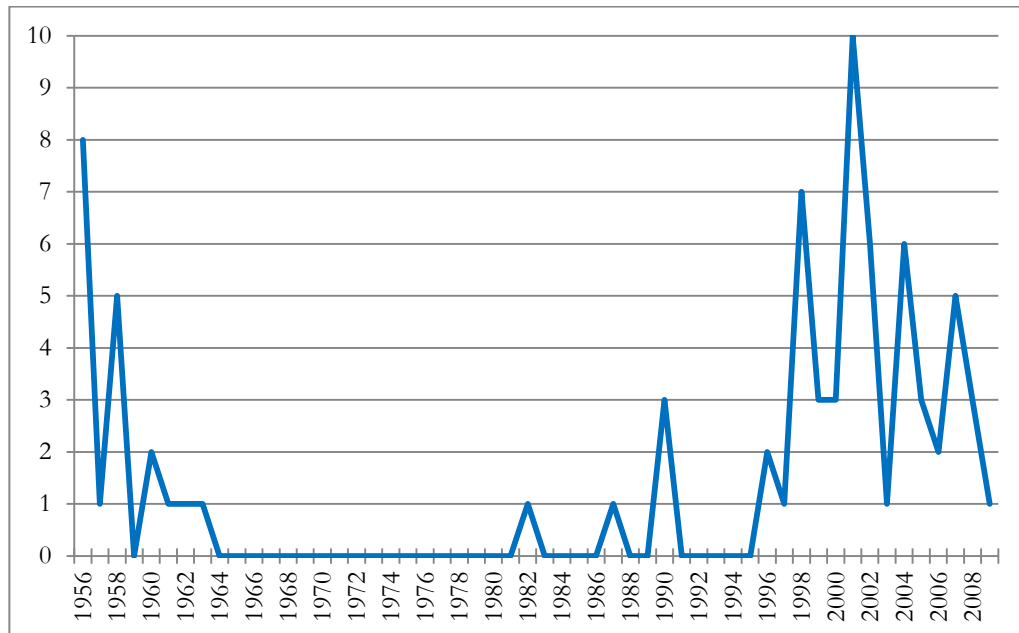


Figure 3: Number of radio programmes broadcast per year featuring a construction of the appellés (1956–2009)

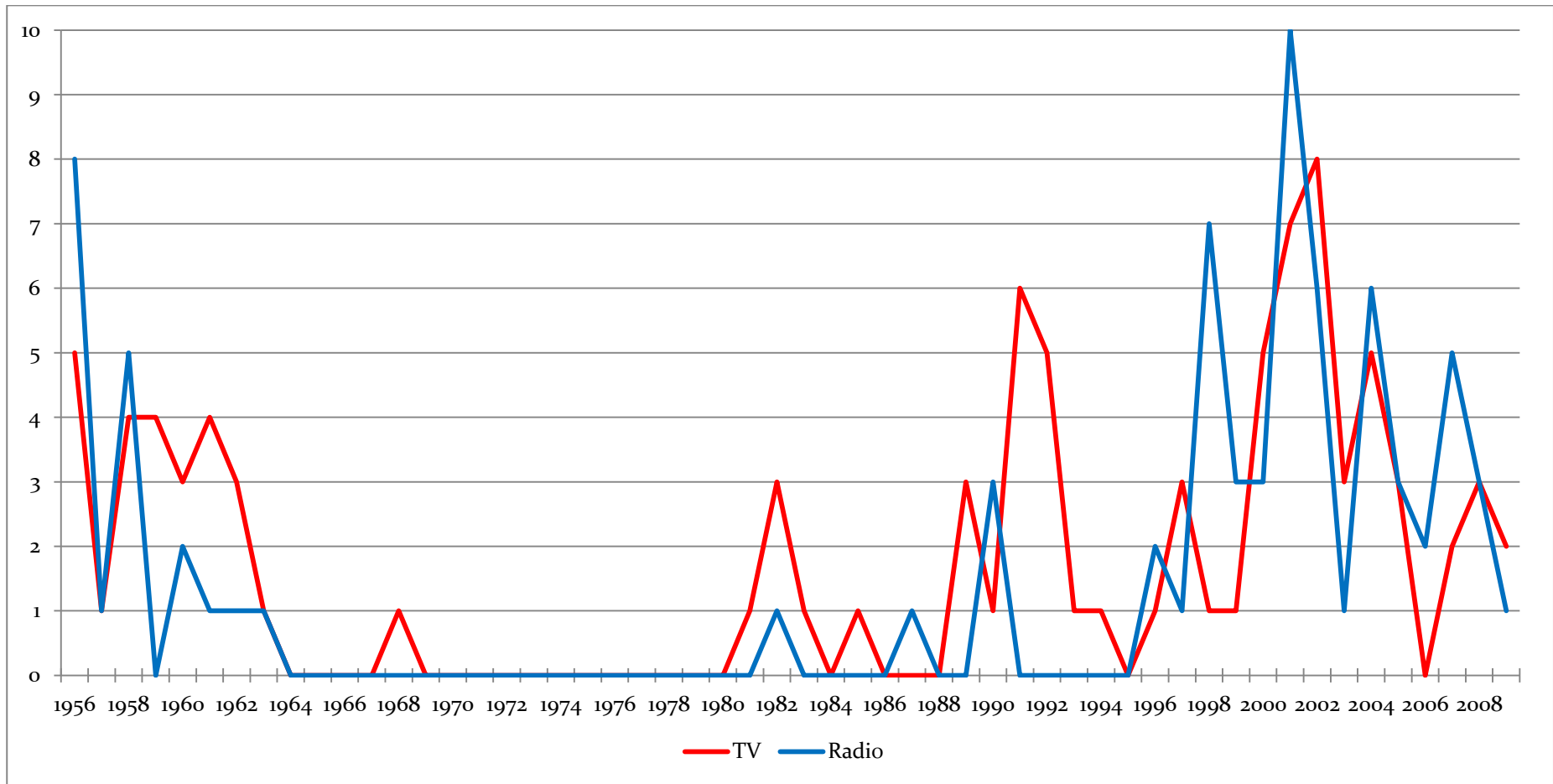


Figure 4: Comparison between TV and Radio broadcasts

Perhaps the biggest difference between the memory models and the pattern of TV and radio broadcasts however, is the impact of television during the war period. Television, a medium still in its infancy with only one state-controlled channel broadcasting in the evenings, produced a significant number of programmes featuring a construction of the *contingent*. This intuitively seems contradictory to the ways in which memories of the war were repressed by the state and familial vectors. If, as Dine suggests, television began to eclipse the film and print media from the Algerian War period onwards as the dominant mode of cultural production, would returning *appelés* have felt a ‘chape de silence’ as their exploits were being broadcast to the nation? Would French society not recognise the *contingent* at war? Chapter 2 looks to answer these questions, through the example of television news magazine *Cinq colonnes à la une*, who broadcast a number of segments about the *appelés* during the war years. We will contextualise the programme at the intersection of two important but opposing social frameworks: the waning colonial imaginary and the growing force of modernisation and consumerism. We will argue that the interplay between these two frameworks, echoed in the social structure of France in the early 1960s, strongly marked the way in which the programme constructed the *contingent*. Subsequently seemingly anodyne segments about the duties of the *appelés* in Algeria, generated an important, lasting memory of the war.

Trends in publishing

Book publishing is a better documented area of Algerian War studies, with literature and non-fictional texts having been an influential medium on both the French public's reception of the Algerian War in France and the academic study of the historiography of the war. I conducted a bibliographic search at the BNF [*Bibliothèque nationale de France*] for texts published by or about the *appelés*, which related in some way to the conscript experience in Algeria.⁹² This search was intended to offer a means of gauging the relative patterns of cultural production of *appelé* memory in the televisual and radio against published books.⁹³ This search brought up 267 texts for the period 1956–2009, a slightly greater numerical output than within television and radio (See Figure 5).

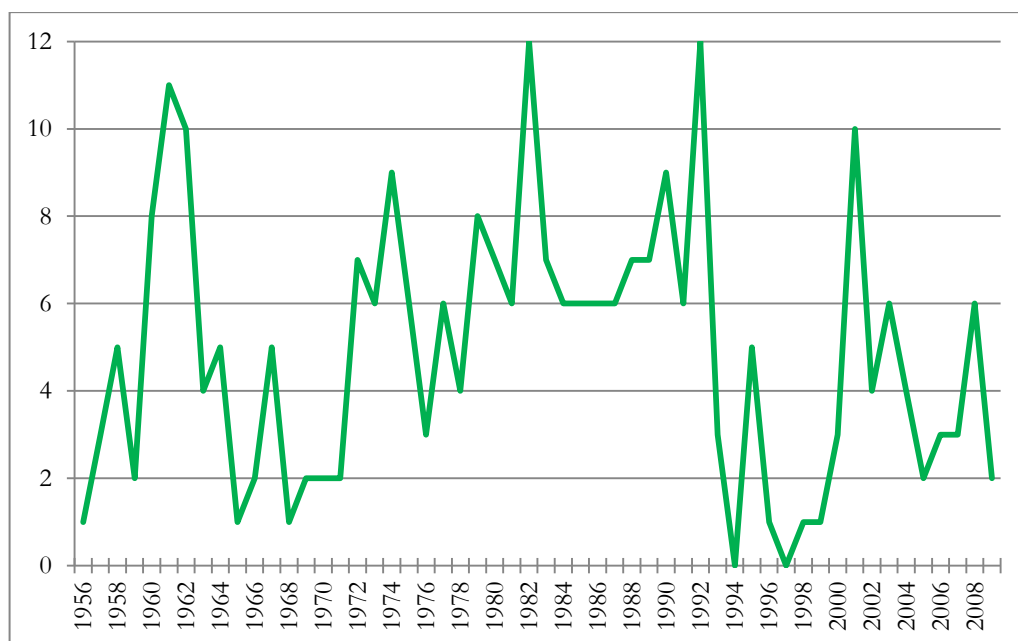


Figure 5: Number of books published featuring a construction of the appelés per year (1956–2009)

⁹² A preliminary search was made using Benjamin Stora's *dictionnaire des livres de la guerre d'Algérie*, this was followed by a search of the BNF catalogue général using the same search terms as in the television and radio search. Where clarification was needed books were consulted from the BNF collections.

⁹³ I accept that there are some significant challenges in the comparison of radically different forms of media in this manner, in particular how we might measure the relative impact and reception of these texts and media. However, this chapter is intended to map out the patterns and trends which we shall examine in far greater depth in the later chapters. In particular focusing on the importance of different media in phases, we can select appropriate case-study texts. In this manner we can evaluate questions of impact, reception and qualitatively assess the way in which the texts contributed and drew on the social frameworks of *appelé* and Algerian War memory.

Perhaps by nature of the medium there was a weaker qualitative shift, seen in the corpus of television and radio broadcasts, from a construction of the *contingent* to one of the *appelés*. Certain pro-military texts published during and in the aftermath of the war do conceive of the *appelés* as a massed *contingent*, but most of the texts from the war period until the present focalise on the individual experiences of conscripts rather than collective identities. An exception to this is in photographic books which we will consider in due course.

While we could divide Figure 5 into phases, the process would be challenging as there is no considerable pattern to discern that corresponds with established models of Algerian War memory. The pattern implies that there was a peak in production of books relating to the *appelé* experience at the end of the war, which diminished slightly in the late 60s, but picked up from 1970 onwards, remaining relatively constant until the early 1990s. As with Television and Radio, the 1982 and 1992 anniversaries of the war saw a surge in published texts but following this point, there has been a marked drop in the number of books published, despite another peak in 2001.

It seems clear therefore, given the ways in which *appelé* silence has manifested over the years, that while a large array of potential cultural memories were produced in print, they laid unreceived across a long period of time. This concurs with Dine's analysis:

[Those] called upon to fight in Algeria have since kept up a steady barrage of literary reminders of precisely that lived historicity, very many of them published at their own expense. The problem, of course, is that the great majority of the texts which make up what is undoubtedly the largest category of metropolitan French fiction about the Algerian conflict remain unread, or, even more cruelly, unremembered.⁹⁴

In Chapter 3, we examine two such prose texts about the conscript experience in Algeria published in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Philippe Labro's *Des Feux Mal Éteints* and Noël Favrelière's *Le Deserteur* (a republication in reworked form of his earlier tract *Le Desert à l'aube*).⁹⁵ Situating these works on the margins of cultural production in this period, and using Michael Rothberg's model of *Multidirectional*

⁹⁴ Dine, p. 112.

⁹⁵ Labro, *Des Feux Mal Éteints*; Noël Favrelière, *Le Deserteur* (Paris: J.C. Lattès/Édition Spéciale, 1973); Noël Favrelière, *Le Désert à l'aube* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1960).

Memory, we shall examine to what extent the texts searched to articulate the experiences of the *appelés* (or *rappelés* in the case of Favrelière) through a complex prism of postcolonial and Second World War narrative devices. We will analyse the fragmented structure of the narratives against the shift from a collective construction of the contingent to a model of individual identity linked closely to trauma and victimhood.

Photographic books

A subset of published books is that of the photo album; in the case of the *appelés*, production of this type of book has been dominated by three photographers: Marc Flament, Marc Garanger and René Bail. Despite the wide diffusion of these photographers' images, they all take a remarkably different approach to constructing the *appelés*: Flament's photographs of Parachutists seek to glorify the military role of the *contingent*; Garanger's photographs instead posit weaker *appelés* in relation to a strong Algerian identity; and René Bail's images and albums are infused with nostalgia, romanticising the time the *contingent* spent in Algeria.

What is particularly striking however, is how the time periods when these photographers were actively publishing maps onto the image of the contingent they promote: Flament's eight books were heavily concentrated in the war years: a book a year from 1957–1960 and then four more in 1964, 1974, 1982 and 1984. Garanger has published four books, three during the period when immigrant memories of the war were slowly emerging (1982, 1984 and 1990) and a retrospective in 2007. Bail has published nine books one in 1979 and 1987 and then seven since 1998: 1998, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2007, 2008, 2008. This pattern seems to mesh with the transition in phases of social framework of Algerian War memory: Flament's images which glorified the role of the Parachutists were prominent during the years of a state-controlled images of the conflict, but waned as memories of the war resurfaced in the 1980s; and Bail's nostalgia arriving during the increasing prevalence of diverse and plural memories of the war in the 2000s.

In Chapter 4, we examine Marc Garanger's 1982 album *La guerre d'Algérie vue par un appelé du contingent*. We will approach the album through the social frameworks of the immigration debates of the 1980s, the early stages of the anti-racist movement, and the first resurfacings of Algerian War narratives. We will posit Garanger's vision of the *appelés* as fulfilling a dual pedagogical role: in advancing a nuanced vision of the *appelés* which portrayed both the human and inhumane faces of the *contingent*; but simultaneously reflected on the similarities inherent in the immigrant politics of the 1980s, against a complex vision of the racially divided power dynamics of Algeria in 1960-62.

Trends in cinema

In contrast to the other media we have examined in this chapter, and will consider in this thesis, the cinematic medium is the most extensively mined area of the cultural memory of the Algerian War (and of the *appelés*), with a significant number of historians, francophone cultural scholars and film theorists having examined and critiqued Algerian War cinema.⁹⁶ Film studies tend to consider the cinematic medium in isolation, and have developed an extensive critical vocabulary with which to fruitfully deconstruct the medium. For these reasons, while we will consider film briefly in this chapter in order to draw a comparison between the phasing of cinematic constructions of the *appelés* and those of other media, we will not dedicate a case-study chapter to it.

Figure 6 depicts the number of films released per year which feature a construction of the *appelés*. This research was conducted through reference to a number of bibliographic sources, most notably Hennebelle, Berrah and Stora's

⁹⁶ In particular, regarding the *appelés*, the films: *Le Petit Soldat*, dir. by Jean-Luc Godard (Georges de Beauregard, 1963); *Muriel, ou le temps d'un retour*, dir. by Alain Resnais (Argos Films, 1963); *Avoir vingt ans dans les Aurès*, dir. by René Vautier (UPCB, 1972); and Tavernier's *La Guerre sans nom* have all received extended attention. See for example: Stora, *Imaginaires de guerre*, particularly pp. 175–89; Pascal Ory, 'L'Algérie fait écran' in *La Guerre d'Algérie et les français*, ed. by J-P. Rioux (Paris: Fayard, 1990), pp. 572–81; Guy Austin, 'Trauma, Cinema and the Algerian War', *New Readings* 10 (2009), pp. 18–25; and Derek Schilling, 'Avoir vingt ans dans les Aurès de René Vautier: Le cinéma militant face à la censure d'État au tournant des années 1970', *French Cultural Studies* 22(2), 2011, pp. 137–50.

special issue of *CinémAction*, 'La guerre d'Algérie à l'écran'.⁹⁷ Where appropriate and possible, the films were also watched. This research highlighted thirty-one films released over the period 1959-2010.⁹⁸

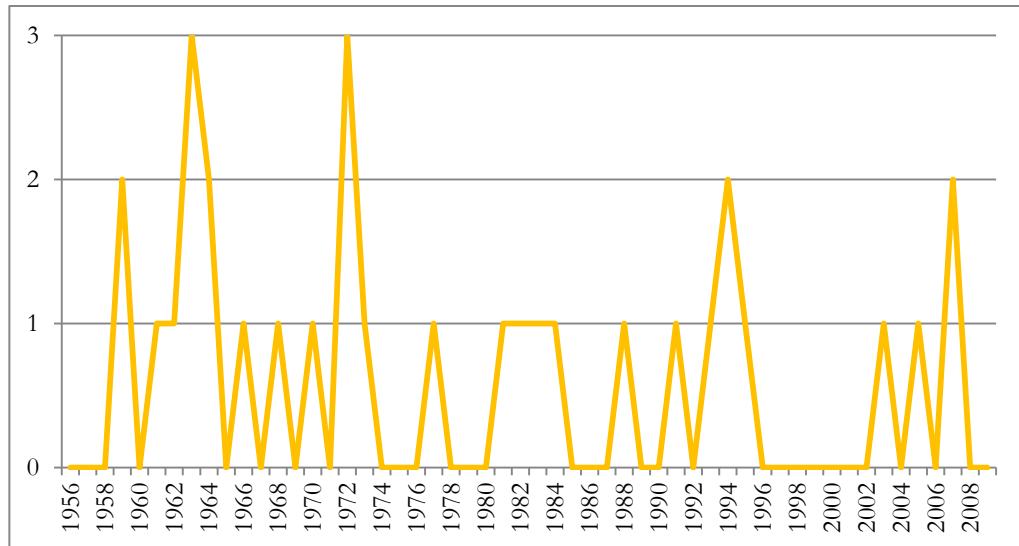


Figure 6: Number of films released featuring a construction of the *appelés* per year (1956–2009)

While the limited number of feature films means that this graph is more variable than others, there are several interesting points to make regarding a phasing of *appelé* memory in the medium. Firstly, that the period when the most films were made (and released) was during the latter stages of the war, its immediate aftermath and prominently in 1972. Secondly there was a reduction post-1972 until the following set of anniversaries in the early 1980s, and again in the 1990s. There was then a significant gap, with cinematic constructions of the *appelés* returning in the 2000s. Perhaps as might be expected, this phasing is more in line with that of the televisual medium than of publishing. Qualitatively, there was also a shift, with the early films featuring oblique references to Algeria through the use of *appelé* characters who have returned from the war.⁹⁹ From the 1970s, following on from the success of *Avoir vingt ans dans les Aurès* there is a set

⁹⁷ Guy Hennebelle, Mouny Berrah and Benjamin Stora, 'La guerre d'Algérie à l'écran' *CinémAction*, 85 (1997).

⁹⁸ One film, the 2010 Algerian War horror film *Djinns*, Hugues and Sandra Martin dirs., (Delante Films, 2010), has not been included in the graph for reasons of comparison with the other media which all considered the period up until 2009.

⁹⁹ Such as is the case in *Cléo de 5 à 7*, dir. by Agnès Varda (Georges de Beauregard, 1961), *Muriel*, and *Le Petit Soldat*.

of war films which follow sections of *appelés* in Algeria. With a more varied production following *La Guerre sans nom* in the 1990s and 2000s.

Overall trends

While considered separately these four media exhibit differing phasings, when considered together an important pattern emerges. While television, radio, film and print were all significant during the war years, it was the print medium (and to a lesser extent film) which bridged the gap left by the lack of output in television and radio until the early 1980s (See Figure 6). As memories of the war have emerged from the 1980s, so too have the patterns in the production of these media aligned so that in the period since the turn of the millennium it is unclear (at least in terms of production) whether one medium was dominant over the others. The qualitative trends in the corpuses indicate a shift in the construction of the conscripts moving from an ideal of military service in Algeria as a collective duty through to the increasing persistence of individual narratives of the war, often focalised around perceived traumas.

As Dine maligned that the influence of television had overtaken that of fiction and film, the period from 2000 onwards has seen the rising use of the internet as a vector of journalistic media and cultural production. This is a hitherto sparsely explored arena of cultural memory of the Algerian War,¹⁰⁰ and the final case study of this thesis will be to examine the effects of the acceleration between production and reception of *appelé* memory online, in the context of revelations about the French army's torture practises in Algeria, and the continuation of what Blanchard, Bancel and Lemaire have termed *La fracture coloniale*.¹⁰¹ Here the overriding construction of the *appelés* develops in an individualised model of inter-

¹⁰⁰ It must be noted that this lacuna is in the process of being examined. At the 'Algeria Revisited' conference in Leicester University (11–13 April 2012), for example, there were several papers where debates and methodologies for the analysis of digital memory of the Algerian War were discussed, particularly focusing on group identities of the *Pieds Noirs* and the *Harkis* mediated online. Yann Scioldo-Zürcher, 'les usages des nouvelles technologies de l'information et de la communication dans la construction des réseaux identitaires de rapatriés d'Algérie', and Laura Sims, 'The Harkis: Constructing Memory, Identity and Community Online', both gave intriguing perspectives on this dimension of study. This is an area that will surely usher a new critical paradigm in the near future.

¹⁰¹ Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel and Sandrine Lemaire (eds.), *La Fracture coloniale: La France au prisme de son héritage colonial* (Paris: La Découverte, 2005).

victimhood, drawn between competing memory groups in the combative landscape of contemporary digital media.

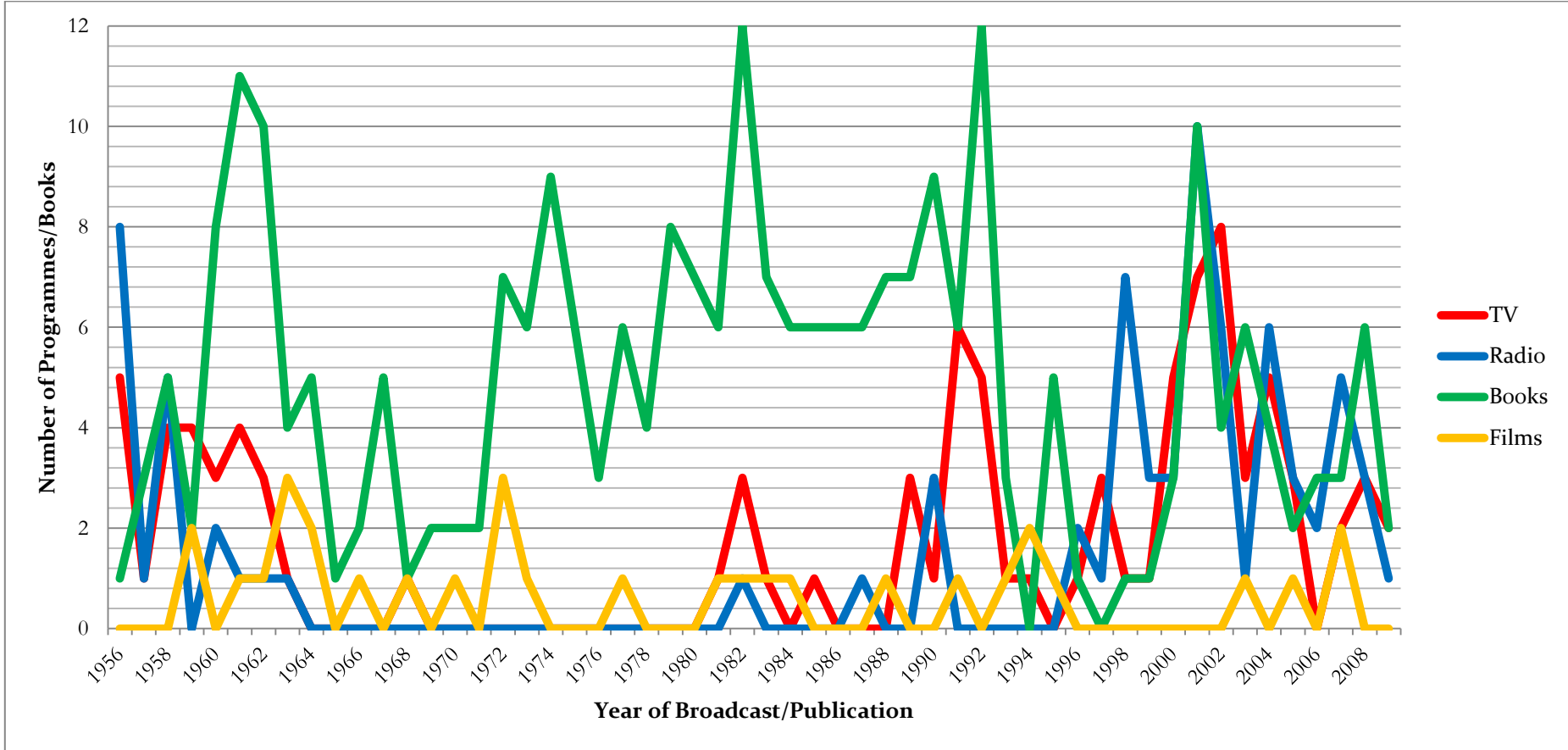


Figure 7: Chart highlighting the relative patterns of cultural artefacts published/broadcasted/released per year in France across Television, Radio and Print and Film media which featured a construction of the Algerian War appelés (1956-2009).

SECTION 5: CONCLUSION

In this introduction we have demonstrated that work on memory of the Algerian War, while beginning to build a concrete understanding of the *contingent's* history and oral testimony, has hitherto failed to fully embrace the rich seam of cultural materials offering a construction of the *appelés*. There is a need, fifty years after the end of the conflict, as this disparate group of men enter old age, to step back and evaluate how their memory has evolved across time, how it intertwines with the shifts in social framework and historiography of the Algerian War, and how media have influenced constructions of their military service.

With reference to the history, theory and methodologies of memory studies we propose to take this thesis forward in an interdisciplinary manner through four detailed textual readings of underappreciated cultural materials, spanning four distinct media and fifty years of the historiography of the conflict. In each chapter we will contextualise the texts against the social frameworks that structured their production and (where possible) reception.

Through such a study we hope to offer concrete examples of the importance of media on memory, suggested by theoretical methodologies of memory studies, and to offer a glimpse at the rich and multifaceted cultural heritage born by the *appelés* of the Algerian War.

CHAPTER 2

Constructions of the Algerian War *appelés* in *Cinq colonnes à la une* (1959–60)

SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION

Anglo-centric historians of television often write of Vietnam as being the first televised war, and much has been written about the way that news bulletins in America framed public perceptions of the conflict.¹ Yet, they often conclude that television produced a ‘highly contrived’ view of events—with the short two minute segments offered by the daily news bulletins creating an overly simplistic vision of the war—focusing on events that were easily represented.² It was thus the sphere of photojournalism that constructed the now widely held memory and iconography that surrounds the Vietnam War. However, while it may have been Vietnam that brought televised war to the world, the Algerian War was the first to be broadcast on French television news, prefiguring the televisionisation of Vietnam, innovating new broadcast techniques and developing novel modes of representation.³ Over the course of this chapter we will outline that while the televisual representation of events in Algeria was often ‘highly contrived’, with the *appelés* often absent, one programme did present a nuanced vision of the *contingent*. This vision resonated with the public in France, generating a memory of the *appelés* ‘at war’ in Algeria, which remains significant in the 21st Century.⁴

This is the case of *Cinq colonnes à la une* [hereafter *Cinq colonnes*], a television news magazine which ran from January 1959 until mid-1969, whose general reputation was built on having broken the taboo of showing the Franco-Algerian

¹ See for example: Marita Sturken, *Tangled memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS epidemic, and the politics of remembering* (London: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 8–11; or Andrew Hoskins, *Televising War: from Vietnam to Iraq* (London: Continuum, 2004), p. 16.

² Hoskins, *Televising War*, p. 16. See also Foucault’s commentary on the televisionisation of Vietnam in: ‘Film and Popular Memory. An interview with Michel Foucault’, trans. by Martin Jordin, *Radical Philosophy*, 2 (Summer 1975), pp. 24–9.

³ Philip Dine, ‘French culture and the Algerian War: mobilizing icons’, *Journal of European Studies*, 28 (1998), 51–68, p. 63.

⁴ In 2009, an article commemorating the 50th anniversary of the first episode of *Cinq colonnes à la une* was included in the French national online cultural archive. The segment ‘Compagnie Opérationnelle d’Algérie’, which will be examined in this chapter is featured prominently. See: Isabelle Veyrat-Masson, ‘La première de Cinq Colonnes à la une’, 2009, online article, <<http://www.archivesdefrance.culture.gouv.fr/action-culturelle/celebrations-nationales/2009/societe-et-economie/la-premiere-de-cinq-colonnes-a-la-une>>, [Accessed: 2 November 2012]. Archived by WebCite at <<http://www.webcitation.org/6EU3MfU2>>.

conflict as a war.⁵ ‘*Cinq colonnes à la une*’ literally translates as a headline spanning five columns of the front page of a newspaper, and thus the programme aimed to bring each month’s headline news stories to life for television viewers. The format of the show was simple: each ninety minute programme, shown at 8.30 p.m. on the first Friday of the month, was composed of around twelve discrete segments covering a variety of news topics. Although, in a bid to avoid censure, the programme made a point of not covering internal politics in France. The formula was a massive success, benefiting from the rapid uptake in television ownership in France of the period, and so legend suggests that French cafés, bars, cinemas and theatres would empty on the nights when *Cinq colonnes* was broadcast.⁶

Four men ran the show: Pierre Lazareff, Pierre Desgraupes, Pierre Dumayet and Igor Barrère, who became known collectively as ‘Les papas’.⁷ Lazareff was the owner of *France-Soir* (the newspaper with the widest circulation in France at the time), and thus was one of the first figures in French television with enough influence to fight against censorship. Desgraupes and Dumayet were broadcasting veterans, having hosted a show for the sole television channel (*Radiodiffusion-télévision française* or RTF) about literature called *Lectures pour tous*, which had built their reputations as formidable interviewers.⁸ Meanwhile Barrère brought considerable experience to the group as a skilled television director. So, as a production team ‘Les papas’ inspired confidence in the French public that their brand of news magazine would be of high quality. Indeed *Cinq colonnes* went on to show the limitations of the nightly television news [the *Journaux Télévisés* or JT] and the mediocre quality of their reports.⁹ As Lazareff remarked in 1959:

⁵ Jérôme Bourdon, ‘Images télévisées de la guerre d’Algérie’, in M. de Bussierre, C. Méadel and C. Ulmann-Mauriat (eds), *Radios et télévision au temps des ‘événements d’Algérie’ 1954–1962* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1999), pp. 119–31 (p. 121).

⁶ K. Tisseyre, ‘La télévision des années 80 et la guerre d’Algérie’ (unpublished Masters thesis, University of Paris VIII, 1995), 20.

⁷ Isabelle Veyrat-Masson, ‘Cinq colonnes à la une’ in *Dictionnaire de la télévision française*, ed. by A. Chauveau and Y. Dehée (Paris: Nouveau Monde éditions, 2007).

⁸ Hélène Bousser Eck and Monique Sauvage, ‘Le règne de *Cinq colonnes*’ in *Télévision nouveau mémoire: Les Grands magazine de reportage, 1959–1968*, ed. by Jean-Noël Jeanneney and Monique Sauvage (Paris: INA & Éditions du Seuil, 1982), p. 46.

⁹ Jean Louis Missikia and Dominique Wolton, *La folle du Logis, le television dans les societies démocratiques* (Paris: Gallimard, 1983), p. 96.

[La television] n'est pas seulement un moyen de transmission, mais la possibilité d'une écriture nouvelle, un vocabulaire neuf pour le journaliste.¹⁰

As such, *Cinq colonnes* and its reporters set about pioneering innovative journalistic techniques which are nowadays commonplace, in particular the integration of in-field footage, interviews with protagonists and reporter commentary in slickly edited segments and the use of overhead shots from a helicopter. All of these feature in the programme's coverage of Algeria. Despite its technical feats, *Cinq colonnes*' interviews also popularised the use of interviews with those affected by news stories, offering a humanised face to the news. As Karine Tisseyre has noted: 'Ce que *Cinq colonnes* recherche, ce n'est pas le jugement définitif d'un expert, mais la façon dont les situations sont vécues au quotidien.'¹¹ These interviews, sometimes even broadcast live, added spectacle to the broadcast and created a tension which captivated audiences.

Through innovating in such a manner, *Cinq colonnes* drew on what theorists of media memory suggest is the defining characteristic of television, its appearance of presentness.

Television is ontologically live, that is to say it is part of its defining character, for it is broadcast and received in the same moment and so always appears as immediate.¹²

The immediacy of television informs and accelerates the transmission of memory, it is a 'technology of memory', allowing a viewer to perceive an event or programme simultaneously with others, and simultaneous to its broadcast.¹³ Certain theorists have thus suggested that television's immediacy (as with other vectors of 'popular' memory) indicates that viewers do not develop a critical distance from a televisual text, they are drawn into the 'live'ness of the images without questioning the discourse behind them. Foucault famously suggested that television was part of an elite apparatus which was reprogramming popular memory: 'people are shown now not what they were, but what they must

¹⁰ 'Entretien avec Pierre Lazareff', *Radio-télé-Cinéma*, 29 March 1959. Lazareff had previously worked in New York and London where he had become fascinated with the medium of television, which was significantly more advanced at that time than in France.

¹¹ Tisseyre, p. 22.

¹² Andrew Hoskins and Ben O'Loughlin, *Television and Terror; conflicting times and the crisis of New Discourse* (Houndsmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), p. 35.

¹³ Sturken, pp. 9–10.

remember having been.¹⁴ Likewise, Guy Debord saw the spectacularisation of society through popular culture as an instrument of unification, framing a state-sponsored memory construct.¹⁵ However, such suggestions, as we saw in the introduction to this thesis, focus on a top-down conceptualisation of cultural memory, which ignores the other highly individual social framings that govern a given text's reception.

Steve Anderson thus suggests that 'part of the power and significance of televisual historiography lies in its flexibility and intangibility in comparison with "official" histories.'¹⁶ This is particularly significant in the case of television during the Algerian War when—given the newness of televisual technologies—State control over television was comprehensive. Yet, in the case of *Cinq colonnes*, the programme's reputation was built on footage from Algeria, the one exception to the producers' rule of not covering political topics, which appeared in direct contrast to the official narrative of 'events' in the country. The programme broadcast twenty-three segments about Algeria before its independence and nineteen afterwards,¹⁷ which were judged as having been original and courageous.¹⁸ Indeed, Pierre Lazareff suggested in a newspaper interview in 1959:

Jusqu'à notre émission, l'Algérie était un sujet tabou ; si on la montrait, c'était derrière un rideau de fumée. Nous avons montré la vérité : car c'est vrai qu'on se bat là-bas, non ?¹⁹

Cinq colonnes' presentation of the Algerian War thus emerges as a site of discursive struggle between the top-down cultural memory production model, and a bottom-up model of receptivity governed by social frameworks.

While *Cinq colonnes*' coverage of the Algerian War has been considered relatively extensively by French academics, many of these studies focus exclusively on the ways in which the programme conformed or diverged from a state-sponsored vision of the war, with few considering the social frameworks of the

¹⁴ Foucault, p. 25.

¹⁵ Guy Debord, *La Société du Spectacle* (Paris: Buchet/Chastel, 1967), p. 10.

¹⁶ Steve Anderson, 'History TV and Popular Memory' in *Television Histories. Shaping Collective Memory in the Media Age*, ed. by Gary R. Edgerton and Peter C. Rollins (Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 19–36, p. 22.

¹⁷ Françoise Lamontaigne, 'Cinq colonnes à la une et l'Algérie, 1959 à 1968' (unpublished Masters thesis, University of Paris VIII, 1998), 36.

¹⁸ Hélène Bousser Eck, 'Cinq colonnes et l'Algérie' in *Télévision nouveau mémoire*, p. 93.

¹⁹ Pierre Lazareff, *France-Observateur*, 7 May 1959.

programme's reception in France.²⁰ Furthermore, studies have tended to look at the general image of Algeria *Cinq colonnes* presented, or when analysing its representation of the groups involved in the war have steered away from the *appelés* in favour of the *Pieds Noirs*, Algerians, *Harkis*, or the professional military.²¹ Thus, while the *contingent is* often mentioned in passing, there has been no sustained treatment of the specificities of *Cinq colonnes'* treatment of the *appelés*, a lacuna that this chapter will address and question.

This analysis takes on extra significance as the *appelés* played a significant role in the segments of the show that anchored *Cinq colonnes'* legacy in France as the first programme to unveil the realities of combat operations in Algeria. Six of its segments considered the role of the *appelés*, and of all the forty-two Algerian segments, those featuring the *appelés* bookended the programme's coverage of Algeria, with 'Compagnie Operationelle' being the first segment of the first episode of *Cinq colonnes* and 'Les Max' being the final segment to deal with Algeria not long before the programme was cancelled. These segments were:

1. 'Compagnie opérationelle d'Algérie' — 09/01/1959 — 16 minutes.
2. 'L'Algérie des combats' — 02/10/1959 — 14 minutes.
3. 'Ils ont parié sur leur avenir' — 01/07/1960 — 14.5 minutes.
4. 'Qu'en pense Alger?' — 02/12/1960 — 2.5 minutes.
5. 'Spécial Algérie' — 05/05/1961 — 18 minutes.
6. 'Les Max... Anciens d'Algérie' — 02/02/1968 — 26 minutes.²²

There were therefore five segments broadcast during the war and one six years after the war's end. We will consider the first three of these segments in this

²⁰ Studies which examine the state control of *Cinq colonnes* include: Aude Vassallo, *La Télévision sous De Gaulle. Le contrôle gouvernemental de l'information - 1958-1969* (Paris: INA-De Boeck, 2005); and Bousser-Eck, 'Cinq colonnes et l'Algérie'.

²¹ For example, Yasmina Sahali has looked exclusively at the programme's representation of Algerian communities, Beatrice Fleury-Vilatte concentrated on the *Pieds Noirs* and the *Harkis*, and Bernard Pacquetau on the professional military. Yasmina Sahali, 'Les représentations des populations algériennes dans Cinq Colonnes à la une, de Janvier 1959 à Avril 1962' (unpublished Masters thesis, University of Paris VII, 1997); Beatrice Fleury-Vilatte, *La Mémoire Télévisuelle de la Guerre d'Algérie (1962-1992)* (Paris: l'INA and l'Harmattan, 2000); Bernard Pacquetau, 'L'armée et la République', in *Télévision Nouveau Mémoire*, pp. 126-61.

²² All of the programmes are archived on the INA 'imago' database, with the following reference numbers: 1. CAF89001859; 2. CAF89053495; 3. CAF90002764; 4. CAF88033222; 5. CAF89046888; 6. CAF90031764. Future references to these segments will be shortened in the body of the text.

chapter, which will allow us to embed our analysis of *Cinq colonnes* within an 18-month timeframe.²³

Of particular note is ‘Compagnie Opérationnelle’, which followed a day in the life of an *appelé* in an operational unit, Sergeant Charly Robert, whose experiences were deemed emblematic of the wider body of military service conscripts in Algeria. This segment is perhaps the most famous of all those produced by *Cinq colonnes*, and is regularly cited as a landmark in French televisual history, with its presentation of an Algerian battlefield particularly influential.²⁴ However, this reputation is based on surprisingly small amounts of footage, two minutes at the end of a sixteen-minute segment. Indeed, of the six segments offering a construction of the *appelés*, only ‘Compagnie Opérationnelle’ and ‘L’Algérie des Combats’, which highlights the work of the 10th Parachutist division during Operation ‘Jumelles’, showed footage of combat operations. So despite the weighting of *appelé* broadcasts towards the war years, more segments investigated how the *appelés*’ military service influenced their experiences after demobilising. This is particularly the case of ‘Ils ont parié’, which develops the stories of *appelés* who chose to stay in Algeria after the end of their military service, contributing to the pacification of the country through the economic growth they promoted.

In order to determine the construction of the *appelés* in these segments, we will approach them through the apparatus afforded by the following questions: Which social frameworks mediated the construction of the Algerian War in *Cinq*

²³ We will leave out the second three segments for the following reasons: The *appelés* play only a minor role in ‘Qu’en pense Alger?’ in which a demobilized *pied-noir* *appelé* is questioned on the political situation in Algiers with particular regard to the referendum on Algerian autodetermination the following month. However, the interview is brief and the former *appelé* speaks mainly from a *pied-noir* perspective rather than as a former military serviceman. In ‘Spécial Algérie’, the role of the contingent in thwarting the Generals’ Putsch of April 1961 is mentioned by the narrator but the segment focuses in particular on the Generals themselves with the contingent playing only a minor role, and no *appelés* interviewed. Finally, ‘Les Max’ is an important segment—perhaps the earliest example of retrospective memory work and testimony by the *appelés*—but given that it was broadcast six years after the end of the war, and was produced by Philippe Labro, author of one of the texts we will consider in the next chapter, we will consider it briefly in the introduction to that chapter.

²⁴ Indeed on the night it was broadcast, television critic, André Brincourt remarked ‘Le reportage dans l’Aurès restera dans nos mémoires comme un des grands moments de la télévision’. André Brincourt, ‘Reflexions sur le magazine’, *Le Figaro*, 12 January 1959, p. 13.

Colonnes? How did the programme relate to its institutional context? How far did the programme adhere to archetypical representations of the *contingent* and the military? And to what extent does modernisation play a role in the representation of the *appelés*?

In order to answer these questions, the chapter will first examine the situation of the *appelés*, considering social perceptions of military service in 1959-60. As we have seen through the introduction to this thesis the phasing of the cultural memory of the Algerian War *appelés* can be closely linked to the evolution of the medium in which the memory was published. So we will then reflect on the social frameworks which influenced televised representations of Algeria in France; in particular the opposing frameworks of the colonial imaginary and the growing force of modernisation during the *trentes glorieuses*. We will also consider *Cinq colonnes*' relationship with the sole television channel, the state controlled RTF. Following this, we will develop a detailed thematic reading of the three segments, considering their technical aspects, alongside the construction of the *appelés* they embody. This reading will demonstrate that the segments' portrayal of the *contingent* strongly coheres with archetypical representations of the colonial era, synonymous with the state framing of the conflict elsewhere on television. However, we will also elaborate the ways in which *Cinq colonnes*' status at the technological vanguard of the televisual medium, incorporated family narratives into advanced technological premises, and chimed with the social framework of modernisation, reinforcing its depiction of a modern military on the battlefield. We will therefore argue that *Cinq colonnes*' coverage of the Algerian War was a contact-zone where television, while establishing itself as a symbol of modernisation, probed colonial images; the programme's construction of the *contingent* set the social frameworks of the colonial imaginary and modernisation into juxtaposed tension, generating a memory of the *appelés* at war that has persisted across time.

SECTION 2: SOCIAL FRAMEWORKS

It has been widely argued that the silences surrounding the Algerian War in the period following the end of the conflict were largely engineered by two vectors of collective memory: the state and social factors.²⁵ In this section we will therefore consider the social perception of military service in this period, as well as assessing the image of Algeria (or lack thereof) on state-television, and the modes through which control was exerted on this medium. We will also detail two social frameworks that intertwined with cultural memories of Algeria: the colonial imaginary and modernisation. The combination of these factors will be key in our reading of *Cinq colonnes'* construction of the *appelés*.

i) Social perceptions of military service in Algeria

French experiences during the Algerian War period were shaped, in part, by previous wars. With the mass conscription and losses of the First World War partially fought on French soil and Germany's occupation of France in the Second World War. So for the generations older than the *appelés*, perhaps their parents or grandparents, serving in the military had significant personal and social connotations regarding defending French territory, and serving French interests. This was particularly true after Charles de Gaulle came to power in 1959, himself a symbol of French resistance in the Second World War; de Gaulle introduced a commemorative agenda celebrating the work of the resistance in metropolitan France.²⁶ This agenda aimed to lift public perceptions of French greatness in an era when, with the collapse of empire, France's global influence was waning. Yet, during the thirty years which followed the Second World War, the *trentes glorieuses*, through post-war reconstruction and embracing American-style capitalism,

²⁵ See the discussion models of Algerian War memory in the thesis introduction, particularly those put forward by Benjamin Stora and Jo McCormack.

²⁶ Stora has remarked that forty-three military museums were built in the 1960s, commemorating the First and Second world wars. (*Gangrène et Oubli*, p.221) Gilles Manceron and Georges Kantin's 1991 book *Les Échos de la mémoire* established that the memory of the resistance instigated by De Gaulle's policies created a founding political myth that endured up until (and beyond) 1990s politics.

France's economy and standards of living rose significantly. While this was clearly a sign of progress, amidst this advancement and the general lack of legitimacy given to the Algerian conflict by the French government, it seems fair to suggest, as Anne Rossi has put forward, that:

[...] les anciens combattants des guerres 1914-1918 et 1939-1945 estimaient qu'il n'y avait pas eu de guerre en Algérie, et que les actions menées par les soldats français envoyés sur le sol algérien n'avaient pas l'envergure des leurs.²⁷

While few parents would have wished for their children to relive the ardours of the First and Second World Wars, older generations of Frenchmen saw military service as a rite of passage through which young men shared France's military heritage, served the interests of France and became men.²⁸ This ideology of duty to France was significant as it highlighted the burden borne by previous generations for the benefit of the generation of the *appelés*. In this context, returning *appelés* felt unable to speak with family and acquaintances about their experiences, and thus shared in a broad social silence around the war. Stora has read these silences as a sense of indifference: the evidence was available to interpret Algerian 'events' as war, but families and society at large chose the easier path, accepting state discourse at face value. '*La société sait, mais se contente de partager le secret d'une guerre non déclarée.*'²⁹

Official outlets were however actively engaged in nurturing benign perceptions of military service in Algeria. *Appelés* were actively encouraged by the military to paint a rosy picture in their letters home, which would have only served to reinforce perceptions of experiences in Algeria being incomparable with those of the World Wars. Army newspaper *Le Bled* advised in 1956, 'N'employez pas, pour faire bien, des mots beaucoup trop forts, et très loin de la réalité.'³⁰ Similarly, in an effort at counter-propaganda *Le Bled* would publish letters aimed at dispelling suggestions made by mainland French newspapers about army discontent and misconduct in Algeria.³¹ As we shall see in the textual analysis of *Cinq colonnes*, television was also a vector in managing this perception. So, while

²⁷ Anne Rossi, 'La Guerre d'Algérie. Trente ans après', *Mémoire de maîtrise en Histoire contemporaine*, Octobre 1994. (Université Paul Valéry, Montpellier III), p. 35.

²⁸ Jean-Pierre Vittori, *Nous les appelés d'Algérie*, (Paris : Stock, 1977), pp. 217-8.

²⁹ Stora, *La Gangrène et l'Oubli*, p. 73. Emphasis kept from original.

³⁰ *Le Bled*, No 95, 16 July 1956, p. 5. Cited in Stora, *La Gangrène et l'Oubli*, p. 55.

³¹ Stora, *La Gangrène et l'Oubli*, p. 55

military service in Algeria was a shared experience in the sense that it affected the entire family: the *appelé* sent abroad, while the family remained in France; there were fundamental differences in the way the war was perceived on each side of the Mediterranean.

In addition to the specific perceptions of military service, there were two broad social frameworks that structured perceptions of events in Algeria, which have a bearing on cultural constructions of the *appelés* in the late 1950s and early 1960s: the colonial imaginary and the forces of modernisation.

ii) *Colonial imaginary*

Society's understanding of military service in this period must also be put in the context of the colonial imaginary which developed throughout the period following France's conquest of Algeria in 1830. While the colonial imaginary applied to all regions of France's empire, it found a particular locus in Algeria, as the closest colony to France, with the largest exchange of populations, and the creation (in 1871) of the departments of Algiers, Oran and Constantine (and the later southern territories). Algeria was seen as the jewel in the imperial crown, as the adage went, 'La Méditerranée traverse la France comme la Seine traverse Paris'.³²

Robert Aldrich's work has extensively argued that French colonialism and the entailing export of French values overseas to a greater France can be read as 'compensation for a deficit of manliness in France'.³³ Particularly, as Aldrich has analysed, because 'the very acts of colonisation – exploration, conquest, development of natural resources, pacification of *indigènes*, the governance of new domains – were associated in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century thought with the male gender.'³⁴ Colonialism offset societal difficulties in the hexagon (such as the military defeat of 1870-71 Franco-Prussian War, falling birth rates,

³² Indeed, this saying was at its most prominent during the final years of the Algerian War amongst the pro-*Algérie Française* community.

³³ Robert Aldrich, 'Colonial Man', in *French masculinities: history, culture, and politics*, ed. by Christopher E. Forth and Bertrand Taithe (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 125.

³⁴ Robert Aldrich, *Greater France – A History of French Overseas Expansion*, (London: Macmillan Press, 1996), p. 154.

fears of degeneration and contestatory social and cultural currents) with the building of a strong French heritage overseas.³⁵ Indeed, the French empire (as did many others) was at its most legitimate ideologically, in the inter-war years when these pressures reached a peak in Western Europe. The Colonial Exhibition of 1931 in Paris for example, (which celebrated in part the 100th anniversary of the conquest of Algeria), attracted exhibitors from all major colonial empires and attracted thirty-three million visitors in its 6-month run.³⁶ Embedded within this empire building was the idea of France's 'mission civilisatrice', the duty to civilise the 'primitive' and 'savage' races of the colonies, through Christian evangelism, education, infrastructure building, and healthcare. The colonial soldier was seen as instrumental in this endeavour. The colonial system developed in a particularly gendered manner whereby 'empire reinforced patriarchy and was a test of a nation's virility'.³⁷ Despite the popularity of the colonies in this period, distaste for military service after the First World War led to colonial recruitment dwindling.³⁸ Hence, recruitment tactics changed, with posters emphasising a positive masculine construction of colonial troops, as well as the non-military tasks that the colonial soldier would perform.

Military service in the colonies was nevertheless an inherently virile endeavour. 'Masculine' traits, such as bravery, honour, duty and youthful vigour were seen as the ideal characteristics in the army, building a myth of the colonial soldier as a bastion of honourable values, who could 'master his base urges and subsume lust to the superior goals of civilization: a 'higher' masculinity reserved for the white man'.³⁹ These traits came to be embodied in representations of the *Parachutistes* [Paratroopers], who were seen to be the infallible units of the French army, single-handedly rescuing situations such as the Battle of Algiers in 1956-57.⁴⁰

³⁵ Aldrich, 'Colonial Man', p. 125.

³⁶ Theresa A. Leininger-Miller, *New Negro Artist in Paris: African American Painters & Sculptors in the City of Light, 1922-1934* (Piscataway, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2001), p. 54.

³⁷ Aldrich, 'Colonial Man', p. 123.

³⁸ Eric Deroo, *L'illusion Coloniale* (Paris: Éditions Tallandier, 2005), p. 96.

³⁹ Aldrich, 'Colonial Man', p. 135.

⁴⁰ See: Jacques Pâris de Bollardière, *Bataille d'Alger, Bataille de l'homme* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1972).

The prevalence of this social framework and the State's long history of fostering it through colonial propaganda, meant that it maintained strong influence even in the dying throes of the Algerian War. Thus the state rhetoric surrounding the 'événements' in Algeria labelled the FLN as terrorists and their army (the *Armée de Liberation Nationale* or ALN) as rebels causing civil unrest amidst both the settler and indigenous populations. Meanwhile it labelled the French army as a stabilising, peacekeeping force involved in *pacification*, which involved the construction of a better Algeria through schools, medical expertise and stable infrastructure. The *contingent* stood at the forefront of this work.

iii) Modernisation

By the late 1950s however, a competing framework was beginning to overtake the influence of the colonial imaginary, the force of modernisation. In *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies*, Kristin Ross has detailed how the modernising and americanising impulses in France during the decade prior to May 1968 were a reaction against the history of decolonisation. Ross elaborates how these impulses were used as a framework upon which the forgetting of the Algerian War was laid.⁴¹ This narrative of 'newness' offered by modernisation, consumerism and its trappings acted as a totalising metanarrative, separating perceptions of 'old' imperial France from contemporary life, and thus relegating colonialism into a distant temporal space. Thus the experiences of the *appelés*, having spent two years in stasis in Algeria, found no place in the France of their return, like Benjamin Stora suggests:

Dans ce tourbillon, comment pouvaient-ils se faire entendre, ceux qui « crapahutèrent » dans les djebels [...] ? Dans l'euphorie du « progrès », chacun cède à la pression de l'immédiat, happé par l'avalanche des nouveautés et de la consommation.⁴²

A number of symbols came to embody France's thrust toward modernity; above all others came the car. The number of cars in France went from 2,150,000 to 7,885,400 between 1950 and 1960.⁴³ The car was a symbol of mobility and individual freedom, to travel where and when once liked, made glamorous by its

⁴¹ Kristin Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies* (London: The MIT Press, 1996).

⁴² Stora, *La Gangrène et l'Oubli*, p. 214.

⁴³ Stora, *La Gangrène et l'Oubli*, p. 212.

stylised depiction by Hollywood and French cinema alike, and was the ‘categorical imperative of the economic order’.⁴⁴ It facilitated the restructuring of French society; removing long held ideas of the French citizen as rooted in the soil of France and instead offered seemingly infinite possibilities. Transportation more widely saw a huge increase in usage, with plane journeys increasing fivefold, electrified train lines doubling in length and the building of the *autoroute* system.⁴⁵ Mobility was at the heart of modernisation.

However, symbols of modernisation were also found in the home. Significant in this arena was the television, which brought audio-visual entertainment into people’s houses for the first time, offering greater freedom and flexibility to watch what one wanted when one chose. While society itself was restructuring and modernising so too did television grow, with 800,000 television sets in 1958 rising to 3,000,000 by 1962.⁴⁶ This meant that in 1959, around half the French population had access to a television.⁴⁷

At a metasocial level therefore, *Cinq colonnes*’ coverage of the Algerian War was a contact-zone where television, while establishing itself as a symbol of modernisation, reached into and probed colonial images. Furthermore, in choosing the *appelés* as a subject matter, *Cinq colonnes* depicted a liminal group caught in the interstices between generational perceptions of military service and the *contingent*’s daily lived experiences in a colonial war. This chapter will argue that these tensions were crucial in establishing the image of the *appelés* in *Cinq colonnes*, and in anchoring the programme within its audience’s memory as a significant milestone in televisual history. However, before examining the segments themselves we must also set out the context of how the Algerian War was framed elsewhere on French television.

iv) State framing of the Algerian War on television

⁴⁴ Ross, p. 22.

⁴⁵ Stora, *La gangrène et l’oubli*, p. 212.

⁴⁶ Stora, *La gangrène et l’oubli*, p. 42.

⁴⁷ Lamontaigne, ‘Cinq colonnes à la une et l’Algérie’, p. 11.

The televisual reporting of conflicts was in its infancy during the Algerian War. Television news bulletins [JT] were first aired in France in 1949, although at this point news broadcasting was monopolised by cinema newsreels, as television had little penetration into French society. However, in 1959 despite the burgeoning number of television sets in France, the JT remained unpopular. This can be linked to a number of factors including: firstly, the RTF offered meagre amounts of funding to the JT and they therefore had little access to original footage from outside France. (Camera equipment was heavy and lacked portability, processing times for developing film stock were long and cost-effective solutions for synchronising sound with video were hard to come by). Secondly and perhaps because of these difficulties in creating original footage for broadcast, newsreaders did little more than read pre-prepared press briefings. Evidence to the paucity of depth of the JT is that in 1959 they employed only four overseas news correspondents, and their coverage of Algeria was mainly through footage obtained from the *Service Cinématographique des Armées* [SCA], which was the army's media arm.⁴⁸ The French army had a monopoly on battlefield video and photography through restricting broadcast licenses and thus controlled output through the SCA. This meant that French journalists and photographers were frequently restricted to covering events in Algiers, other large towns, or relying on the army's highly regulated material. In an interview with *Le Monde* on the 10th November 1959, the incoming director of the JT said "Le journal télévisé n'est pas un vrai journal, c'est d'abord du spectacle".⁴⁹

This sentiment was compounded by the increasing control the State leveraged over television following De Gaulle's return to power. Through the latter half of 1958 and early 1959 De Gaulle's government took almost complete control of the RTF, by shifting it under the administrative structures in the Information Ministry.⁵⁰ Indeed by February 1959 the RTF was the 'organe officiel, monopole' of the Information Ministry with De Gaulle's government utterly

⁴⁸ Tisseyre, pp. 13-4.

⁴⁹ Jérôme Bourdon, *Haute fidélité : Pouvoir et télévision, 1935-1994* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1994), p. 66.

⁵⁰ For more on this see: Christian Brochand, *Histoire Générale de la radio et de la télévision en France. Tome II. 1944-1974* (Paris : La Documentation française, 1994), p. 88.

convinced that television was the ultimate weapon of propaganda.⁵¹ Roger Frey, the information minister, said in an interview with *Le Monde* in 1959:

‘L’État dispose d’un moyen de communication qui est un relais entre lui-même et l’opinion publique. Il serait absurde que l’État livre ce moyen à tous ceux qui, dans la presse ou ailleurs, ne cherchent qu’à vilipender son action, à la saborder...’⁵²

Frey held control over what went out over the airwaves; with particular focus on news programmes that were subject to rigorous censorship. Censorship of television was the most effective censorship of all forms of media, mainly because as Karine Tisseyre has noted, as a new field of the French media landscape, television producers, directors and journalists did not have the notoriety, experience or autonomy necessary to beat the censors.⁵³

Examples of censorship on the JT abound, the ‘Manifeste des 121’ for example was conspicuously left out of the television news bulletins, despite dominating the headlines of French newspapers for several days.⁵⁴ These forms of censorship were remarked upon in the first edition of *L’Ancien d’Algérie*, newspaper of the largest *appelé* association, FNACA, in December 1958:

Notre génération, elle, dans “sa guerre”, n’a pas le secours de la radio anglaise pour fuir *Radio-Paris* : elle doit subir les programmes de la RTF. ... La vision d’Algérie proposée aux français est truquée, mais le plus souvent, il s’agit du mensonge par omission !⁵⁵

As this example shows, there was a clear resistance to the programming of the RTF with veteran *appelés* writing openly about the omissions created by the censorship regime. It is fair to surmise therefore that the JT were thus seen as lacking an authentic and original voice in news production.⁵⁶

Like all other television broadcasts of the era, *Cinq colonnes* walked a fine line with censorship by the Information Ministry. While the reputations of the production team gave the show an aura of authenticity in the eyes of the public, and Lazareff’s influence helped the programme win some battles, De Gaulle

⁵¹ Lamontaigne, p. 12.

⁵² Roger Frey, *Le Monde*, 12th July 1959. Cited by: Jean Montaldo, *Dossier O.R.T.F.: tous coupables, Censure et autocensure s’intensifient* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1974), p. 132.

⁵³ Tisseyre, pp. 14–5.

⁵⁴ Bourdon, *Haute fidélité*, p. 66.

⁵⁵ Editorial, *L’Ancien d’Algérie*, December 1958, p. 7.

⁵⁶ Missikia and Wolton, p. 96.

reportedly disliked the programme and it went through the same processes as many other programmes when its segments were deemed controversial. As Michel Honorin, a frequent reporter on the show has revealed:

La veille de la diffusion sur un sujet comme l'Algérie par exemple, il y avait tout le « gâteau » des ministres et des généraux concernés [at a private screening] [...] S'il y avait un gendarme dans le sujet, automatiquement, il y avait un patron de le [sic.] gendarmerie.⁵⁷

Nevertheless, the production team's sensitivity to which subjects they could treat and which they should leave, the programme's political stance which was close to that of the government, and the avoidance of most domestic political issues meant that instances of actual censorship were rare.⁵⁸ On segments relating to the army, the team collaborated with senior officers on a regular basis, firstly to obtain permission to film, and secondly to develop the theme of the segment – there was therefore a strict form of censorship imposed on the programme makers from an early stage.⁵⁹ *Cinq colonnes* did not therefore broadcast any segment about the army which had not been agreed upon at every level of production. Pierre Desgraupes publically commented in a newspaper interview during the war:

Il y a très peu de censure [...] Il y a seulement des pressions politiques qui nous font choisir tel sujet. Une seule séquence, sur l'Algérie, a sauté il y a un an environ. La meilleure défense de l'émission contre la censure ? Sa très grande popularité auprès du public.⁶⁰

There is an inconsistency between the suggestion that the programme avoided censorship because of its wide audience, and the detailed partnership between the production team and the army which was involved in broadcasting segments about Algeria: Why were *Cinq colonnes*' Algerian segments so popular if they were controlled in a similar manner to the JT? How did *Cinq colonnes* differentiate itself? These tensions will be important in the next section's discussion of the three segments about the *appelés* as we will argue that this demarcation occurred in the technological and televisual innovations of *Cinq colonnes*, which linked it into the social framework of modernisation. This would forge a stark and uneasy contrast

⁵⁷ Michel Honorin, interviewed by Hervé Brusini et Francais James, *Voyage au centre de l'info*, France 2, January 1999.

⁵⁸ Aude Vassallo, 'Le contrôle Gouvernemental de l'information télévisée sous Charles de Gaulle, 1958-1964' (unpublished [doctoral] thesis, University of Paris VII, 2000), p. 280.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

⁶⁰ Pierre Desgraupes, *L'écho de la presse*, 25 March 1961, p. 12.

with the otherwise stereotypically colonial construction of the *appelés* in the segments.

SECTION 3: TELEVISUAL READINGS

In this section, we will put together a detailed thematic analysis of the construction of the *contingent* in ‘Companie opérationelle’, ‘L’Algérie des combats’ and ‘Ils ont parié’. Through this analysis, we will examine the ways in which *Cinq colonnes* conformed with and diverged from State representations of the Algerian War, and the ways in which the programme interacted with the social frameworks of the colonial imaginary and modernisation. This analysis will highlight that despite the limited scope of the footage, the medium of television was vital in building a construction of the *contingent* at war which resonated (and continues to resonate) strongly in France.

It will be germane to this textual analysis to briefly examine the historical context of the period that the segments were broadcast, so as to understand the concerns of the media regarding Algeria in the period. While this context will be useful in understanding why the segments were commissioned, our reading of the segments will demonstrate the importance of the social frameworks over and above the primary political concerns of the period, as a means of explaining the construction of the *appelés* on *Cinq colonnes*:

‘Compagnie Opérationelle’ was broadcast on the 9th January 1959, the day after De Gaulle was officially inaugurated as president. However, as we have seen, *Cinq colonnes* rarely dealt with matters of internal politics in France, and De Gaulle’s presidency was not explicitly reported by the programme.⁶¹ Instead, ‘Compagnie Opérationelle’ was given top billing in the episode, highlighting from the outset how significant a subject Algeria would be to the programme. At this time the military were focused on the pacification of Algeria, although 1959 saw a surge in the number of *ratissage* operations where the army attempted to win the war militarily rather than politically or socially, through the implementing the *Plan Challe*. The army under General Challe was convinced that these operations would lead to the war being won with no recourse to further negotiations with the

⁶¹ There was however a segment entitled ‘Les petits fils De Gaulle’, which looked at De Gaulle’s wider family.

FLN.⁶² ‘L’Algérie des Combats’ aired at the peak of the *Plan Challe*, and the segment has been read by Lamontaigne as an explicit illustration of the army’s strategy to win the war by force.⁶³ We will focus however on the way in which the *contingent* is integrated into the segment, as their role diverges significantly from that of the professional military. From September 1959, De Gaulle’s government began to move away from pro-*Algérie Française* rhetoric and offered Algeria the chance for self-determination. This led to increasing tension in Algeria from within the civilian *Pieds-Noir* community, who, given the ramifications of French withdrawal from Algeria became increasingly militant. The ‘semaine des barricades’ of January 1960, where *Pieds-Noirs* barricaded the centre of Algiers, demanding the retention of *Algérie Française*, was one incident evidencing this growing unease. The first official talks between the FLN *Gouvernement Provisoire de la République Algérienne* [GPRA] and the French Government took place in June 1960, just prior to the airing of ‘Ils ont parié’, although these talks resolved little; but nevertheless the political future of the country was uncertain.

From this very brief overview, it is clear that the political and military focus in Algeria saw a relatively profound shift over the 18-month period between the broadcast of these three segments: from pacificatory strategies through strong military action to open talk about independence. Yet, as we shall see over the course of this analysis, while the ostensible focus of the three segments were different, the construction of the *contingent* remained relatively coherent. Indeed reception of the segments focused on the technological innovations and human stories related by the programme, rather than linking the segments to the political context. In writing about ‘Compagnie Opérationelle’ for example Janick Arbois picked out the avant-garde nature of the programmes news reporting: ‘*Cinq colonnes à la une* n’a sans doute pas trouvé son équilibre et son rythme, mais cette émission-choc représente sans doute la télévision de demain.’⁶⁴ While André Brincourt suggested the segment was a televisual landmark: ‘Le reportage dans l’Aurès restera dans nos mémoires comme un des grands moments de la

⁶² Indeed, by spring of 1960 the army thought that the war had been won citing the example of the successes of pacification in the Oran region where ‘civilian vehicles could [...] circulate without escort in the rural areas’. Benjamin Stora, *Algeria 1830–2000: A Short History*, trans. by Jane Marie Todd (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001), p. 78.

⁶³ Lamontaigne, pp. 40–1.

⁶⁴ Janick Arbois, ‘Une théraputique de choc’, *Le Monde*, 11 January 1959, p. 11.

télévision.⁶⁵ Furthermore, despite ‘l’Algérie des combats’ focus on combat and links to the military strategy, Arbois suggested that the segment ‘nous a apporté non pas l’écho des événements politiques mais un nouveau document direct et humain sur la guerre difficile que mènent les combattants des djebels.’⁶⁶

Over the rest of this chapter, in line with this receptive context, we will focus our analysis, in turn, on the four primary themes which built the construction of the *contingent*. These are: *mission civilisatrice* and *pacification*; colonial masculinity; family bonds; and the battlefield. We will firstly look at how *Cinq colonnes* constructed the *appelés* as a collective *contingent* embedded within a colonial imaginary, through their commitment to French values—and *mission civilisatrice*—and through detailing the numerous means of pacification in which they were involved. We will then examine how this extended to the level of a colonial masculinity, with the *appelés* represented in mainly dominating, hypervirile modes akin to colonial stereotypes. We shall then study the ways in which the programme drew on the framework of modernisation, embedding symbols of progress into the fabric and content of the broadcasts: firstly through the links between the *appelés* and their families in France; and then secondly in depicting a modern and technologically advanced battlefield.

While we will determine that the first two themes have striking parallels with the vision of Algeria portrayed elsewhere on State-controlled television, it is in the second two thematics that *Cinq colonnes* demarcated itself from other productions. This contrast—between typically colonial settings and tropes on the one hand, and a modern, fighting *contingent* on the other—would act as a fissure in the State narrative and generate the enduring memory of *Cinq colonnes* showing the *contingent* at war in Algeria.

⁶⁵ André Brincourt, ‘Reflexions sur le magazine’, *Le Figaro*, 12 January 1959, p. 13.

⁶⁶ Janick Arbois, ‘Cinq Colonnes à la une fait sa rentrée’, *Le Monde*, 4 October 1959, p. 15.

i) *Mission civilisatrice and pacification*

While the title of ‘Compagnie Opérationnelle’ implies that the segment focussed on the work of an operational unit of *appelés*, the majority of the segment (twelve of its sixteen minutes) is dedicated to the pacification work of the unit. The segment shows examples of the main pillars of pacification: medical assistance, education, maintaining infrastructure and building links in indigenous Algerian communities. Consequently, the programme intimates that even in an ‘operational’ unit, a very significant proportion of an *appelé*’s time would be spent undertaking pacification.

The balance between these concepts is broached from the outset of the segment where, as establishing shots, the camera pans across a valley guarded by a small group of French soldiers in a sniper position accompanied by an atmospheric piece of orchestral music. The *contingent* appears as if on operation. The next shot cuts down into the valley as a convoy of trucks passes below, transporting goods and the *Cinq colonnes* team. We thus discover that the soldiers are in fact not out on operation but are a greeting party, welcoming the television crew to their post. While not necessarily an explicit evocation of *pacification*, the series of shots demonstrates the way in which the army had secured the main infrastructure routes for safe passage of people and supplies.

The body of the segment is focalised around the daily routine of Sergeant Charly Robert and offers several examples of his work with the Algerian community.⁶⁷ The first of these is the medical assistance he offers with his friend, the *Taleb* [medic] of the unit.⁶⁸ A series of shots pans from the French command post out to the Algerian countryside, a narration by Lieutenant Heduy—a colleague of Sergeant Robert—comments: ‘et au delà des murs de ce poste : Le Djebel et dans ce Djebel les fellaghas’.⁶⁹ The shot then cuts to Sergeant Robert

⁶⁷ The spelling of ‘Charly’ used here is taken from the documentary *Les Années Algériennes*, where Stora interviews Robert, others have used the spelling ‘Charlie’. *Les Années Algériennes, 2: Les tricheurs*, dir by P. Alfonsi, B. Favre, P. Pesnot and B. Stora, (INA/France 2 – Nouvel Observateur, 1991).

⁶⁸ *Taleb* is Arabic for ‘students’, it is thus an odd name for French *appelé* medic; it perhaps refers to the *Taleb*’s role as a schoolteacher. It contrasts against the typical military slang for a medic as a ‘Toubib’.

⁶⁹ Heduy was an officer from Sergeant Robert’s company. Following the war he published a number of pro-military books about the war, including: *Algérie française: 1942-1962* (Paris: Société de production littéraire, 1980); and *Au lieutenant des Taglaïts* (Paris: Société de protection littéraire, 1983).

and the *Taleb* approaching a *mechta*, a traditional earthen house. With the words ‘Djebel’ and ‘fellaghas’ relating to the ALN, who hid amidst the mountain communities, there is a sense of tension, heightened by the extra-diegetic music which crescendos as the two men enter the house. However, in the next shot, the two men are met convivially by an Algerian man, with tea already prepared, and the *Taleb* sets about examining a child who appears weak and infirm. Heduy explains further:

Une scène comme celle-ci était absolument impensable il y a deux ans, c’est parce que pendant plusieurs mois Charly et le Taleb se sont promenés dans les mechtas que vous pouvez voir ces images.

The commentary is adamant that pacification of the area has enabled these peaceful interactions between Frenchmen and Algerians, meaning that the *appelés* can help bring advancements, such as medical assistance offered by the *Taleb*, to rural areas of Algeria. This was a key element of the French civilising mission and tactic to win indigenous Algerian support for French rule.

The *Taleb’s* role in pacification is further elaborated in the sequence which follows the one in the *mechta*. The *Taleb* invites the reporters to observe his other role in the unit, as a teacher. The reporter elaborates that the section had set up a primary school in their former command post. This highlights the very significant pacificatory emphasis of the unit, having converted their military infrastructure (the command post) into a social resource (a school). The segment then cuts to a bustling classroom filled with eighty young Algerian boys and girls. Heduy’s commentary emphasises that two years previously there were only one or two students and it was due to Robert and the *Taleb’s* continued interactions with the local people that children had started to come to the school. The lesson taught by the *Taleb* is also strongly imbued with French Republican values, he pronounces a phrase written on the board for the children to repeat, ‘je ne porte pas de chèche à l’école’, thus teaching secularism [*laïcité*], to the young people of Algeria, another pillar of the civilising mission.

Following the scenes in the interior of the school, the camera moves outside to a playground where Sergeant Robert is teaching sports. The children are once again shown as being joyous and energetic, playing football with the *appelés*, despite the pitch being surrounded by barbed wire. Furthermore, there are

few Algerian adults around, showing the level of trust established between the army and the indigenous community.

These tableaux, of the various forms of pacification the ‘operational’ unit is involved with, make up more than two-thirds of the segment’s running time, showing the work of the contingent as being first and foremost involved in worthwhile causes within the local Algerian community, and particularly promoting the welfare of Algerian children. As a result, *Cinq colonnes* builds a sense of familial pride in the work of the *appelés*, linking the narrative of the segment to the social framework of the colonial imaginary through ideas of civilising mission and France’s duty as a motherland to Algeria.

A second group of men involved in *pacification* are the former conscripts who decided to make Algeria their home after finishing their military service. In ‘Compagnie Opérationnelle’, the *Cinq colonnes* reporter on the group in Algeria, Roland Hulot, interviews a teacher at Sergeant Robert’s school who decided to stay on teaching full-time after his demobilisation. The unnamed interviewee suggests that he deemed his experiences educating Algerian children more worthwhile than returning to France, where he was yet to find a career path. This connection between the professional future of the conscripts and the future of Algeria is further developed in ‘Ils ont parié’, which, although broadcast at a date when the future of *Algérie française* looked uncertain, develops a model of *appelé* settlers as a means of securing a prosperous future for the country.

The segment opens by stating that the French government was offering advantageous loans for any metropolitan French citizen who wanted to emigrate to Algeria, offering an incentive to build French presence in the country while simultaneously boosting the Algerian economy. Rather than calling this new breed of colonisers *Pieds-Noirs*, the segment gives them a new appellation, *Métropolitains Installés*, demarcating them from the descendants of the long-term colonisers and the segment aims to discover if they bring a ‘mentalité neuve’ to living in Algeria.

Depuis trois ans, 1.700.000 jeunes du contingent ont fait leur temps en Algérie. Une fois démobilisés 20.000 d’entre eux ont choisi d’y rester, d’y vivre. 20.000 c’est plus qu’une anecdote, c’est presque un élément du dossier algérien – ce pourrait être l’amorce d’une population nouvelle, d’une mentalité neuve. Nous avons voulu rencontrer quelques uns de ces nouveaux habitants d’Algérie, et d’abord, pourquoi sont-ils restés ?

These statistics suggest that the *Métropolitains Installés* make up, even by the most generous of estimates less than 2% of all the conscripts who served in Algeria. However, through including the details of these *appelés* in two of its segments, *Cinq colonnes* gave this group of *appelés* a disproportionate airing in comparison with those who returned to France, furthering the suggestion that the *appelés* are committed to the pacification of the country.

‘*Ils ont parié*’ builds a specifically exotic vision of Algeria. In the establishing shots of the segment, the viewer can discern amongst other elements in the rapid montage: soldiers bustling around a busy shipyard, a trained monkey on the streets, camels trotting down the roadside and a soldier with a regimental dog. This is definitely somewhere other than mainland France. However, with one exception (a mosaic maker), the professions of the *appelés* featured in the programme are typically French, contrasting starkly with the exotic backdrop—skilled workers, a mechanic, an accountant, a dentist, and a farmer—the men are thus bringing skills into Algeria that were lacking in a growing economy. While some of the men are based in the cities, several (the mechanic, the mosaic maker) are based in rural areas, and are therefore involved with the local indigenous population in a similar manner to the soldiers of Sergeant Robert’s section, offering *pacification* through increasing the level of services that France brings to Algeria.

While his skills are unusual, the mosaic maker is a particularly striking case. An unemployed artist prior to his military service, he decided to stay in Algeria in 1959 and set up a mosaic workshop in a dangerous area of the *Bled*. The segment depicts him in a modern workshop, in a scenic part of rural Algeria, alongside an array of Algerian workers, young and old, presumably his employees. He therefore appears as if a part of the indigenous Algerian community, providing opportunities to work and integrating Frenchmen and Algerians.

Thus the segment evokes an economic form of *pacification* brought about by the former *appelés*, bringing skills and wealth to Algeria through industry and entrepreneurship, alongside the more traditional forms of *pacification* as embodied by the army’s efforts in ‘Compagnie Opérationnelle’. As the narration comments:

Au fond, le pari qu'ils ont fait réside dans cette façon de voir, la prospérité actuelle évidente de l'Algérie les incite. C'est sur l'avenir économique qu'ils ont parié, pensant que dans un pays en pleine croissance il ne pourrait y avoir des problèmes politiques insurmontables.

The segment can thus be seen to bring together the colonial regime and modernisation, although in this instance, the *appelés* are working to move Algeria away from a colonial past towards a more modern economic future, replacing the camels by the roadside at the start of the segment with the infrastructure offered by the former *appelés* such as the mechanics.

So, as with the other forms of *pacification* evidenced in 'Compagnie Opérationnelle', 'Ils ont parié' builds a strong case for the benefits that the *contingent* brought to Algeria, during and indeed after their military service. These ideas are symbolised in a colonial imaginary of France as a civilising and enriching mother, but also in its new wave of *appelé* settlers bringing with them a set of patriarchal values. We shall examine this construction further in our next section which considers the theme of colonial masculinity. However, it is worth noting here that the abundance of positive images of the colonial imaginary in these two segments is inconsistent with the medium through which they were broadcast on television. As we examined in our social frameworks, television was a symbol of the force of modernisation, and yet in these segments television acts as an envelope for set of distinctly colonial values. While this inconsistency does not preclude the co-existence of these social frameworks, it is a tension which, as we shall examine in due course, would find a fracture in *Cinq Colonnes*' depiction of the Algerian battlefield.

ii) *Colonial masculinity*

While the actions of the *appelés* featured in ‘Compagnie Opérationnelle’ and ‘Ils ont parié’ are mainly pacificatory, building an image coherent with the ideology of France’s *mission civilisatrice*, the construction of the *appelés* in these segments also strongly adheres to archetypical representations of a colonial masculinity. In this section we will develop this theme further with reference to ‘L’Algérie des combats’ and ‘Compagnie Opérationnelle’.

A significant section of ‘L’Algérie des combats’ follows a group of *appelés* from the *Parachutiste* regiment of Colonel Bigeard (3^e RCP). The segment was filmed by Pierre Schoendoerffer, a filmmaker renowned for his heroism as an SCA videographer during the battle of Diên Biên Phu, after which he was held by the Viet Minh as a prisoner of war. He directed the episode alongside Jean Lartéguy, a military hero from World War Two, who later became a war reporter for Paris-Match, a military historian and novelist, who took the role of narrator for the segment. So, given the calibre of the creators, it is unsurprising that the segment offers a military angle on *appelé* identity, aiming to show the qualities of the ideal unit of *appelé* paratroopers in a combat situation.

Following an introduction by Lartéguy, the initial section of the segment follows a group of *Parachutistes* with commentary by an unnamed *appelé* who is said to be in the *Cinq colonnes* studio.⁷⁰ Lartéguy’s narration points to the *appelé* as ‘le héros de ce reportage’, implying that he has proved his valour on the battlefield. In fact, as the segment unfolds we discover that he is in the military hospital in Algiers having been wounded by one of his own grenades. Lartéguy suggests: ‘Pendant que vous allez vivre son histoire – lui il va le revivre’.

A sequence thus follows the paratroopers while out on patrol. The style of filming makes frequent use of closely cropped shots which focus on the *Parachutistes*’ legs and weapons, the camera feels a part of the unit, and in highlighting the movement of the men suggests the difficulty (and exoticism) of the terrain that they are covering (including scaling rock faces, wading through water and navigating reeds). Despite these challenges, the unit is undeterred and

⁷⁰ We will only consider the first seven minutes of the segment here as after this the film deals solely with professional paratroopers, particularly focussing on Colonel Bigeard.

carries on at a frantic pace. The style of videography can therefore be compared with photography of the paratroopers in Algeria, which often posited the *Paras* as in combat, not just with the ALN, but also conquering the Algerian landscape.⁷¹ They thus move in the model of the colonial explorer, with the domination of the landscape a metaphor for the domination of the country. As Lamontaigne has commented, the point-of-view style of videography used by Schoendorffer functions as a means of emotionally involving the viewer in the story of the injured *appelé*:

Le parti pris technique, l'utilisation de la caméra subjective, rend les images vivantes et donne au spectateur le sentiment de participer à la guerre, ce qui a pour conséquence de rendre plus proche le jeune soldat blessé qui est le seul à être individualisé, les autres soldats restant non-identifiables.⁷²

So, while on the one hand, the style of the footage conveys the superiority of the *Parachutistes* over their surroundings, it also involves the viewer in the action so that when the segment suddenly cuts to the limp form of the wounded soldier on the ground, the viewer is as surprised at the attack as were the segment's protagonists. This style of filming, mimicking the surprise of the event itself, thus draws on the immediacy of the televisual medium.

However, despite the frailty of the wounded soldier, the masculinity and teamwork of the unit as a whole are powerfully evoked. Immediately concerned for the wounded soldier's welfare, the section tends to his wounds and then carries him up a steep incline on their way back to the post. This suggests some of the camaraderie of the section, the physical strength needed to carry a man over such terrain (without a stretcher) and the sense of duty that they all feel to one another. Lartéguy, now in the military hospital with the injured *appelé* continues the interview:

⁷¹ An example of this, from the same year as 'L'Algérie des Combats', is: Marc Flament and Marcel Bigeard, *Aucune bête au monde* (Paris: Éditions de la Pensée Moderne, 1959). This phototext follows a group of *Parachutistes* through their battles in Algeria, and explicitly develops the relationship between *Parachutiste* and the rugged landscape. Bigeard's captions develop this relationship as war or Odyssey in itself. 'Non, aucune bête au monde n'aurait été capable de faire cette marche épuisante des grottes de Djeurf aux sables de Timimoun, des roc déchiquetés des Aurès aux djebels pelés de Bir et Ater, dans le soleil et la pluie, la neige et la poussière. Cette bête, un jour, se serait couchée dans un coin pour crever de lassitude.' (p. 8).

⁷² Lamontaigne, p. 56.

Appelé: Je me suis avancé un peu en avant de la section, c'est lors [sic] que j'ai lancé ma grenade. Comme le terrain était plutôt en pente, au moment de me protéger – quoi des éclats – j'ai glissé. C'est à ce moment là que j'ai senti...

Lartéguy: Tu t'es blessé par votre propre grenade?

Appelé: Par ma propre grenade, oui.

Here Lartéguy's questioning downplays the danger of the ALN to French troops, with him clarifying that the *appelé* injured himself on his own grenade and not from direct combat. The *appelé's* injuries are due to his mischance and inexperience rather than from a significant threat from enemy forces. The montage finally cuts to images of the soldier in hospital answering Lartéguy's questions bare-chested and wincing with a bandage around his neck. As an individual *appelé* taking the initiative and moving ahead of his section, he is weak, but the collective structure of the *Parachutistes* is strong enough to bring him safely to a hospital.

Hence, while the start of the segment offers a virile construction of the *Parachutistes*, the images of the wounded soldier demonstrate a more nuanced construction of an individual *appelé*. The infallibility of the *Parachutistes* remains intact, but only as a collective force, invoked by the section's rapid movements through the Algerian landscape. As individuals they are vulnerable, but the solidarity and resourcefulness of the rest of the section carries the day. No individuals are named; the work of the section as a whole is thus stressed as more important than the individual narrative of the wounded soldier. The myth of the *Parachutistes* as a virile colonial regime remains intact.

Another striking example of colonial masculinity is in the figure of Sergeant Robert in 'Compagnie Opérationnelle'. The segment's narration repeatedly stresses that Sergeant Robert is representative of all the *appelés* stationed in Algeria. For example, the episode's opening remarks:

Alors ce soir à l'occasion du nouvel an, *Cinq colonnes à la une* a voulu offrir un cadeau à la famille Robert et à travers elle à toutes les familles de France dont des êtres chers se battent en Algérie.

This implies that every family in France with a son on military service in Algeria will be able to see their son's experience through the segment's narrative. So

Sergeant Robert is therefore a specific example of an *appelé*, through his personal story, while also an emblematic example of an *appelé*, through the similarity between his daily life and the lives of the other *appelés* in Algeria. It is significant therefore that Robert is constructed as a paragon of colonial values.

Sergeant Robert led the 1st section of the 3rd Company, 15th Battalion of the Algerian Tirailleurs, who were historically a light infantry regiment comprised of *harkis*.⁷³ We could therefore read Robert as wielding a typical colonial power dynamic: the white man in charge of colonial troops. However, the segment actually shows mostly metropolitan French troops with only one *harki* under Robert's charge. When the viewer first sees Sergeant Robert he is depicted in a heroic pose stood upon a rocky piton awaiting the arrival of the convoy carrying the *Cinq colonnes* team. This shot is followed by a longer one where Hulot briefly interviews Robert's men: 'Merci de nous protéger' says Hulot, to which a soldier replies 'Au serieux, c'est notre boulot'. Robert then appears, alongside his *harki* deputy, and radios the news of *Cinq colonnes*' arrival back to the command post. The *appelés*, with Robert in charge, are represented as masters of their surroundings, stood on top of a rugged landscape, in complete control of the area. This virile depiction of Sergeant Robert is developed further, firstly when he is shown teaching football and gym at the school, demonstrating his athletic prowess, and subsequently in the operational scenes at the end of the segment. While other soldiers wear helmets, Robert wears a Stetson on the battlefield, walking towards the mountainside in front of his men with little apparent concern for his safety. He carries a MAT 49 sub-machine gun in one hand while issuing orders with the other, in a continued series of heroic gestures. Despite this, he has not forgotten what he is fighting for, and upon returning to the barracks in the evening, he symbolically hangs his gun above his bed and sits down to read a letter from his family.

Sergeant Robert can thus be seen to embody all the aspects of the ideal colonial soldier: a hyper-masculine figure who is athletic, attractive, youthful, commanding, brave, and dutiful. He shows devotion to his family and his soldiers, but also to the Algerian children he teaches; he is cheerful in every duty he

⁷³ Anthony Clayton, *France, Soldiers and Africa* (London: Brassey's Defence, 1988), p. 302.

undertakes, and does so without prejudice or questioning of authority. Given the narration's emphasis on Robert's emblematic value, a model of *appelé* identity built around him offers a decidedly positive colonial viewpoint.

While on the surface there appears a stark contrast between the types of narrative put forward by these two segments—one a life-in-the-day of an heroic named *appelé*; the other an instance of individual frailty—the two segments are joined by the collective colonial masculinity of the corps in which they work: While 'L'Algérie des combats' could be seen as offering a nuanced depiction of an *appelé* as vulnerable, it still places the conscript within the totalising collective framework of the 3^e RCP, which was inherently involved with the heroic social frameworks of the colonial project. Similarly, while Sergeant Robert offers an individualised *appelé* narrative, he is also portrayed as the representative typology of the entire *contingent*, modelling the values of colonial soldiers. This typology extends to Sergeant Robert's relationship with his family in France, which we will consider in the next thematic.

iii) *Family bonds*

A third thematic element which is significant in understanding *Cinq colonnes*' construction of the *appelés* is the way in which the programme mediates the link between the *appelés* in Algeria and their families back in mainland France. While families have been seen as one of the vectors that engendered the silence of the Algerian War, 'Ils ont parié' and 'Compagnie Opérationnelle' both explicitly link family values and bonds to their construction of the *contingent*. As we have seen, this stands in contrast to purview of 'L'Algérie des Combats', which evoked a masculine vision of Algeria where traditional conceptions of family were replaced with military *esprit de corps*. Nevertheless, this theme is significant as it marks one of the steps that *Cinq colonnes* made in co-mingling elements of the social framework of modernisation into that of the colonial imaginary. In 'Ils ont parié' the *appelés* are constructed as economic settlers in Algeria bringing with them French family values; in 'Compagnie Opérationnelle', *Cinq colonnes*' technological innovations directly connect the Robert family with their son's role in Algeria.

Produced during a period of great uncertainty over the future of French-Algeria, 'Ils ont parié' posits, despite its title's allusion to the bet they had made over their future, a positive construction of the work of demobilised *appelés* in continuing the pacification of the country. Seven former *appelés* are interviewed, of whom the first two interviewees are questioned about starting a family in Algeria, and the other five on their status as economic migrants, moving to the country to further their financial prospects. Yet, while these men seemingly make up two discrete groups of former conscript, they are united by the familial bonds they all invoke: in the first instance, through a form of settler myth, with a new group of modernising *appelés* setting down familial roots in the country, expanding the economic conception of *mission civilisatrice*; yet secondly for all of the men, through the links they are building between Algeria and France, having broadened the sphere of their extended families (their parents, brother and sisters) to encompass the two countries.

The first two former *appelés*, a farmer and a dentist, have started a family in Algeria for differing reasons. The farmer has married into a *Pieds-Noir* family, owning two properties and farming an extensive amount of land. By contrast the dentist has brought his family over from the Lorraine region; not knowing where

to set up a dental practice at the end of his military service he took out a favourable loan from the French government and moved to the city of Mascara. The narration contrasts these two men's situations against the danger of the areas in which they live; the farmer has a price on his head from the FLN, with the dentist living in a city where a curfew has been established because of assassination attempts. Despite of these dangers, the men invoke positivity about their prospects and the future of their families in Algeria.

Thus this theme builds on that of economic pacification, which we have previously considered, through comparing the typically French occupations and family lives of the former *appelés* against an explicitly Islamic Algeria. The narration cites the increasing presence of *Métropolitains Installés* as important in reconciling the Algerian problem, which is 'tout un problème avec le peuple musulman'. This contrast between the growth of *appelé* families in Algeria and the indigenous Islamic community builds on the concept of a settler myth: the pacification of Algeria being built through the settling of men who understand the complex situation of the country, having served in the French military, and can help establish a new French community, counterbalancing the influence of the Muslim population. As the dentist remarks, his children were born in Algeria and are therefore Algerian.

While the other five *appelés* interviewed in the segment have not started a family in Algeria, they nevertheless invoke the links, and associated problems, inherent in having split their extended family by taking up work in the country. The increased earning potential of working in Algeria is invoked by two factory workers from Algiers, who are earning salaries beyond their age because of the demand for skilled labour in the country. However, their situation is complicated: after factoring in a return fare to visit their families each year, their salary works out the same as if they were to work in France. Thus, despite the positive financial benefits of staying on in Algeria following military service, the former *appelés* remain committed to their families in France, maintaining an important element of French identity while overseas.

While 'Ils ont parié' posits the family links of the *appelés* against their work in the economic modernisation of Algeria, 'Compagnie Opérationnelle' embeds technological innovation at the heart of its familial narrative introducing many of

the innovative journalistic techniques that were pioneered by *Cinq colonnes*, in concert with more traditional narrative principles. The segment opens with a scene-setting narration from Paris by reporter Pierre Desgraupes, introducing the premise that the *Cinq colonnes* team have returned from Algeria within the last twenty-four hours, bringing a document of a day in the life of an *appelé* to his family back in France. The segment then cuts to footage from Provence, introducing the Robert family (before the viewer has seen Sergeant Robert) through a clip of the postman arriving at the family's rural home, with a letter from Algeria. Desgraupes remarks:

[Sergent Robert] pense à ce visage qui est celui de sa mère, à cet instant qui, presque à la même heure dans tous les villages de France, est le meilleur de la journée—l'instant du facteur.

The family read the letter together around the dinner table, animated and excited to be receiving news from their son—the only one of their eleven children to have left home. While this remarkable family situation may be atypical, the narration highlights the similarities between the experiences of the Robert family and those of other families in ‘every village in France’, building Sergeant Robert as an emblem of every *appelé* in Algeria, and his family's rural Catholic lifestyle as a norm. This is compounded through delaying showing Sergeant Robert on screen, allowing the audience to imagine those that they know in Algeria as the segment's hero. Just as Sergeant Robert's life is split between Algeria and his letters home, so too would the audience be able to reconcile the splits in their family caused by military service.

This sense of family is heightened by one of the segment's technologically innovative premises, whereby the pre-recorded footage about Sergeant Robert's life in Algeria is preceded and followed by live interviews with Robert's mother, father and one of his sisters in their family home.⁷⁴ These framing interviews mean that the French viewers could witness the Robert family's reaction to their

⁷⁴ There remains some uncertainty around whether or not this interview actually took place in the family's home. Benjamin Stora, in his interview with Robert for *Les Années Algériennes* suggested that the reactions were filmed in a studio in Marseille; whereas Pierre Desgraupes subsequently denied this accusation in subsequent interviews. For more on this see: Yves Lorelle, ‘La déontologie du journalisme va-t-elle à la dérive?’, *Communication et Langages*, 94 (1992), pp. 100–16.

son's story in real time. Using the liveliness of the televisual medium as a means of directly engaging the viewers into familial narrative of the segment.

The final frames of the pre-recorded footage come full-circle on the Roberts' story, with Sergeant Robert returning from operation to read a letter from his family in the barracks. The narration, pointedly repeating the structure of the narration that introduced the segment, declares:

Et bien ce sont les dernières heures de la journée du Sergent Robert et elles sont les mêmes pour tous les gars de tous les compagnies. C'est l'heure la plus agréable, celle où on se laisse tomber sur son lit fatigué et où l'on trouve le courrier de la journée.

The segment then cuts live to the Robert family in Provence, where Madame Robert is wiping tears from her eyes. Dordain's first question is: 'Que lui écriviez-vous à Charly?' To which Madame Robert replies, 'On lui racontait ce qui s'est passé dans la famille, [...] les nouvelles de toute la famille, du travail, [muffled] emploi de la ferme.' She thus picks out the importance of their family bond, linked to that of other *appelés* and families in France. Through the emblematic role of Sergeant Robert, the narrative is one that applies to 'tous les gars de tous les compagnies'. Dordain follows with 'yes or no' questions, 'Vous l'avez reconnu?' 'Saviez-vous qu'il était aussi instructeur de gymnastique?', which educe the family's pride without letting them elaborate on their answers. Their emotional reactions indicate their recognition of their son's work and their deep pride in his role in Algeria, legitimating and validating the footage. Yet, they play a subordinate role to the power of television itself. In building a circular narrative around the exchange of letters, a highly personal vector of communication, the segment highlights not only the speed at which the footage had been brought back to France, but also the ability of television to connect to viewers on a similarly deep, personal level.⁷⁵ Thus in 'Compagnie Opérationnelle' television, as a medium of cultural transmission and as a symbol of modernisation, is inextricably linked to the bonds between families and France and *appelés* in Algeria: it plays upon the sentimentality of its receptive audience, with a highly affective, emotional narrative. In the next thematic, we will examine how *Cinq colonnes*'

⁷⁵ Such was the clamour around the depiction of Sergeant Robert and his family, that Robert's return to France, on demobilisation less than a week after the *Cinq colonnes* segment, was covered by the nightly JT and large crowds had gathered to see his return. ORTF, *Journal Télévisé*, 16 January 1959.

construction of the *appelés* also built symbols of modernisation into its representation of the Algerian battlefield.

iv) *The battlefield*

The Algerian battlefield is seen in both ‘Compagnie Opérationelle’ and ‘l’Algérie des Combats’, which were renowned at the time of their broadcast for their brave portrayal of the realities of combat operations in Algeria.⁷⁶ As the 1991 television series *Les Années Algériennes* explored, much of *Cinq colonnes*’ legacy of breaking the Algerian War taboo can be linked to the footage it aired showing combat operations in Algeria.⁷⁷ ‘Compagnie Opérationelle’ aired just before, and ‘l’Algérie des Combats’ airing during the implementation of the Challe Plan, where the army pursued a surge in operations tracking ALN units, attempting to win the war by military means. The historical importance of combat operations in this period was reflected in ‘Compagnie Opérationelle’ following an operational company and employing a military filmmaker to direct ‘l’Algérie des Combats’.⁷⁸ However, it is worth noting that the battlefield sequences shown in these two segments are remarkably short: in ‘Compagnie Opérationelle’ the sequence in the *Zone Interdite* lasts two minutes towards the end of the sixteen-minute segment, and likewise the sequence featuring the *appelés*’ injury from his grenade in ‘l’Algérie des Combats’ lasts for less than two minutes of the fourteen-minute segment. The paucity of footage that these segments dedicate to the battlefield can be read as an explicit impact of censorship, or as a suggestion that the representation of the *appelés*’ operational duties was secondary to the repeated focus on pacification, furthering an elite-level silencing of images of Algeria ‘at war’. However, despite the intentions inherent in the production of the segment, the broad reception and lasting memorial impact of these sequences indicates that we must closely consider the way in which they intertwined with the social frameworks of the period. We will argue as we come to the conclusion of this chapter that, as with the construction of the *appelés*’ family bonds, the interplay between the colonial setting and the framework of modernisation in the battlefield footage, was crucial in generating a memory of rupture with state narratives of Algeria as a series of ‘événements’.

⁷⁶ See the newspaper reviews by André Brincourt and Janick Arbois cited in the introduction to this chapter.

⁷⁷ Seen in particular during the second episode: *Les Années Algériennes*, 2: *Les tricheurs*.

⁷⁸ Renald Perquis has directly linked the production of these segments to the military’s information strategies during this offensive. See: Renald Perquis, ‘La Guerre d’Algérie à travers *Cinq colonnes à la une*’ (unpublished Masters thesis, University of Paris VII, 1998), pp. 70–1.

The opening sequence of 'l'Algérie des Combats' is built around a series of short shots demonstrating the mobility of the French army: a helicopter flies past an elaborate system of radio masts, a convoy of tanks moves out of a command post, then a convoy of troop transports. Jean Lartéguy's accompanying narration constructs around these images a symbiotic relationship between the army and its means of transportation:

Rien ne manque [à l'armée qui roulent] sauf les routes qu'il faut creuser au fur et à mesure. Les camions ne manquent pas pour transporter les hommes, mais ce sont les hommes qui souvent doivent les pousser. Finalement c'est sur les hommes seuls que pèse cette guerre car 30.000 fellaghas ont imposé leur guerre primitive à 400.000 soldats de l'armée moderne.

Lartéguy stresses the importance of mobility to the army, as a means of overwhelming the ALN. Indeed, while Lartéguy refers to the war and the imagined colonial other as primitive, it is the exotic setting of Algeria that appears it, as the footage accompanying the narration shows a tractor levelling a uneven path, which the soldiers must push the trucks up in order to pass. However, despite the obstacles, the shots return to their depiction of constant movement, switching frenetically between the numerous modes of transportation available to the French army. This focus on mobility, on the possibility of the constant movement afforded by technological progress, places the social framework of modernisation at the heart of the army's project.

The opening shots of the battlefield sequence in 'Compagnie Opérationnelle' develop a similar picture. We see the *contingent* collecting weapons from an armoury, mounting half-track trucks and driving away. Once in the *Zone Interdite*, the *appelés* march through the mountainous Algerian landscape aiming shots at a deserted section of mountainside. They are supported by trucks, tanks, aeroplanes and helicopters. Communications are established back with the command posts through mobile radio units. Importantly, the modern image of the army's transportation comes into contact with images of conflict.

Helicopters were a particularly significant symbol, as the Algerian War was the first conflict in which they were widely used by the military. The increasing production of large multipurpose military grade helicopters in the late 1950s, such as Piasecki H-21's and Sikorski H-34's, meant that the technology became an

integral element military strategy; the Challe Plan for instance, necessitated the rapid transportation troops to remote areas via helicopter.⁷⁹ Helicopters also offered the army innovative opportunities for surveillance through photography and video, and *Cinq colonnes* was the first French television programme to use helicopters to produce overhead scene setting footage, used in 'Compagnie Opérationnelle' and 'l'Algérie des Combats'.⁸⁰

The iconographic symbolism of this mobility in the two segments is reinforced by other symbols of French power. All of the weapons shown in the segments (apart from Sergeant Robert's MAT 49 machine gun) are oversized including: long barrelled rifles, large two-man machine gun posts, tank-barrels, large helicopter mounted gun turrets, and strong firepower from aeroplanes. This overtly phallic symbolism, presents a virile French army which correlates to the iconography of official representations of the army from the SCA photographers and videographers. Furthermore, while the two segments purport to show the combat operations, it is also important that no enemy combatants are seen in either segment, the ALN thus appear overwhelmed by French force and mobility, incapable of competing with Lartéguy's 'armée moderne'. It thus seems fair to agree with Evelyne Desbois' suggestion (regarding 'Compagnie Opérationnelle' but applicable also to 'l'Algérie des Combats'), that 'n'était la facture du reportage, on croirait avoir affaire à un film produit par l'armée'.⁸¹

Benjamin Stora interviewed Sergeant Robert as part of his 1991 television series about the Algerian War, *Les Années Algériennes*, in an episode entitled 'Les Tricheurs'.⁸² Mirroring the format of 'Compagnie Opérationnelle', Charly Robert,

⁷⁹ David Lehmann, 'Helicopters during the Algerian War', online article, <<http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?13560-Helicopters-during-the-Algerian-war>>, [Accessed: 2nd April 2011]. Archived online using WebCite at: <<http://www.webcitation.org/5xgsNRxYD>>.

⁸⁰ A number of photo albums from Algeria commemorate the army's fascination with the helicopter during the war. See for example: Marc Flament, *Les hélicos du Djebel. Algérie: 1955 - 1962* (Paris: Presses de la cité, 1982). During an interview, Marc Garanger commented on how his Section chief, Commandant De Mollans, would use up spare helicopter allowances by taking Garanger to photograph the regroupment camps and razed *Douars* in the area around Bordj Okhriss, cataloguing the pacification of the area. Interview with Marc Garanger, 20 May 2010. These photos can be seen in Marc Garanger, *La Guerre d'Algérie vue par un appelé du contingent* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1984).

⁸¹ Desbois, Évelyne, 'Des Images En Quarantaine', in *La Guerre d'Algérie et les Français*, ed. by Jean-Pierre Rioux, (Paris: Fayard, 1990), p. 568.

⁸² *Les Années Algériennes*, 2: Les tricheurs.

now in his fifties, is shown the segment, as his family were thirty years earlier, with his reactions elicited by Stora immediately afterwards. Robert comments that this is the first time he has ever seen the programme. Questioning Robert about the military operation, Stora asks: ‘C’était un vrai combat ou fait pour le camera?’ Robert responds, ‘C’était fait pour le caméra. On a été protégé.’ He then elaborates that his company was often attacked in the *Zone Interdite* around where the operation was filmed. However, in the days prior to the filming, the sector had been bombed extensively, meaning that any *fellaghas* hiding in the area would have been chased away before the film crew arrived. Thus the operation was staged for the benefit of the television cameras.

The combination of the staging of the operation in ‘Compagnie Opérationelle’ with both segments’ construction of the *contingent* within the dominant mobile structures of the French army, conforms to the general military representation of the war through the SCA. This sits uneasily against our understanding of the reception and impact of this footage as having broken the taboo of showing the *appelés* ‘at war’ in Algeria.

In the conclusion to this chapter we will consider how the overall construction of the *contingent* around the four themes we have examined in this chapter—*mission civilisatrice* and *pacification*, colonial masculinity, family bonds, and the battlefield—combine the previously discrete social frameworks of the colonial imaginary and modernisation and present the *appelés* in Algeria within a novel paradigm at the interstices of competing memory frameworks.

CONCLUSION

Our analysis of the three segments from *Cinq colonnes* has underlined four important themes which build the generalised construction of the *appelés*: *Mission civilisatrice* and *Pacification*; colonial stereotypes of masculinity; links between the *appelés* and mainland France; and *appelés* in the battlefield.

The *contingent's* work in Algeria is shown as making a significant contribution to pacification and through it to the colonial imaginary of France's civilising mission. 'Compagnie Opérationelle' shows the extensive pacification work of Sergeant Robert and the *Taleb*; subsequently showing the work of an 'operational company' to be mainly focused on improving the life of the Algerian population. 'Ils ont Parié' develops this construction through documenting the lives of *appelés* who stay behind in Algeria continuing *pacification* by contributing economically and socially to Algerian society, extending the settler myths of Algeria through their unique outlook on the country's situation.

Colonial ideals of masculinity are also an important element of the construction of the *contingent*. The paratroopers of 'L'Algérie des Combats' are a strong, resourceful force, dominating the exotic landscape of Algeria. While the segment does depict a soldier wounded in the course of duty, the virility of the section as a collective force is stressed as more important than the individual narrative. Similarly, Sergeant Robert, set up as an emblem of all the *appelés* in Algeria, is constructed in the mould of the ideal colonial soldier: a brave commander, respected by his troops and mastering his landscape while remaining sensitive to the needs of the indigenous population.

The former *appelés* of 'Ils ont parié' continue the tradition of settling in Algeria, starting new, modern families imbued with French values, separate from those of the *Pieds-Noirs*, and reinforcing settler myths of France's status as a mother to her largely Muslim colony. They also maintain their links with France, despite the economic rewards of helping build a prosperous Algeria. 'Compagnie Opérationelle' further elaborates the links that all the *appelés* have with France, through integrating the symbolic device of a family's letters to their son abroad with technological innovations of broadcasting the Robert family's live reactions to their son's experiences.

Combat footage is shown in a highly pacificatory context, with the resistance that the *appelés* meet on the battlefield coming from the exotic landscape of Algeria rather than the resistance of the ALN, as soldiers overcome varied terrains using the modern and mobile technologies of the military. Despite the main body of these three segments conforming with colonial archetypes, as we have established it was the combat footage that struck a chord with the French public. This reaction seems strange however, given that our reading of the footage demonstrates that it differs little from footage produced by the SCA, which would have been seen on the JT. Writing about the military *Cinq colonnes* segments generally, Evelyne Desbois concludes:

Hormis donc quatre reportages centrés sur l'activité militaire, dont un seul suit les hommes au combat, *Cinq colonnes à la une*, pendant ces quatre années de conflit, en privilégiant les aspects politiques et sociaux de la guerre, ne se démarque pas franchement de la production cinématographique militaire.⁸³

However, this conclusion ignores two significant factors where the segments are demarcated from the official military narrative of the war. As we have examined through the course of this chapter, *Cinq colonnes* was perceived as having an authenticity that would not have been the case for military video production or the JT. This was due to the production values of its news broadcasting, the high profile of the production team, and the integration of technically novel feats, which exploited the immediacy of the medium of television to offer emotional steers to its audience. This authenticity served to extend the significance of the second factor, which comes in the way the social frameworks were intertwined during the battlefield sequences: Tropes inherently connected to modernisation, such as the mobile military of 'l'Algérie des combats' and the technological links between Sergeant Robert and his family, were broadcast alongside images of combat operations in exotic colonial locations, which harked back to France's recent history of military defeats. Yet, as Kristin Ross argued in *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies*, in other spheres of French culture, the social framework of modernisation was relegating this inglorious colonial history into a distant temporal space.⁸⁴

⁸³ Desbois, p. 570.

⁸⁴ There is perhaps room for us to disagree slightly with Ross' thesis here; colonialism is presented in these segments of *Cinq Colonnes* as an inherently modernising enterprise, slowly dragging Algeria out of a rural existence and into a capitalist economic system.

This central tension is at the heart of *Cinq colonnes*' construction of the *contingent* on the battlefield, which linked past suffering, present actions and possible futures, in the figure of the *appelé*. This unique combination of the two otherwise discrete social frameworks—colonial and modernisation—made Algerian combat operations by *appelés* a present and pressing concern to the audience. In this way the segment opened a fissure in the state rhetoric of pacification and Algerian 'events', literally showing images of a war in Algeria, which had not previously been exploited in such a high profile manner.

The tension between *Cinq colonnes*' predominant construction of the *appelés* as agents of pacification and these moments of fracture derived from the battlefield footage was bolstered by the symbolic status of television itself. Here, *Cinq colonnes*, with the gravitas of a flagship news magazine fronted by respected journalists, used a raft of innovative news techniques which echoed television's symbolic status as at the forefront of modernisation and consumerism. However, through integrating these techniques directly into the human dimensions of the conflict, such as the 'live' broadcast of the Robert family's reaction to the footage, or the interview with the injured *appelé*, the programme creators explicitly linked the medium of the broadcast to the unique mixture of social frameworks.

So, while there was a high degree of correlation between state rhetoric around the Algerian War and the predominant construction of the *contingent* in these segments, the medium of the broadcast on television served as a point of fracture depicting the Algerian battlefield. The programme's technological innovations packaged this footage as a new way of seeing the conflict, harking back to the present-pasts of decolonisation and the Second World War and positing them as a reality for a new generation of young Frenchmen. Thus in this case, the televisual medium was as important to the persistence of the memory of the *appelés* as the content of the segments. It was therefore *Cinq colonnes*' unique combination of protagonists (the *appelés*), social frameworks (colonial and modernisation) and medium (television), which served to anchor a collective construction of the *contingent* 'at war' in an actualised cultural memory of Algeria.

This collective construction of a unified *contingent* is a distinctive characteristic of this first phase of *appelé* cultural memory of the Algerian War. In the next chapter, we will examine how in the late 1960s and early 1970s individual

appelé memories of the War began to destabilise this notion of the *contingent* as a collective, through articulating narratives of victimhood and resistance in prose form.

CHAPTER 3

Constructions of the Algerian War *appelés* in French prose narratives (1967-73)

SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION

Benjamin Stora estimates that 70% of the Algerian War texts published in the late 1960s and 1970s provided narratives justifying French involvement in Algeria, imitating many of the narrative frameworks which were inherent in *Cinq colonnes*' early segments.¹ However, we will suggest in this chapter that among *appelés* texts, the trend was more nuanced, with texts which repeatedly questioned the wider motivations behind the *appelés*' experiences in Algeria. This chapter will assert, therefore, that *appelé* prose texts from this period highlight a shift from collective state-sponsored cultural memories of the *appelés*, towards individual contestations of that memory. Furthermore, in the case of the *appelés*, we shall examine the intriguing ways in which these prose texts dialogue and intersect with anti-colonial discourses and 'multidirectional memories' of the Second World War.²

A pervasive argument runs through many studies of the historiography of the Algerian War, that in the period in which *Cinq colonnes à la une* ruled the airwaves (from 1960 until its final series in 1969), the conflict widely disappeared from the sphere of French public memory.³ A number of suggestions have been put forward to explain the rapid disappearance of references to the war. These include: state intervention in matters relating to Algeria, favouring censorship and amnesties; the move towards an American-style consumerist economy; increasing commemoration of the Second World War in Gaullist France; and the events of May '68 ushering a new relationship between the public and the state.⁴ Yet such arguments operate under a form of zero-sum logic, suggesting that the realm of

¹ Benjamin Stora, *La Gangrène et l'Oubli* (Paris : Éditions La Découverte, 1991), p. 239.

² The term 'multidirectional memory' comes from the work of Michael Rothberg, which we will consider in due course: Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: remembering the holocaust in the age of decolonisation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009).

³ Hélène Bousser Eck and Monique Sauvage, 'Le règne de *Cinq Colonnes*' in *Télévision nouveau mémoire: Les Grands magazine de reportage, 1959-1968*, ed. by Jean-Noël Jeanneney and Monique Sauvage (Paris : INA & Éditions du Seuil, 1982). Although television ratings did not really exist in the period, Eck and Sauvage suggest that *Cinq Colonnes* was by far the most popular television news programme up until 1968 – it was discontinued in 1969.

⁴ For more on this see: Stora, *La Gangrène et l'Oubli*, pp. 211–34; Kristin Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies: decolonizing and the reordering of French culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1995); and Kristin Ross, *May '68 and its afterlives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

national memory is only a finite space, and that the increasing commemoration of one event necessitates the reduction of commemoration around others, or the elimination of certain memories entirely. This method of conceptualising memory studies has recently begun to be challenged in academic literature.⁵

As we saw in the introduction to this thesis, with reference to the Algerian War *appelés*, it was not the case that cultural memories ceased to be produced, but that the form in which those memories were produced changed rapidly and substantially. A significant number of prose texts were published relating to the Algerian War during the late 1960s and early 1970s, taking over from the previous prominence of public forms of media such as Television and Radio.⁶ The continued production of *appelé* cultural memory texts draws into question a number of commonly-held presumptions, which suggest that there was a broad societal amnesia regarding the Algerian War in this period. The *appelés* offer an interesting case study, for problematizing this appearance of silence, and in this chapter we will consider two prose texts which documented and/or fictionalised the experiences of *appelés* during the War.

Intriguingly, one outlier in this argument is the final segment of *Cinq Colonnes à la une* to treat the subject of the Algerian War, the only televisual representation of the *appelés* in the period between 1963 and 1973. Broadcast in February 1968, the segment was a work of memory on the experiences of the *contingent*, entitled 'Les Max... Anciens d'Algérie'.⁷ We will briefly consider this segment here as a means of highlighting the continued relevance of *appelé* cultural memory in this period; with the contrast between the televisual image of the contingent in 1968 and segments broadcast during the war, serving to introduce the themes that we will examine in the prose texts over the course of this chapter.

Written and animated by Philippe Labro, the 26-minute segment followed the journalist around France conducting a series of testimonial interviews with

⁵ This is particularly true of Rothberg's *Multidirectional Memory*.

⁶ Chapter 1's research on *appelé* texts suggests that approximately 30 *appelé* prose texts were published between 1967 and 1973 among the several-hundred other Algerian War texts numbered by Stora in *Dictionnaire des livres de la Guerre d'Algérie* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996) concerning the war more generally.

⁷ 'Les Max... anciens d'Algérie', *Cinq colonnes à la une* - 02/02/1968, dir. by Philippe Labro (Paris: Office national de la radio diffusion, 1968). The segment is archived on the INA imago database with reference number: CAF90031764.

former *appelés*. This testimonial style of journalism was influenced by oral memories of the World Wars, and has been hailed as the first work of memory from the Algerian War.⁸ The content of Labro's interviews highlights a distinct shift away from the collective construction of *appelé* identity which characterised the segments we examined in the last chapter. The interviewees' reflections focus, pointedly, on their individual experiences, as *appelés*, rather than on a collective understanding of the war – a marked difference with the *Cinq Colonnes* segments broadcast in the late 1950s and 1960s, where the dominant construction was of a collective *contingent*. The interviewees highlight a wide range of experiences but several themes emerge as significant. First, two factory workers, invoke a left-wing critique of the war, questioning why they—as *appelés*—had to be involved in a colonial conflict. Questioned by Labro about the influence of the war, 'Est-ce que la France semblait différente?', one responds, 'Non, c'était moi qui était différent', suggesting he had been changed by his experiences. This marks a parallel with anti-colonial theories of the negative transformation that colonialism meted on the colonisers.⁹ Another interviewee invokes a second theme, the genesis of torture, often thought of as a taboo in public discourse during and after the war: 'les prisonniers, tous le monde s'amuse avec [eux], c'est d'ailleurs comment commence la torture – n'importe quel appelé le faisait'. These words imply a collective sense of culpability and an indication of the attitudes that enabled torture to become commonplace. A third theme is suggested by Labro's brother, Jean-Pierre, who tells the story of one of his fellow draftees who committed suicide on his return to France without leaving any indication of why he had taken his life; the narrative mapping out the loneliness felt by many *appelés* on their return and the difficulties they had in reintegrating with metropolitan culture. A final theme is the link the programme makes between the *appelés* Algerian experiences and other sites of memory, including Hollywood Westerns and the Second World War. The *appelés* all recall how Algeria, 'c'était du Western', meanwhile spliced stills from Zarryl Zanuck's film about D. Day, *The Longest Day*, (peculiarly enough starring John Wayne), cut into their testimonies at dramatic

⁸ Françoise La Montaigne, 'Cinq colonnes à la une et l'Algérie, 1959 à 1968' (unpublished masters thesis, University of Paris VIII – Vincennes Saint Denis, 1998), p. 160. La Montaigne distinguishes the episode as a 'mémoire de groupe', contrasting against the term collective memory or a *mémoire croisée*, an idea we shall return to when reflecting on the prose texts.

⁹ See discussion of Aimé Césaire's, *Discours sur le colonialisme* (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1955), in the social frameworks section of this chapter.

moments suggesting that composite hybrid memory frameworks are used to structure the testimonies from Algeria.¹⁰ These themes mark a significant shift from the construction of the *appelés* in previous television representations and highlight an increasingly complex and fragmentary vision of the war; which began to materialise some of the themes that would prove to be polemical in the later phases of memory of the war.

Theoretical approach

Rothberg's model of *Multidirectional Memory* is constructed around the idea that zero-sum theories of collective memory (i.e. that human capacity to remember issues of social justice is limited; thus commemoration of one event diminishes the ability to remember other events) fails to account for, or indeed excludes, the cross-fertilisation between memory texts which draw from and influence one another on a wide scale.¹¹ Specifically drawing on terminology used by Hannah Arendt and Aimé Césaire in their essays linking colonialism and totalitarianism, Rothberg labels these inter-relations 'Boomerang Effects'.

For Arendt, the 'boomerang effect' described the way in which the 'race society' established by the Boers through segregation, racism and anti-Semitism in South Africa, had an immediate knock-on (or boomerang) effect on the way in which colonisers in India and Indochina treated colonised races: the notion of Africans as savages immediately translated onto other races as also being sub-human. For Arendt, this normalisation of racism amidst European societies was an important step in the early formation of totalitarian thought.¹² For Césaire, the 'boomerang effect'—translated from the French *choc en retour*—went a step

¹⁰ *The Longest Day*, dir. by Zarryl Zanuck (20th Century Fox, 1962). This final theme indicates that the interviewees memories of the war are framed according to certain templates, or as TG Ashplant has termed them 'pre-memories [...] consisting of cultural narratives, myths and tropes, [...] through which later conflicts are understood'. T.G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper (eds.), *The politics of war memory and commemoration* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 34.

¹¹ Rothberg, *Multidirectional memory*.

¹² Hannah Arendt, *Origins of Totalitarianism*, 3rd edn (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1967), p. 206.

further: that in perceiving other races as animals, or *bêtes*, the coloniser themselves is transformed into an animal; thus, the trauma of colonisation flows both ways.¹³

Rothberg's use of such loaded terminology explicitly links the multidirectional memory approach with traumatic narratives of the Holocaust and colonialism. Rothberg's study focuses in particular on France of October 1961 as a site of multidirectional memory, arguing that as the 'events' in Algeria and struggles for Algerian independence in metropolitan France reached their peak, a 'multidirectional network' was forged connecting anti-colonial struggle in Algeria with Holocaust memory.¹⁴

Of particular relevance to this chapter is Rothberg's analysis of Charlotte Delbo's text *Les Belles Lettres* (1961), a metatextual compilation of anti-colonial cuttings from newspaper letters pages with (often ironic) commentary by the author. Delbo is more widely known for her later testimonial texts detailing life in Auschwitz, but *Les Belles Lettres* was her first publication, and Rothberg suggests that Delbo's

[M]any references to genocide, World War II, and resistance to the Nazi occupation [...] constitute two axes, each consisting of two alternate articulations: victimization and resistance during World War II are mapped onto victimization and resistance during the French-Algerian War, sometimes under the category of similarity and sometimes under that of difference.¹⁵

But it is not only the comparison of the two sets of experiences which constitutes the multidirectionality of memory in Delbo's text. Rothberg specifies that, 'I locate that work of memory not only in the *content* of the memories at stake in Delbo's text – powerful as that content is – but especially in the text's self-reflexive epistolary *form*;¹⁶ in creating a hybrid form of prose, circulating and recirculating challenging texts, Delbo acts, as Rothberg terms her, as the 'counterpublic witness', challenging the dominant public narrative of the French state regarding Algeria in 1961, with an alternate anti-colonial narrative.¹⁷

¹³ Aimé Césaire, *Discours sur le colonialisme*, p. 21.

¹⁴ Rothberg, p. 26.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

¹⁷ Rothberg takes the idea of counterpublics from: Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone Books, 2005), p. 119. 'A counterpublic maintains at

In a similar vein to Rothberg's examination of Delbo and 1961, this chapter will examine a different locus of multidirectionality, considering how two prose texts of the late 1960s and early 1970s create counterpublic witness narratives which negotiated the terrain of Algerian War amnesia, reconfigurations of Second World War memory and anti-colonial discourse. As with Delbo, both Phillippe Labro and Noël Favrelière's texts from 1967 and 1973 use hybrid forms of prose in their constructions of the Algerian War, and call upon memory templates of events prior to military service as contextual and comparative multidirectional narratives.¹⁸ We will thus establish how these prose texts helped to form a second phase of *appelé* memory which challenged the dominant collective constructions of the war years while crystallising individual memories of the war; thus creating a counterpublic discourse which later phases of *appelé* memory would use to negotiate the polemic resurfacing of Algerian War memory.

In this chapter therefore, we shall consider how some of these shifts in the construction of *appelé* memory map onto the prose genre. We will firstly question and examine the shifts in frameworks and metanarratives through which the war was understood during this period. Which social frameworks can be said to structure cultural memories of the Algerian War for *appelé* writers of this period? We will then move to a study of *Des Feux Mals Éteints* written by Philippe Labro, and *Le Déserteur* written by Noël Favrelière, analysing how far these frameworks structure the prose texts. We will also consider in what ways the form of the texts themselves shape *appelé* memory and evaluate how and why these texts negotiate the shift from a collective construction of the *appelés* to more individual constructions. Finally, using Michael Rothberg's model of *Multidirectional memory*, we shall consider how far this period can be seen as a flashpoint of

some level, conscious or not, an awareness of its subordinate status. The cultural horizon against which it marks itself off is not just a general or wider public but a dominant one. And the conflict extends not just to ideas or policy questions but to the speech genres and modes of address that constitute the public or to the hierarchy among media. The discourse that constitutes it is not merely a different or alternative idiom but one that in other contexts would be regarded with hostility or with a sense of in decorousness.'

¹⁸ Ashplant suggests: 'responses to war are formed in relation both to personal experience and to pre-existing narratives. [...] [P]art of their subjective hold may lie in the way in which, in the remembrance of one war, they draw upon key 'pre-memoires' or 'templates'. These templates, consisting of cultural narratives, myths and tropes, are the frames through which later conflicts are understood.' Ashplant et al., p. 34.

multidirectionality linking *appelé* memory of the Algerian War with memories of the Second World War and anti-colonial discourses.

SECTION 2: SOCIAL FRAMEWORKS

In this section we will examine social frameworks pertinent to the late 1960s and early 1970s, setting Stora's framework of Algerian War memory and amnesia in the period against emerging anti-colonial frameworks. We will then use this analysis to examine how the two prose texts studied in this chapter created an innovative conceptual space for reconfiguring *appelé* cultural memories of the Algerian War. We will then analyse how these social frameworks impact upon mapped textual strategies before engaging with the multidirectional links that emerge from reading the Algerian War with and against contested memories of the Second World War.

Social Amnesias and the Algerian War

In the previous chapter we considered how *Cinq colonnes à la une* acted within and (to a limited extent) beyond the state narrative of the Algerian War in its depiction of the *appelés*. However, as has been widely argued, in the aftermath of the war, commemoration of the events in Algeria disappeared from French society.¹⁹ In Stora's psychoanalytical analysis this comes to be branded as a form of amnesia. Stora picks out three significant factors which led to this amnesia: firstly, legislative measures that prevented memories of the Algerian War from resurfacing; secondly, the advent of an American style consumer culture and thirdly, the policy of widespread commemoration of the Second World War which, Stora argues, crowded Algeria out of the public commemorative realm. Stora's argument has acted as a normative template for a number of analyses of *appelé* cultural memory through this period and is worth considering in more detail.

Legislative measures were also a key factor in restricting the wider circulation of the memory of Algeria, with the laws of 16th July 1964, 24th July 1968 and 16th July 1974 all working to prevent memories of Algeria resurfacing

¹⁹ Such as is argued by Stora in Chapter 16 of *La Gangrène et l'Oubli*.

through legal actions against the perpetrators of colonial crimes.²⁰ However, the most prominent legal amnesties affecting the *appelés* were the edicts of 22nd March 1962, the first of which read:

Art. 1^{er}. — En vue de permettre la mise en œuvre de l'autodétermination des populations algériennes prévue par la loi du 14 janvier 1961, sont amnistiées :

Toutes infractions commises avant le 20 mars 1962 en vue de participer ou d'apporter une aide direct ou indirecte à l'insurrection algérienne, ainsi que les infractions connexes ;

Toutes infractions commises avant le 30 octobre 1954 dans le cadre d'entreprises tendant à modifier le régime politique de l'Algérie ;

Les tentatives ou complicités de ces mêmes infractions.²¹

And in a second edict:

Art. 1^{er}. — Sont amnistiées les infractions commises dans le cadre des opérations de maintien de l'ordre dirigées contre l'insurrection algérienne avant le 20 mars 1962.²²

Thus any crime committed on either side of the war was amnestied, both protecting the perpetrators of violence and crimes on either side and preventing victims from finding justice through the legal system. This thus enshrined forms of amnesia into legislature ensuring that France's history in Algeria, and in particular the most controversial parts of that history, would not be continually resuscitated through legal proceedings. As we examined in the thesis introduction, it was only in the 1990s, with the trial of Maurice Papon (1997-98) for example, that such legally mediated memories began to reemerge and victims discourses began to be heard in the public arena of the courtroom.²³

Secondly, modernisation and consumerism also impacted upon Algerian War amnesia, offering a forward looking narrative which overlaid memories of the past with narratives of consumption. We shall not, however, delve into this area in

²⁰ Claude Liauzu, 'Mémoires croisées de la guerre d'Algérie', in *La Guerre d'Algérie dans la mémoire et l'imaginaire*, ed by Anny Dayan Rosenman and Lucette Valensi (Paris: Éditions Bouchene, 2004), p. 162. Liauzu also points to a further law from 24th November 1982, although we will consider this in the next chapter as it is part of the subsequent memory phase.

²¹ Law No. 62-327 of March 22, 1962, J.O., March 23, 1962, p. 3143.

²² Law No. 62-328 of March 22, 1962, J.O., March 23, 1962, p. 3144.

²³ Nancy Wood, *Vectors of Memory: legacies of trauma in postwar Europe* (Oxford: Berg, 1999), pp. 113-43.

depth as it has been covered extensively in the previous chapter.²⁴ Suffice it to say that the advent of the *trentes glorieuses* and increasing investment in the construction of European institutions focused minds on more pressing socio-political realities and marginalised considerations of the more recent past.

Lastly, as Stora and others such as Henry Rousso have analysed, state sponsored commemoration of the Second World War played its part in the relegation of Algerian War memories.²⁵ De Gaulle, as a figurehead, ‘embodied and institutionalised la France résistante’.²⁶ Commemorations of resistance were promoted and many practises continued—including censorship of the press and publishing houses—which limited the memory and scope of public discussion of the Algerian War.²⁷ The *mode-rétro*, the literary and cultural phenomenon borne in the aftermath de Gaulle’s death in 1970 is often cited as one manifestation of the revision of the myths of widespread French resistance to Nazi occupation during the Second World War that dominated the press and social consciousness at this time. As an example of the prevalence of the phenomenon over five-thousand newspaper articles covered Georges Pompidou’s notorious pardoning of collaborator Paul Touvier between 1972-1976.²⁸ Stora has argued that the combination of May ‘68 and *mode-rétro*, served to cover and diminish the importance of the Algerian War in collective memory:

Le souvenir conflictuel et chargé d’angoisse de l’Occupation, mêlé aux espoirs en forme de rêves du mouvement de mai 1968, recouvre donc momentanément la signification de la guerre d’Algérie.²⁹

The impact of Occupation memory on Algerian War memory has been further advanced by the argument that the difficulties French society faced in reconciling the conflict between Resistance and Collaboration with collective memory

²⁴ See discussion in social frameworks section of Chapter 2, and also Kristin Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies*.

²⁵ Henry Rousso, *Le syndrome de Vichy (1944-198...)* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1987).

²⁶ Alan Morris, *Collaboration and Resistance reviewed: Writers and the Mode Rétro in Post-Gaullist France* (New York / Oxford: Berg, 1992), p. 80.

²⁷ These censorship and commemoration practises began to be relaxed in the 1970s with the election of Valéry Giscard d’Estaing to the presidency (See: Benjamin Stora, *Imaginaires de Guerres* (Paris: La Découverte, 1997), p. 181). Furthermore, FNACA’s campaign to have veterans from the Algerian War receive the ‘carte d’ancien combattant’ succeeded in 1974, with former *appelés* thus attaining the right to an army pension, and for those invalided during the conflict to receive incapacity benefits from the army.

²⁸ Stora, *La Gangrène et l’oubli*, p. 225.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

resurfaced in comparable forms towards the end of the complex struggles in Algeria; particularly in acknowledging the parallels that both conflicts embodied a form of civil war.³⁰ Prost argues that the apparent similarities between Second World War and Algerian War (i.e. a form of civil war within the broader conflict) reinforced the sense of a taboo shaping the Algeria war in French public consciousness and making conscripts' returns to France more difficult.³¹ By 1962, the French army was no longer fighting against Algerians but Frenchmen of the OAS.

In addition, Stora suggests evolving understandings of the war impacted upon the willingness of the *appelés* to speak out or act as public witnesses to their experiences:

Pour la majorité de ceux qui composent la « génération algérienne », la guerre a détruit l'idée d'une société harmonieuse. La brutalité des comportements individuels, le cynisme de l'État, l'absence de morale ont entamé sérieusement la volonté de porter un projet de « société idéale ». Ayant vécu la guerre, ils seront, en politique, plus pragmatiques et moins partisans d'une rupture radicale.³²

The *appelés* had in general been jaded by their experiences with regards to revolutionary grassroots politics. This is not to suggest that the *appelés* did not have political ambitions, indeed many did take up more traditional political or lobbying roles (e.g. in associations such as FNACA or in professional politics). But the *appelés* had seen, and been the instruments of, the pain caused by such movements over in Algeria and were not particularly keen to be involved in similar events back home. So it was not necessarily the case that the public memory of the *appelés* faded due to amnesia, but that the willingness of the *appelés* as agents of memory was thin. This is anecdotally confirmed by the comments from many former *appelés*, particularly those who went onto publish cultural memories of the Algerian War, about their difficult return to France at the end of military service.³³ As with Labro's interviewees in *Les Max*, the war had changed

³⁰ Antoine Prost, 'The Algerian War in French collective memory', in *War and Remembrance in the twentieth century*, ed. by Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 175.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Stora, *La gangrène et l'oubli*, pp. 223-4.

³³ In the preface to Claude Herbiet's collection of testimonies, *Nous n'étions pas des guerriers* (Paris: Édition des Écrivains, 2003), for example, Georges Chaizy offers a number of reasons why he could not speak about his experiences, including: the

the *appelés* in a way in which they struggled to articulate, and thus the impact of early anti-colonial frameworks, which problematize the relationship between war experiences, memory and national identity are important when considering *appelé* texts of this period.

Anti-colonial theory

As Philip Dine has suggested, more *appelé* texts of the late 1960s and early 1970s were inclined to critique the colonial system than to justify it.³⁴ In particular they drew on the framework established by anti-colonial theorists working at the time of the widespread dismantling of Empire in the 1950s and 1960. In the francophone context, this stream of anti-colonial critique came from left-wing thinkers such as Frantz Fanon, Aimé Césaire and Jean-Paul Sartre. Texts such as *Les Damnés de la Terre*, dismantled the ways in which power hierarchies had been imposed on colonies and theorised the means by which the indigenous rural proletariat could gain independence; overcoming the colonial overseers and the indigenous urban elites who were heavily vested in the status quo.³⁵

Aimé Césaire's *Discours sur le colonialisme*, published by Présence Africaine in 1955, is one of the seminal works of this period, establishing the European colonial project within a Marxist framework. It discusses three key themes which are pertinent to the *appelé* prose texts we will consider in this chapter: the influence

reluctance of his family to dig up old wounds related in his letters home; stereotypical jokes from work colleagues about military service being a 'holiday'; his estrangement from friends who stayed in France and his unwillingness to darken relations with girlfriends and lovers by recounting macabre stories of his service. (p. 8)

³⁴ Philip Dine, *Images of the Algerian War: French fiction and film 1954-1992* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 136-7. There were a few texts about the *appelés*, however, which did strive to uphold the benefits of the colonial system and *Algérie Française*, by authors such as Erwan Bergot, Philippe Hédouy and Jean Mabire. Mabire's, *Les Hors la Loi* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1968) – republished on a number of occasions during the 1970s under the title *Commando de Chasse* – was a prominent example. Mabire, a *rappelé* from October 1958 to October 1959, is perhaps best known for his controversial historical novels which, to a certain extent, romanticised the work of the Waffen-SS during the Second World War. In *Les Hors la Loi*, he offers a fictionalised account of his time in a *Commando de Chasse* on the Algerian-Tunisian border, presenting the work of the French army in heroic terms against Algerian opponents who 'ne respectaient pas la règle du jeu. Alors, on les appelait des **hors-la-loi**' (Inside front cover to the 1968 edition – Mabire's emphasis).

³⁵ Frantz Fanon, *Les Damnés de la terre* (Paris: François Maspero, 1961).

of both capitalist and Christian values on colonialism, and the brutalisation of the coloniser.

Early in the *Discours*, Césaire posits Christian values as a fundamental tenet of the mentality of colonisers:

le grand responsable dans ce domaine est le pédantisme chrétien, pour avoir posé les équations malhonnêtes : *christianisme = civilisation*; *paganisme = sauvagerie*, d'où ne pouvaient que s'ensuivre d'abominables conséquences colonialistes et racistes.³⁶

For Césaire, Christian evangelism provided a simple Machinaean view of Europeans as civilised and the races that they encountered as primitive, from which point the exploitation of 'savages' was acceptable, and could be marketed in the 'mother' countries with the idea of a civilising mission. The *Discours* articulated how this mindset, which combined with the commodifying force of Capitalism allowed for indigenous peoples to become the objectified instruments of production in the colonial (and European) economy: '*colonisation = chosification*'.³⁷ Linking this mentality to totalitarianism, in a similar manner to Hannah Arendt, the *Discours* demonstrated how Nazism in Germany took the colonial worldview to its quasi-logical next stage, applying the thoughts and techniques honed in colonies to people in Europe, to White men as well as Black men.

*Le crime en soi, le crime contre l'homme, ce n'est pas l'humiliation de l'homme en soi, c'est le crime contre l'homme blanc, c'est l'humiliation de l'homme blanc, et d'avoir appliqué à l'Europe des procédés colonialistes.*³⁸

In contrast, Césaire suggests that before colonisation, African countries were 'pas seulement anté-capitalistes, comme on l'a dit, mais aussi *anti-capitalistes*', highlighting the natural, sustainable economies which valued fraternity and cooperation.³⁹ Hence, the product of the colonial system which combined Christian ethics with capitalist economics, was one of fragmentation, dividing and ruling the colonised people.

³⁶ Césaire, p. 10, emphasis retained from original.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

However, Césaire also suggested that the destructive processes of colonising had a brutalising impact on the colonisers. While the destruction of indigenous cultures is a historically evident aspect of the colonial system, the counteracting dehumanisation and decivilisation of the agents of colonialism was, for Césaire, less widely considered.⁴⁰

Il faudrait d'abord étudier comment la colonisation travaille à *déciviliser* le colonisateur, à l'*abrutir* au sens propre du mot, à le dégrader, à le réveiller aux instincts enfouis, à la convoitise, à la violence, à la haine raciale, au relativisme moral, et montrer que, chaque fois qu'il y a au Viêt-nam une tête coupée et un œil crevé et qu'en France on accepte, une fillette violée et qu'en France on accepte, un Malgache supplicié et qu'en France on accepte, il y a un acquis de la civilisations qui pèse de son poids mort, une égression universelle qui s'opère, une gangrène qui s'installe, un foyer d'infection qui s'étend et qu'au bout de tous ces traités violés, de tous ces mensonges propagées, de toutes ces expéditions punitives tolérées, de tous ces patriotes torturés, au bout de cet orgueil racial encouragé, de cette jactance étalée, il y a le poison instillé dans les veines de l'Europe, et le progrès lent, mais sûr, de l'*ensauvagement* du continent.⁴¹

Césaire's metaphor of colonisation as a gangrenous infection resonated with many politically engaged *appelés* who saw parallels in these arguments with their own situation in the French army. Indeed many *appelés*, such as Gérard and René in *Les Max*, saw the transformations that they had undergone during their military service as regressive attributes – rather than the army's highly publicised suggestions that military service was a rite of passage to manhood. The metaphor of the Gangrenous infection of colonialism had traction with a number of texts which dealt with torture invoking the metaphor explicitly.⁴² The *Discours* makes reference to France's use of torture in Algeria:

⁴⁰ Jean Paul Sartre's introduction to *Les Damnés de la terre*, strove to show that the colonial system, systematically aimed at destroying the indigenous culture of the colonial country and replacing it with the western European model. Jean-Paul Sartre, *Préface* in: Frantz Fanon, *Les Damnés de la terre*, pp. 13-14.

⁴¹ Césaire, p. 12.

⁴² Most prominently, perhaps, was *La Gangrène* (published under the Éditions du Minuit's series Documents in 1959), which contained seven testimonies by Algerian victims of torture by the French police in Paris during 1958. The book provoked a scandal in France, being seized shortly after release although already having sold 30000 copies, and proving to French public that torture of people allegedly associated with the FLN was happening close to home, rather than solely in Algeria. Henri Alleg's, *La Question* (Paris: Minuit, 1958), had blown the torture debate into the wider public sphere a year earlier, *La Gangrène*, thus provoked further unease.

Mais passons et pressons, crainte que notre pensée ne s'égaré vers Alger [...] où, à l'heure même où j'écris ceci, tant de vaillants fils de l'Occident, dans le clair-obscur des cachots, prodiguent à leurs frères inférieurs d'Afrique, avec tant d'inlassables soins, ces authentiques marques de respect de la dignité humaine qui s'appellent, en termes techniques, « la baignoire », « l'électricité », « le goulot de bouteille ».⁴³

Torture was a polemical aspect of *appelé* life, and one which would resurface far more visibly in the 1990s and 2000s. However, what is evident in the two prose texts to be examined here is how fiction was used as a means of working through unassimilated memories. Literature could be, as Stora noted: 'une réaction retardée qui demande du temps. Mais elle semble plus stable, dure longtemps, pour toujours. Elle naît de la névrose, elle ne la guérit pas, mais la fixe, la rend permanente. Les résistances mémorielles qui affleurent [...] s'expriment à travers l'écrit. Le livre apparaît comme un intermédiaire. Il fait dériver les solitudes des groupes porteurs de la mémoire de guerre, transfère les conflits, cristallise les agressivités, se transforme en arme'.⁴⁴ By reading the experience of *appelé* life against multidirectional memories of the Second World War and contemporary anti-colonial discourses, what emerges in such prose fictions is a configuration of the Algerian War that challenges Stora's notion of widespread social amnesia. It is not so much that 'lost' stories of the Algerian War emerge but rather that stories and experiences that did not fit previous templates of memory began to gain in cultural visibility.

⁴³ Césaire, p. 64.

⁴⁴ Stora, *La gangrène et l'oubli*, pp. 238–9.

SECTION 3: TEXTUAL READINGS

First published in 1967, Philippe Labro's *Des Feux Mals Éteints* is a fictionalised account of Labro's experiences during his military service in Algeria at the end of the war.⁴⁵ At the time a rising star of French journalism, Labro had studied in America for several years before being called up to military service in 1960. After the war he became a reporter for Europe 1 and France-Soir. Writing *Des Feux* inspired Labro to produce the segment 'Les Max... Anciens d'Algérie' for *Cinq Colonnes à la une* which introduced this chapter and a number of the themes of the segment are expanded on in the text. The novel follows an unnamed narrator which, despite the prefaced assertion that 'Il ne figure dans ce roman aucune personne réelle', is as Philip Dine has remarked, highly authorial.⁴⁶ Similarly, Noël Favrelière's text *Le Déserteur* maintains a high degree of authorial presence. Favrelière first published his account of the experiences of a *rappelé* during the Algerian War from exile in Algeria and Tunisia. In August 1956, he had personally liberated an Algerian prisoner who was due to be executed by his section of *Parachutistes*, and deserted along with the prisoner to join the FLN, resulting in a French military tribunal sentencing him to death. This first text was *Le Désert à l'aube*, which was seized by the French government upon its publication in 1960.⁴⁷ Although parts of it were subsequently published in *Liberté Vérité*, it remained largely unread.⁴⁸ *Le Déserteur*, published in 1973, was a retitled and reworked version of the previously censored text, which developed the narrator's life after desertion further and included some metropolitan reactions to the narrator's

⁴⁵ Philippe Labro, *Des Feux Mals Éteints* (Paris: Gallimard, 1967 – republished 2007). Subsequent quotations from this text will be referenced in parentheses after the quotation. References to the title will be shortened to 'Des Feux'.

⁴⁶ Dine, p. 116.

⁴⁷ Noël Favrelière, *Le Désert à l'aube* (Paris: Éditions du Minuit, 1960 – republished 2000).

⁴⁸ Another novel about desertion, *Le Déserteur* by Jean-Louis Hurst under the pseudonym 'Maurienne' was published at around the same time and had a much larger impact than *Le Désert à l'aube*. Furthermore, while early censored texts such as *La Question* and *La Gangrène* achieved wide clandestine distribution, continued government censorship lost the scandalous allure of reading a clandestine text and thus further works were only read by the converted minority of dedicated anti-colonialists. For more on this see: Benjamin Stora, *Le Livre: mémoire d'histoire : Réflexions sur le livre et la guerre d'Algérie* (Paris: Le préau des collines, 2005) pp. 81, 91–3.

desertion in the aftermath of the war.⁴⁹ While the texts are set during different periods and settings in the war (*Le Déserteur*, just after the *rappel* in the *Djebels*; *Des Feux* in the final stages of the war in Algiers), both texts draw upon similar anti-colonial frameworks to construct the *contingent*. So, in this section, we will examine the representation of the contingent, above all their collective construction as a brutalised grouping and their separation from France. We will then examine the representation of individualised *appelés* and the intersections of their memories with the memory of the Second World War. Lastly, we will examine the form of the texts and how this impacts upon the representation of the *appelés* and their cultural memory.

Representing the Contingent

Both texts highlight the moral failings of the colonial system and the radical separation of the *appelés* from metropolitan France. *Le Déserteur* uses anti-colonial tropes in its construction of the *contingent*, particularly regarding the (lack of) morality of the contingent towards the Algerian people—be they indigenous Algerians or the *Pieds Noirs*. In an anecdote, the narrator relates the story of a day's leave to celebrate the 14th of July where all the *rappelés* are taken to their nearby town, Blida, for the afternoon. 'D'autres encore [de rappelés] allèrent au bordel, mais ils devaient attendre leur tour, car les jours de sortie c'était la ruée et les filles n'étaient pas nombreuses' (*Le Déserteur*, p. 45). Despite the popularity of the brothel, during the course of the day the *rappelés* continue to roam the town in search of sexual thrills. The afternoon ends with a scene where a group of *Pieds Noirs* women are harassed by now drunken soldiers, with one saying, 'Bientôt, pour chaque bicot abbatu, on aura droit de baiser la "pied noir" de son choix' (*Le Déserteur*, p. 45). The morality of the *contingent* is thus drawn into question by the narrator. In the imagined recompense of sexual encounters for 'kills' on the battlefield, the narrator finds a key example of the debauchery accused of colonisers in anti-colonial discourse, such as Césaire.

⁴⁹ Noël Favrelière, *Le Déserteur* ([Paris]: J-C Lattès/Édition Spéciale, 1973). Subsequent quotations from this text will be referenced in parentheses after the quotation.

However, the morality of the *contingent* is also questioned with regards to the treatment of indigenous Algerian people. In the days leading up to his desertion, the narrator confronts the *rappelés* in his section with a scandalous story: a group of *Pieds Noirs* from Boufarik, in retaliation for an FLN attack, got two *Paras* drunk and then led them to the Arab quarter and convinced them to open fire on any Algerians they could see, killing seven people. The story was reported in the papers as ‘A Boufarik, les paras mettent hors de combat un commando rebelle’ (*Le Déserteur*, p. 55). The reactions of the other *rappelés* range from the disinterested ‘Bah! Laisse tomber’, ‘Qu’est-ce que tu veux qu’on fasse?’ to the powerless, ‘On nous mettra en prison et les autres ne nous suivront pas’ and somewhat macabre ‘Tâis toi. Tu vas t’attirer des ennuis’ (*Le Déserteur*, p. 56). The narrator’s indignation at what has happened thus stands in stark contrast to the responses of the rest of his section. However, the mistreatment of Algerians by Frenchmen in *Le Déserteur* runs further. On the day of his desertion, the narrator realises that an Algerian prisoner has been dropped out of a helicopter alive. Incensed at the blatant abuses of the prisoner’s rights and with moral outrage he goes to a *rappelé*, who was a priest before military service, with the story: ‘lui aussi y alla de son couplet sur les fellaghas assassins. Il poussa même la connerie jusqu’à parler de guerre sainte’ (*Le Déserteur*, p. 22). These examples build a picture of the *contingent* as being unconcerned with the morality of the war around them. Indeed the symbol of French morality, a priest, brushes off the narrator’s murderous story with talk of a holy war. This image underscores the unpalatable connections made between Christianity and colonialism by Césaire.

However, the most telling example of the brutalising effects of colonialism on the coloniser is in the character of Seb in *Des Feux*. The reader’s first impression of Seb is one of a positive character, imbued with physical filmic beauty and an attractive personality. The narrator describes Seb prior to his military service as an avid hitchhiker and restless by nature, and while living in Spain, Seb developed a friendship with an American screenwriter, Peter MacHenry, who gets him work on Hollywood for Spaghetti Westerns (*Des Feux*, p. 79). While working on the film sets, Seb develops a relationship with an American starlet, who wants him to screen-test for films, ‘elle se mit dans la tête que Seb était le nouvel Humphrey Bogart, ou le future John Garfield de son époque’ (*Des Feux*, p. 80). But Seb is a quiet, introspective character and at the

screen-test does not respond well to the producers instructions: ‘Le producteur avait agité ses mains et lui avait gueulé : — Don’t do nothing! [...] Et Seb n’a rien fait.’ (*Des Feux*, p. 80). He soon moves on and hitchhikes back to Paris, but he has made the starlet fall in love with him – and she keeps the reel of his screentest (which many years later the narrator will watch while he learns of this story). Thus Seb is initially set up as an attractive, but not overly sentimental, character – easily to get on with but perhaps emotionally closed, roaming from one job to the next.

While Seb’s relation to Hollywood posits him as a glamorous character in the text, by the end of the novel, and upon returning to France subsequent to his experiences in Algeria, Seb’s character is significantly changed: dwelling melancholically on the past rather than the future as before. Seb returns first to Paris, but constantly lost in his memories he decides to return to his childhood hometown, where he had lived during the Second World War up until 1947, and he eventually commits suicide in the garden of his childhood home. Philip Dine reads Seb’s suicide as, ‘an image of French society’s failure to face up to its responsibilities as regards the *contingent*.’⁵⁰ While it is true that Seb is offered very little support by his friends and family in France following his return, this is at least in part down to his own introverted disposition:

[Seb] calcula qu’il avait dû ouvrir la bouche une douzaine de fois depuis qu’il était rentré de Marseille : dans le train, pour répondre à un bidasse qui lui demandait l’heure ; à Paris, au téléphone, lorsqu’il avait essayé de *raccrocher* avec les autres et qu’il avait très tôt renoncé, toujours à Paris, face à sa mère, à qui il avait dit :

— Je te demande pardon, mais ça va pas bien, je préfère partir faire un tour, on se verra plus tard.’ (*Des Feux*, p. 295).

We must therefore consider additional factors which may have led to his suicide. Given his significantly changed personality from before his entry into the war and after his return home, we can presume that his experiences as an *appelé* are important. Contrarily to most of the *appelés* in *Des Feux*, who played a relatively passive role in the final stages of the war in Algiers, Seb was actively involved in *pacification* operations in the *djebels*, and even spent some time in the notoriously harsh military prison at *Zarza* for having attempted to ‘frag’ his commanding officer while out on operation. This exposure to some of the harsher elements of

⁵⁰ Dine, *Images of the Algerian War*, p. 121.

the war can allow Seb to be seen as an example of Césaire’s brutalised colonialist, irreparably changed by his experiences as an instrument of a distinctly colonial war. Indeed the lead in to Seb’s suicide explicitly invokes his distinctly changed personality culminating with a brief mention of his experiences at Zarza: ‘Vu de loin, Seb marchait comme un somnambule; vu de haut, comme un automate, et vu de profil, comme un malade qui sort enfin du sanatorium’ (*Des Feux*, p. 287). He is damaged on all fronts, having digested the war, robot-like, but mentally scarred like a hospital patient. This is a distinctly different character from the free-spirit of the earlier sections of the novel, and while many of his more brutal experiences in Algeria are only implied—the negative implications on his character causing him to become overwhelmed by absence, sadness and nostalgia to the point of suicide are clear.

Des Feux also offers a sometimes romantic collective vision of the *contingent* as stuck in a liminal space – between childhood and adulthood, and between Algeria and France, and as a collective comprising of no shared history, only a ‘multitude de solitudes’. Labro’s famous formulation ‘Tous les soldats s’appelaient Max, entre, eux. C’était le tic d’une génération’ (*Des Feux*, p. 128) captured both the fraternal bonds of army life, with a collective anonymity which separated the appelés from France: While the sharing of this common name gives a sense of a shared collective identity on the *contingent*, when the narrator answers the phone as ‘Max’ to his sister back in Paris she does not understand his reference – highlighting the device’s other function as evidence of the division between the *contingent* and metropolitan France. This separation is also illustrated by the further trope – established late in the novel – of the linguistic tics of the *contingent* (of which ‘Max’ was one).⁵¹ Philip Dine highlights the passage:

Terminé: adjectif typique du militaire—je m’aperçois que je l’ai utilisé trois fois en quelques paragraphes. Mais cela devait disparaître facilement, de même que vous alliez vite réapprendre à répondre oui ou non, plutôt qu’*affirmatif* ou *negatif*. (p.348-9)

As a suggestion that:

⁵¹ A further metaphor used by Labro to illustrate the distance between the *appelés* and the hexagone is the way in which the *Djebel* reporters, used to watching VO films in Paris, must watch the same films in VF in Algiers. This ironic reversal of the language, forcing them to partake in a specifically French cultural activity, only serves to highlight their distance from France. (*Des Feux*, p. 126)

Labro picks up on this linguistic homogenization precisely in order to deny its power to integrate the military's conscripted element in anything other than a superficial and short-lived way.⁵²

While picking up on the military terms the *appelés* learnt in Algeria, Dine's analysis however does not comment on the novel's antithetical development of the new linguistic evolutions that the *appelés* **didn't** learn in France of the period. As the narrator comments in the novel's final chapter:

Il me semble, lorsque je repense à toute cette histoire, que tout s'est déroulé au rythme de notre langage [...] je m'aperçus que ce n'était plus le même langage que le nôtre. (*Des Feux*, p. 372)

Upon returning to France the *appelés* first note the words that they have missed which have come into fashion but because of the two years spent abroad the *appelés* will never quite fully understand their significance (these include [according to the narrator] *génial*, *tragique* and *marrant*). This indirect factor, the writing over of the *contingents* linguistic innovations with newer fashionable language, reinforces the sense of isolation of the *contingent* — an isolation which only long-term reintegration with France can attenuate.

This isolation is particularly striking in the final section of *Des Feux*, which describes the narrator's emotions at finishing his 730 days of military service. The chapter is built around a number of repeated structures which invoke the specific shared memories of the *contingent*, interspersed with more lengthy personal anecdotes. These structures include (but are not limited to):

‘Salut les Max. C'est ainsi que vous vous appeliez entre vous [...]’ (*Des Feux*, p. 345)

‘Salut aux Bières 33, aux Chocos BN avalés tôt le matin [...]’ (*Des Feux*, p. 346)

‘Souvenez-vous: il est vingt et une heures, dans la poussière et la fumée [...]’ (*Des Feux*, p. 346)

‘Dis, tu te souviens, Max? Sans consignes, on partait dans les camions bâchés [...]’ (*Des Feux*, p. 349)

‘A votre retour, votre première pensée devait être [...]’ (*Des Feux*, p. 350)

⁵² Dine, p. 119.

‘Vous faisez partie d’une génération d’après-guerre, que vos aînés le veuillent ou non. Vous alliez vivre, travailler, voter *après la guerre*. La vôtre.’ (*Des Feux*, p. 351)

‘vous l’aviez fait votre service, vous aviez donc vu, vous étiez é-di-fiés [...]’ (*Des Feux*, p. 357)

As these structures demonstrate, the chapter makes particular use of the 2nd person singular and plural verbs, using *tu* and *vous* forms, and 2nd person determiners such as *votre* and *vos*. This emphasises the narrator’s exteriority to the experiences that he is describing, invoking the shared culture of the *contingent* but not necessarily sharing in that culture himself. However, these structures are put in tension with others where the narrator uses third personal plural and ‘on’ forms, or leaves a deliberate ambiguity through not specifically pointing the memories at any group, for example ‘Salut aux Bières 33’. Thus the narrator appears at points included within the culture of the *contingent* and at points excluded. This could be read therefore as highlighting how the narrator shared in the general feeling of *dépaysement*, while still maintaining a distance from the mainstream of *contingent* culture. Hence, the passage serves to highlight a number of paradoxical and oxymoronic elements of the life of the *contingent*, through use of the indefinite subject: the shared experiences which united them, while dislocating them from France; the individual sensations of loneliness and separation from the collective. These elements build a simultaneous collective and individual experience of the *appelés* – on the one hand drawn together through collective experience (the indefinite ‘on’), on the other constantly self-identifying as isolated individuals (the indefinite ‘vous’). When contrasting such vocabulary against that which the *appelés* missed out on in France—highlighted shortly afterwards in the novel’s final chapter—there is a clear disparity between the carefree vocabulary of 1960s youths and that used by the *contingent*.

Remembering the Second World War

While both texts show their narrators’ empathy for the plight of the Algerian people – and their regard for characters considered inferior by the rest of the *contingent*, the reader is also offered insight into why these character’s perception of Algerians diverges from the norm. Here the texts build multidirectional links with

the characters formative experiences during the Second World War. The two factors which drive the narrator of *Le Déserteur*, were both instilled during childhood spent during the Second World War: first of all, a recklessness regarding his own safety—the narrator volunteered for the *Parachutistes*, not for extra money as with most *rappels*, but for ‘le plaisir d’avoir peur’ (*Le Déserteur*, p. 31); and a moral code built around resistance to occupation. This characterization is built through a parallel history elaborated by narrative flashbacks between episodes in the Second World War and by the narrator’s experiences in Algeria.

In a flashback to September 1944, the narrator remembers a resistance attack on a German officer leaving a café in his hometown:

Je m’accroupis près d’un de ces garçons. C’était un jeune Espagnol d’une vingtaine d’années. Son arme m’intéressait énormément : un fusil mitrailleur russe avec le chargeur rond à plat sur le dessus de la culasse. Il visa l’Allemand qui sortait lentement du “Café de Commerce” et attendit, le doigt sur la détente. A ce moment-là, j’entendis la voix de ma mère qui m’appelait ; je fis la sourde oreille. Presque aussitôt l’Allemand et les maquisards se mirent à tirer. A quelques centimètres de moi, le fusil mitrailleur faisait un bruit infernal et crachait des étincelles ; pour la première fois de ma vie, mes narines s’emplissaient d’odeur de poudre brûlée. L’Allemand tomba sur un genou mais continua à tirer. Une balle frappa l’arbre derrière lequel nous étions. Sans me regarder, l’Espagnol me cria :

Fous le camp, putain de même, fous le camp ! (*Le Déserteur*, pp. 37-8)

Later returning to the square the narrator describes the scene:

Tout autour de moi, les gens riaient et plaisantaient, comme à demi ivres. C’étaient les mêmes qui avaient le portrait du maréchal Pétain sur leur cheminée et qui disaient “les terroristes” en parlant des résistants. (*Le Déserteur*, p. 38)

This example highlights several elements that parallel the narrator’s desertion. First is the Spaniard who fights with the maquis, a young man from a foreign country fighting a moral (rather than a specifically national) war. The narrator is instinctively drawn to this character, a young ‘garçon’ who at twenty-odd years old was same age as an *appelé*, and who he would later emulate, by joining the FLN in fighting a moral war against the French occupation of Algeria. Second, the narrator appreciates the hypocrisy of the French village folk: on the one hand celebrating a resistance attack on the Germans, while generally supporting Pétain and speaking of resisters as terrorists. This marks another parallel with the

Algerian narrative, as these are hypocrisies that he later identifies amidst the *contingent*, who wish for the war to end so that they can return home, but simultaneously continue to prolong it by fighting against the Algerians.

In a further flashback, a few weeks after the child-narrator's encounter with the Spanish resistor, the narrator's parents are remembered supporting a group of *maquisards* who had stopped by their house to rest and have something to eat. The narrator, who was still a young child at this point, offers to join them in their fight against the Germans. Despite being made fun of by the group, his parents have to lock him in the cellar to prevent him from running away to join the group, and while he did successfully escape, by the time he did the *maquisards* had left (*Le Déserteur*, p. 39). Hence, the narrator's parents also show a strong moral sympathy for the resisting side. The narrator's recklessness—which would later be a factor in his decision to desert—is demonstrated in his desire to join the *maquis* despite being 10 years old. Reflecting on interviews with French citizens involved in active resistance to the Algerian War, Martin Evans has suggested that interviewees who were children during the Second World War but too young to have been actively involved in *La Résistance* were:

Fixated by Resistance memory, they extrapolated from it a moral position which they were in a hurry to see applied to other political situations. For them the Resistance was a statement about truth and justice which had to be defended, and above all this meant acting decisively.⁵³

Similarly, the *Le Déserteur's* narrator's Second World War memories map a strong parallel with the story of his desertion. The imperative to morally resist comes before the importance of obeying orders (he ignores his Mother's calls during the attack on the German officer), or even before considerations of his own safety (running away from the protection of home to join the *maquis*). Hence, when deciding to desert the narrator likens it to committing suicide, particularly given its punishment by the death penalty (*Le Déserteur*, p. 27).

Narrative strategies and memory discourses

⁵³ Martin Evans, *The Memory of Resistance: French Opposition to the Algerian War* (Oxford: Berg, 1997), p. 41.

Both texts employ hybrid narrative structures to create their literary worlds, making them difficult to define in terms of genre or style. *Des Feux* juxtaposes the styles of a wide variety of genres in its chapters including elements of the polar, autobiography/autofiction, the thriller, literary prose and journalistic writing. It also shifts between omniscient third person narration and subjective first person narration, and moves through flashbacks and flashforwards to important formational experiences of the characters. The switches between 1st person and 3rd person narration highlight one of the key elements of the narrator's experience as an *appelé*: they function both as an individual outside of the traditional structures and customs of the *contingent*; and as a member and romanticizing figure of *appelé* culture. The mixture of genres and narrative structures can be read as an attempt to engage with the wide range of *appelés* experiences from the war, presenting different moments from the war through a distinct prism of experience.

Le Déserteur has some of the hallmarks of a conventional wartime autobiography, presented as penned by a notorious author and an important story to relate. The complex temporal structure of the initial chapters relating the narrator's desertion leaves the reader disoriented and aware of the constructed, auto-fictional nature of the narrative. This temporal structure is built through interruptions to what is initially set up as a linear chronology, beginning with the build up and direct influences on the narrator's desertion – but followed by a wide range of flashbacks once the narrator has gone into hiding in an Algerian forest. These highly subjective flashbacks, which intermingle childhood memories amidst those of life in the *contingent*, culminate with a circular return to the opening of the novel—highlighting the subjectivity of the narrative itself and the fluidity of the memory it is based upon.

Using Rothberg's formulation of multidirectional memory, the twists in the form of the narratives and tension between fiction and autobiography suggest that we could consider the texts as highly mediated works of cultural memory. Rothberg's analysis of Charlotte Delbo's *Les Belles Lettres* has shown that formal experimentation can be a means of establishing a 'counterpublic' memory, addressing a contrarian vision of the war to a minority public. While the levels of formal experimentation in *Le Déserteur* and *Des Feux* do not reach those of other highly literary texts of the period such as Pierre Guyotat's *Tombeau Pour 500000*

soldats (Paris: Gallimard, 1967), they nevertheless highlight the fluid boundaries between the real, lived experiences of the *contingent* in Algeria and fictional representations of those experiences.⁵⁴ Similarly they open up new literary spaces within which the previously largely homogenous cultural identities of the Algerian War *appelés* could be contested. Furthermore, the active methods the authors employ to circulate the texts (including Labro's plugs during the *Les Max* segment of *Cinq colonnes* and Favrelière's republication of *Le Désert à l'aube* (in *Verité Liberté* and as *Le Déserteur*), highlight their efforts to orient the texts towards a public sphere, albeit a potentially small public given the lack national commemorative space afforded to the Algerian War at the time.

Yet while both texts tend towards hybrid forms, the characterisation of the protagonists versus the *contingent* diverges significantly. *Le Déserteur* tends towards a black and white distinction between the heroic narrator and generally apathetic or evil characters within the *contingent*, while *Des Feux* offers a greater level of nuance. Nevertheless, the narrators of both texts (and the significant character of Seb in *Des Feux*), are specifically singled out from the *contingent* as unique fully individualised characters with a distinct and noteworthy vision of the war.

This focus on the individual *appelé's* seeming interiority and simultaneous exteriority to the *contingent*, is a theme which is developed throughout *Des Feux* through the narrator's character. Prior to joining an operational unit of *appelés* he first works for the military magazine *Djebel* (a fictional version of *Le Bled*), where he writes articles about the *contingent* for the *contingent's* consumption. Thus, although the *parti pris* of the magazine encourages positive images of the troops, the narrator embodies a number of elements of journalistic objectivity. When he is subsequently transferred to his operational unit, he maintains this journalistic distance and neutrality from the other *appelés* in the operational unit. Even when he is intimately involved in traumatic events, such as the shootings of the Rue D'Isly, he maintains a level of emotional detachment from the fate of his section in order to act as objective witness. As he suggests in a self-reflective passage:

⁵⁴ Guyotat's novel presents this boundary in its most radical form, taking using dense impenetrable prose to offer the reader, in Barthesian mode, a *scriptible* text. Thus the reader writes the war for themselves, as they read through the text, living and reliving events as they imagine them. (Philip Dine considers this in more detail on pp. 122–5 of *Images of the Algerian War*).

Je m'étais fait à cette solitude et sans doute l'avais-je aimée et lorsque j'étais revenu en France et que j'avais appris un métier et que j'étais reparti en perpétuel voyage, en quête perpétuelle d'une réalité souvent macabre, souvent futile, n'éprouvais-je pas un plaisir tranquille à m'endormir, abruti de fatigue, dans des chambres d'hôtel impersonnelles et immenses et n'avais-je pas choisi cette profession parce qu'elle pouvait s'exercer, précisément, en *solo*? (*Des Feux*, p. 202)

His identity as a journalist is thus importantly linked to the development of the *appelés* themselves: while it is in the narrator's professional capacity to remain detached and objective, the detachment that the *contingent* as a whole experiences from France is not one in which they are professionally used to, and thus they experience it traumatically, while the narrator can report on the process. The narrator also has many experiences that other young *appelés* lack, having travelled and worked as a journalist extensively in America. So while on the one hand he experiences the same events as the *appelés* around him, he experiences them from a distinct perspective as an outsider to the main group.

This dual construction is also evident in *Le Déserteur*, as the narrator is consistently set apart from the other *rappelés* in his regiment due to his sympathies with the Algerian people and his ethical stand against violence, which is mistaken for a left-wing political alignment (pp. 36-7). Favrelière's subsequent desertion takes this differentiation to a radical level – distinguishing, as with the principal characters in *Des Feux*, a unique perspective from that of the typical *bidasse*. Nevertheless the characters experience a similar separation and amnesia with regards to France— for example in the moments prior to his desertion, the narrator forgets his Father's words of advice from back home: 'Avant de faire quoi que ce soit, pense à ta mère' (*Le Déserteur*, p. 23). Like the desertion itself which establishes the narrator's rejection of the values of the *contingent* as a whole, the army's response to the narrator's desertion (convicting the narrator with death penalty and thus permanent exile from France) takes the character's level of separation from France to a radical level. Hence both texts stress the importance of inclusion and exclusion, commenting on the *appelés* caught between two cultures, two communities and different memory groupings.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined *Des Feux Mals Éteints* and *Le Déserteur* as among the first cultural narratives to break down the collective state sponsored image of the *contingent* and posit a more complex and fragmentary construction of individual *appelés*. This construction drew on the social frameworks which would come to dominate later phases of *appelé* memory of the Algerian War: with anti-colonial discourses being a dominant frame in the 1980s photo-albums by Marc Garanger; debates on torture an essential narrative of the re-emergence of Algerian War memory in the 1990s and 2000s, and the brutalised nature of the *appelé* experience evoked frequently in digital texts of the 21st century.

As such, the prose texts we have studied in this chapter played an important role in developing a hybrid space in which to innovate new conceptions of *appelé* identity, an identity which contested collective and largely homogenised constructions of the *contingent*, such as had previously appeared on French television.

These two texts therefore work on multiple levels, offering a collective construction of the *appelés*, but also offering a means to expose an individualised memory of the war from an atypical ‘outsider’ *appelé* or *rappelé*. The dynamic between the collective construction of the *contingent* and the individual narrative of the outsider is balanced in both texts until a tipping point: for Favrelière’s narrator this is witnessing the murder of an unarmed Algerian prisoner; for the narrator in *Des Feux* this is the murder of Nicolas, his best friend, by the OAS; for Seb it is the 6 months spent in the harsh conditions of military prison at Zarza. After these points the characters’ individuality is more heavily stressed through the formal complexities of the narrative and chronological structures, which work to interweave memories of the Algerian War with the characters’ formational histories. The resulting multidirectional connections between these alternate histories nuance the outsider characters’ back-stories, and play strongly to the social frameworks of the era, where the Algerian War was widely being forgotten and the dominant myths of the Second World War were beginning to be questioned.

This chapter has also highlighted this period of Algerian War memory as a time in which anti-colonial narratives were beginning to emerge more forcefully. The reading frame of the ‘counterpublic’ witness allows us to tap into the idea that this phase of war memory, while one particularly marked by the elite-level silence of Algerian War discourse and the experiences of *appelés* more widely, was also one where counterpublic texts (although not widely circulated) set up the hybrid frames upon which later texts could build. These are texts where form allows the writers to articulate new spaces within which to contest dominant narratives/constructions of the Algerian War and Algerian War identity. These spaces allow for meditation on how wider (collective) historical processes manifest within personal/individual memories of separate events.

Lastly, these two texts have shown us the value of a multidirectional approach to Algerian War memory in the model of Michael Rothberg. While the principal characters in *Le Déserteur* and *Des Feux mals éteints* seem to be framed within a Resistance narrative—i.e. they help the ‘occupied’ Algerians covertly—they analogise themselves to Second World War Resisters and they integrate memories of resistance in their construction of the journey that has led them to their stance during the Algerian War. Yet it might be more accurate to state that the characters should be more framed as *outside* of a collaboration narrative—i.e. they are the solitary resisters amidst a sea of apathy and collaboration. This is a framing that could not have happened without a shift in social frameworks for understanding the Algerian War and the advent of a more contestatory memory framework for approaching the Second World War. As we shall see in Chapters 4 & 5, in later decades these contemporary framings come to the fore in order to resist and critique state-sponsored narratives.

CHAPTER 4

Constructions of the Algerian War *Appelés* in Marc Garanger's *La Guerre d'Algérie vue par un appelé du contingent* (1984).

‘Chaque jour plus nombreux, chaque jour plus résolus, des regards différents se sont alors portés sur nous : sur ceux qui étaient, bon gré mal gré, nos délégués [en Algérie].

Certains de ces regards nous attendent ici : n'hésitons pas à les fixer, à nous laisser à notre tour saisir par eux. Mais sans la moindre complaisance masochiste. Avec l'unique souci de nous rendre plus attentifs aujourd'hui qu'hier à nos faciles glissements, à nos distraites complicités : à tout ce qui, en nous et hors de nous, risque de nous engager de nouveau – sous quelque forme plus ou moins inédite – dans les ruineux engrenages du racisme.’

Francis Jeanson writing in 1984 in the preface to:
La Guerre d'Algérie vue par un appelé du contingent.

SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION

In the previous two chapters we examined the construction of the *appelés* in the televisual medium during 1959-60, and in the prose form during the late 1960s and early 1970s. These two studies showed an evolution in the phasing of *appelé* cultural memory: from a state-sponsored collective construction of the *contingent* on *Cinq Colonnes à la une*, which negotiated between the social frameworks of colonial imaginary and modernisation; towards contestations of collective *appelé* memory in individualising prose discourses, which built upon resistance narratives of the Second World War. In this chapter we will use the medium of photography to consider a further evolution of the phasing of *appelé* memory during the early 1980s. Benjamin Stora's analysis of the historiography of the Algerian War in *La Gangrène et l'Oubli*, maintains that the 1980s were on the one hand a period when, at the elite political level, memory of the Algerian War was locked away tighter than ever.¹ However, as the decade progressed, memory and commemoration of the war—inspired by the simultaneous rise of Jean-Marie Le Pen and the anti-racism movement—became ever more influential.² In this chapter we will therefore examine how constructions of the *appelés* dialogued with social frameworks around Maghrebi immigrants and immigration in France of the early 1980s. In this introduction we will contextualise our study of *appelé* photographer Marc Garanger, and develop the theoretical approach we will take to his album *La Guerre d'Algérie vue par un appelé du contingent*.³

¹ Mitterrand's presidency has been shown as having helped further the amnesties for infractions during the war that de Gaulle began in the 1960s; thus wiping the Algerian War further from the legislative map. For more on this see: Jean Guisnel, *Les Généraux, enquête sur le pouvoir militaire en France*, (Paris : La Découverte, 1990), p. 68 ; and Benjamin Stora, *La Gangrène et l'Oubli : La mémoire de la guerre d'Algérie* (Paris: Éditions La Découverte, 1991), p. 283.

² Stora picks out 1984 as the key year in this movement, with the *Front National* taking 10% of the vote in the European elections of June, and the birth of anti-racist movement with *SOS Racisme* founded in October with the slogan 'Touche pas à mon Pote'. Stora, *La Gangrène et l'Oubli*, chapters 19 & 20.

³ Marc Garanger, *La Guerre d'Algérie vue par un appelé du contingent* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1984). Subsequent page references to this book will appear in parentheses in the body of the chapter. From this point onwards, for ease of reading, we will use an abridged version of the title: *La Guerre d'Algérie*.

Contextual and theoretical readings

In 1982, in commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the Evian Accords, a small number of programmes and news segments were commissioned on French television looking back on the Algerian War.⁴ Of these programmes, a News Bulletin from March 18th, featured a segment of testimony by an *appelé*, and another broadcast, ‘Les anciens du contingent et l’Algérie’, from March 20th directly considered the experiences and memory of the *appelés*.⁵ These two separate media commemorations of the 1982 anniversary of the Evian Accords thus evidence the pertinence of memory of the Algerian War to the viewers of the programmes, and illustrate some of the key aspects of *appelé* constructions and *appelé* cultural memory in this period. Furthermore, the *appelés* who testify on these programmes offer us an insight into the plural nature of cultural memory of the *contingent* during this period.

The news bulletin of March 18th started with five minutes on the history of the Evian Accords, integrating archive footage from news crews and SCA videographers alongside contextualising commentary by a TF1 reporter about the political machinations behind the Accords. Following this segment, an interview with an ordinary *appelé*—Jean Baspert—now in his forties, is introduced by a number of stills, Baspert’s personal photographs from the war. The photographs depict the young Baspert riding on a half-track and riding astride the cannon of a tank; the shot then jumps to contemporary Baspert riding a tractor on his farm, visually linking his former and current roles within society. Interviewed in the kitchen of his farmhouse with his wife and children surrounding him, Baspert’s testimony is largely negative and vague, the war was an ‘immense bêtise’ he says; and he refuses to go into detail while he is around his children, ‘il ne faut pas en faire un trop grand étalage’. However one of his stories is inspired by a photograph that he brought back from Algeria. Talking of his experiences in the months following after the signing of the Accords, Baspert recounts an anecdote

⁴ These included an open table discussion between members of the negotiating teams on both sides of the Accords and General Marcel Bigeard; a special news report featuring commentary by several generations of *Harkis* about the Accords, and a report about the evolution of Algerian cinema. Drawn from research at the *Institut National de l’Audiovisuel* (INA) in Paris, June 2010.

⁵ TF1 News Bulletin 8pm, 18th March 1982, 8mins. Archived at the INA ‘imago’ database, reference code: CAA8200508501. And: Part of ‘Sept sur Sept’, TF1 7pm, 20th March 1982, 29mins. Archived at the INA ‘imago’ database, reference code: CAA8200302301.

of how his unit met with a group of FLN soldiers, and he holds a photo up to the camera showing a cordial meeting as an *appelé* (presumably himself) shakes the hand of his FLN counterpart. The emphasis given to the photographs that have inspired Baspert's testimony is a device previously unseen in televisual depictions of the *contingent* and is a sign of the increasing importance of this medium in mediating Algerian War memory in the early 1980s.

While the programme from March 20th, 'Les anciens du contingent et l'Algérie', features a more varied collection of testimonies, it is even more closely linked to *appelé* memory. The opening narration sets out the programme's remit as apolitical:

Ce sont les appelés et les rappelés qui ont donc fait de cette guerre qui ne disait pas son nom, la dernière grande tragédie nationale pour certains. Et ce soir donc, pas question de rouvrir un débat avec des arguments, simplement nous allons faire un appel à la mémoire pour voir comment est encore ressentie aujourd'hui cette guerre d'Algérie.

The programme can therefore be read as a descendant of Philippe Labro's report on the *appelés* for *Cinq Colonnes à la Une*, moving away from a politicised debate to a seemingly more neutral piece on 'memory'; favouring testimony by the *appelés* over historical analysis as a means of understanding the long-term implications of the war on those that waged it.⁶

The programme features a wide range of testimonies by various groups of *appelés*, some are interviewed alone, some in small groups, and a meeting of an *appelé* association is also filmed while they watch newsreel footage of the war from the late 1950s.⁷ There is a clear and distinct shift in the construction of the Algerian War and the role of the *appelés* from earlier televisual materials, following

⁶ It is worth noting that regulation of French television had changed enormously since the De Gaulle era, and therefore, to an extent, the additional nuance in the constructions of the *appelés* and *appelé* memory on these later programmes can be explained by the greater independence of the broadcasters. For more on this see: Gérard Noiriel, *Immigration, antisémitisme et racisme en France (XIX^e – XX^e siècle) Discours publics, humiliations privées* (Paris: Fayard, 2007), pp. 599-602. Or: Jérôme Bourdon, *Haute fidélité : Pouvoir et télévision, 1935-1994* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1994).

⁷ The programme's choice to depict the work of an association reflects the significant proportion of *appelés* who were involved in these forms of active commemoration of the war. In 1980, membership of the three main *appelé* associations was near its peak: FNACA had 250,000 members, l'UNCAFN 230,000 members and the CATM had 120,000 members. Combined with some of the smaller associations therefore, the total membership was considerably greater than 600,000. For more on this see: Stora, *La Gangrène et l'Oubli*, p. 267.

a similarly fragmented pattern to the prose texts in the previous chapter: firstly, the programme features only memories and footage of active operations—*pacification* and *mission civilisatrice* does not feature once. Secondly, all the *appelés* featured describe the war in a negative light, no matter what their political persuasion: one *appelé* at the association meeting calls the war ‘un échec’, given that he went on his service wanting to preserve *l’Algérie française*. Another *appelé* talks plainly about the abuse of prisoners, the failure of torture as a means of getting Algerians to talk, and the execution of prisoners against a fence.⁸ There is also lastly a strong focus on individual memories of the war, each *appelé* speaks for himself with no contextualisation by the journalist and (despite the *appelé* association featured) there is little attempt at presenting the *appelés* as a collective body, or presenting a collective construction or memory of the *appelés*. This is in strong contrast to the programmes from the 1950s and 60s, where the *appelés* were rarely individualised beyond a token level and where the testimony played a secondary role to the journalist’s (and the state’s) narrative.

For some of the featured *appelés* the silent ‘taboo’ of Algeria remained, and their stories lingered unheard by mainstream society.⁹ Some testify through a sense of duty, building on a framework of human-rights as a means of explaining an unassailable *devoir de mémoire*.¹⁰ This is highlighted in particular in ‘Les anciens du contingent et l’Algérie’ in the first appearance of photographer Marc Garanger on a national stage. Garanger appears alongside Jean-Louis Gérard, an *appelé* in the previous class, whose paths crossed on an outpost in Aïn Terzine, near Aumale (now Sour El-Ghozlane) in Kabylia, in early 1960. As with the testimony of Jean Baspert on the news segment, Garanger and Gérard’s

⁸ While torture during the Algerian War would become a polemic during the 1990s, at this point in time the testimony of this *appelé* (Pierre Mimeau) is accepted with no further comment by the journalist.

⁹ A large number of *appelé* testimonies from Stora’s programme ‘Les Années Algériennes’ (1991) refer to this silence, Jean-Pierre Farkas for example: ‘Ce qui me frappe beaucoup—et je me pose la question très souvent—c’est que je n’ai pas encore rencontré un homme de mon âge qui m’ait dit : « J’ai fait la guerre d’Algérie. » Si, au marché, j’ai un copain qui vend du poisson ; l’autre jour, il m’a dit qu’il avait fait la guerre. Mais ça s’est arrêté là. [...] Pourquoi tout ça est-il enfoui quelque part ? Je ne sais pas.’

¹⁰ See for example Pierre Mimeau’s testimony about torture in ‘Les anciens du contingent et l’Algérie’. A number of former *appelés* have written about this aspect of *appelé* memory including deserter and war psychologist Bernard Sigg and avowed torturer Maurice Mateos Ruiz. See: Bernard Sigg, *Le Silence et la Honte, névroses de la guerre d’Algérie* (Paris: Messidor, 1989); Maurice Mateos-Ruiz, *L’Algérie des Appelés* (Biarritz: Atlantica, 1998).

testimonies are inspired by photographs, in particular Garanger's images of Saïd Bouakli, a political commissioner of the FLN who was a high-profile prisoner of their regiment. Garanger took several photographs of Bouakli, alive, just after he had been captured. Garanger narrates:

[En] arrivant au mois de mars, [Bouakli] venait d'être fait prisonnier, il était blessé à la jambe. Et là je l'ai photographié dans la salle de l'officier de renseignement, et il a été interrogé et torturé et puis, ensuite, quelques jours après on a su qu'il était mort. Or, dans le constat de gendarmerie qui a été fait, le médecin dit : mort par transfixion de la cage thoracique et de la boîte crânienne par balle. Donc, on a su effectivement qu'il avait été couché dans sa tombe et assassinée dans sa tombe et tué dans sa tombe.

Here Garanger uses his personal photographs to invoke a politically engaged memory, criticising the actions of the French army during the war, from the perspective of human-rights violations.¹¹ This stance was ten years ahead of the widespread polemics about torture and military abuse/violence in Algeria that emerged in the 1990s. It is also a didactic thread that Garanger has suggested inspired the publication of his two photo-albums in the 1980s to help lift 'la chape de silence' that surrounded the war.¹²

Garanger, a *sursitaire* of 5 years as a student in Lyon, went to Algeria in the class of 1960 having refused officer training at Cherchell because of his anti-colonial and anti-militaristic beliefs. As he had previously worked as a teacher and had a degree, Garanger was assigned to secretarial work in an outpost at Bordj Okhriss. Garanger, however, intent on continuing his professional ambitions as a photographer, intentionally left a selection of his best photographs on his desk, hoping that the Commander de Mollans, who ran the outpost, would offer him a role as regimental photographer. Garanger's ruse worked and De Mollans, looking to document his role in the war, installed Garanger in an unofficial photographic role within the regiment. While other photographers of the Algerian War tended

¹¹ This corroborates the argument of Woodward, Jenkins and Winter who, in an article on veteran memory engagement with personal photographs, detail the contingent processes by which some public narratives come to be dominant frameworks which 'explain' the meaning of the experiences of participants in a war: 'Military identities and military memories are always negotiated'. Rachel Woodward, K. Neil Jenkins and Trish Winter, 'Negotiating Military Identities: British Soldiers, Memory and the Use of Personal Photographs', in Katharina Hall and Kathryn N. Jones (eds.), *Constructions of Conflict: transmitting memories of the past in European historiography, culture and media* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2011), 53-71, p. 71.

¹² Marc Garanger, *La Guerre d'Algérie*, rear cover.

to come through the ranks of the SCA, the unofficial nature of Garanger's posting allowed him considerable freedoms to photograph as he liked and maintain control of his negatives. During his two years in Algeria, Garanger took over twenty-thousand photographs of the region around Bordj Okhriss, covering army life and the life of the local Kabyle population; this has led a number of studies to examine Garanger's photography as ethnography.¹³ Garanger rejects this label.

While initial receptions of Garanger's photography by the military were approving, their reactions were often the direct opposite of Garanger's intentions for the photographs. An oft cited example of this was de Mollans' reaction to the images of Garanger's most famous commission, a series of two-thousand portraits of Algerians (mainly women) to adorn ID cards. The women were forced (in most cases) to unveil for the portraits, provoking visceral reactions. Garanger suggests that he took the portraits in solidarity with the women, influenced by Edward Curtis' images of American Indians. De Mollans' reaction upon seeing the images however was to call other soldiers around and joke:

Venez voir, venez voir comme elles sont laides! Venez voir ces macaques, on dirait des singes!'.¹⁴

In the wider public sphere however, Garanger's images had little impact during and in the immediate aftermath of the war.¹⁵ Garanger's photographs from Algeria found a small place in the public sphere during the mid 1960s, when he submitted some of his Algerian images, in particular the identity portraits of the *Femmes Algériennes*, alongside a wider portfolio of photo documentary work, to the 1966 *Prix Niépce*—France's most prestigious photography prize—and won. However, it was not until the early 1980s that Garanger's Algerian photography found any broad audience. The television segment featuring Marc Garanger was broadcast contemporaneously with the printing of Garanger's first album of photography from Algeria, *Femmes Algériennes, 1960*, which was to be published

¹³ Most notably Leïla Sebbar, who has labelled Garanger as 'soldat-ethnologue'. Marc Garanger and Leïla Sebbar, *Femmes des Hauts Plateaux* (Paris: La Boîte à documents, 1991), p. 62.

¹⁴ Marc Garanger, *Femmes Algériennes, 1960*, 3rd edn (Anglet: Atlantica, 2002), p. 121

¹⁵ Garanger claims that a selection of the portraits of the *Femmes Algériennes* were published in the *Illustré Suisse*, alongside an anti-colonial text by Charles-Henri Favrod, after Garanger made a clandestine trip to Lausanne during his only period of leave from his service. However, after substantial research into the matter, I am yet to find evidence of this publication's existence beyond Garanger's claim. Garanger admits that has never seen a copy. (Interview with Marc Garanger, 22 & 23 May 2010).

later in 1982 by Contrejours (2nd Edition, in pocket format, Contrejours/Cahiers d'Images, 1989; 3rd Edition, published by Atlantica in 2002). He would later publish three further albums elaborating on his experience as an *appelé*: *La Guerre d'Algérie* (1984, reprinted in 2001); *Femmes des Haut Plateaux* (with Leïla Sebbar, 1991); and *Marc Garanger, Retour en Algérie* (with Sylvain Cypel, Biarritz: Atlantica, 2007).

Academic studies of Garanger's photography initially focused exclusively on issues surrounding the *Femmes Algériennes*, given the strong resonances between the identity portraits and gendered representations from colonial times. Links have also been made to issues surrounding the veiling of Muslim women from the late 1980s until the present day.¹⁶ These studies have been supplemented by analyses drawing on the work of Leïla Sebbar, whose collaboration with Garanger for *Femmes Des Hauts Plateaux*, and whose ekphrastic usage of the *Femmes Algériennes* portraits in her short stories and novels, has drawn a different breed of cultural theorists to Garanger's photography.¹⁷ It is only more recently that academics have turned to consider *La Guerre d'Algérie* alongside *Femmes Algériennes*, offering a more comprehensive study of what Garanger considers to be an integrated and inseparable body of work.¹⁸

¹⁶ Carole Naggar, 'The Unveiled: Algerian Women, 1960', *Aperture*, 119 (1990), pp. 2-8; Leïla Sebbar, 'Identity Photographs', *Artforum International*, (May 1993), pp. 76-7; Christiane Chaulet-Achour, 'Portraits de femmes d'un pays en guerre (Photographies et récits)', in *L'esprit créateur*, XLI n°4 (2001), pp. 101-12; Karina Eileraas, 'Reframing the Colonial Gaze: Photography, Ownership, and Feminist Resistance', *MLN*, 118 (2003), pp. 807-40.

¹⁷ Christiane Chaulet-Achour, 'La Position de L'observatrice. Etude de la photographie chez Leïla Sebbar', in *Leïla Sebbar*, ed. by Michel Laronde (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2003), pp. 123-38; Andy Stafford, 'The Violence of Photography? 'Le Besoin d'Histoire' in Leïla Sebbar's 'La Photo d'Identité'', in *Postcolonial Violence, Culture and Identity in Francophone Africa and the Antilles*, ed. by Lorna Milne (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), pp. 143-66; Andy Stafford, *Photo-texts: contemporary French writing of the photographic image* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010).

¹⁸ This opinion was related to me, 'c'est toute la même œuvre', during an interview with Marc Garanger, 8 February 2009. These studies include: Benjamin Stora, 'Les photographies d'une guerre sans visage (Images de la guerre d'Algérie dans des livres d'histoire(s))', in *Algérie : vers le cinquantenaire de l'indépendance : regards critiques*, ed. by Naaman Kessous and others (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2009). Jennifer Howell, 'Decoding Marc Garanger's Photographic Message in *La Guerre d'Algérie vue par un appelé du contingent*', *Dalhousie French Studies*, 92 (2010), pp. 85-95. And: Neil MacMaster, *Burning the Veil: The Algerian War and the 'emancipation' of Muslim women, 1954-62* (Manchester and New York: University of Manchester Press, 2009).

Neil MacMaster's important chapter in *Burning the Veil*, 'Military 'pacification' and the women of Bordj Okhriss', situates Garanger's Algerian photography in its historical, sociological and anthropological context; coupled with a qualitative reading, running alongside the photography, of the experiences of the Algerian women of the High Plateaus region where Garanger was an *appelé*.¹⁹ MacMaster is disparaging of the typical cultural studies approaches to Garanger's photography, which widely (although not exclusively) ignore the historical specificities of the situation in Bordj Okhriss in the early 1960s.²⁰ He suggests that, 'the failure to examine the background encourages a largely subjective approach in which the author is able, in some magical way, to tell us what the silent women looking at the camera are thinking and feeling.'²¹ However, in focusing entirely on the historical context, and using Garanger's photography as historical document, MacMaster omits a comprehensive reading of the images which considers both the context of the photographs' production and their reception.²² This omission is particularly acute in the case of Garanger, as he is unique among photographers of the Algerian War in his persistent efforts to recirculate his Algerian photography over the last 40 years.

It is perhaps unfair to level this criticism solely at MacMaster; indeed many of the analyses of Garanger's photography, in particular regarding *Femmes Algériennes*, implicitly interpret the images according to contemporary socio-

¹⁹ In the absence of any detailed oral history of Muslim women's experiences of the war, MacMaster's research is drawn from a detailed enquiry of the archives of the *Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre* (SHAT).

²⁰ See for example Zalia Sekai's article on the *Femmes Algériennes* photographs which explicitly aims to outline 'le contexte socio-culturel et historique de photographies d'Algériennes prises par Marc Garanger [...] afin de déterminer les conditions de leur production.' Sekai does, admittedly, also take a Deleuzian deconstructionist approach to the photographs and comes to starkly different conclusions to MacMaster. Zalia Sekai, 'Derrière l'objectif ou qu'est-ce photographier en période de guerre', *AWAL*, 37 (2008), <ddata.over-blog.com/xxxxyy/0/38.97/96/algérienne_sekai.pdf>, [Accessed 18 December 2011], (Archived by WebCite at <<http://www.webcitation.org/641QfNzRu>>).

²¹ MacMaster, p. 214. MacMaster's slight here is aimed in particular at Karina Eileraas' article, 'Reframing the Colonial Gaze'.

²² Indeed this is a slippery area in Garanger's photography, Andy Stafford has written of how Garanger's photography was 'hijacked' (using the terminology of Gisèle Freund) in Garanger's collaboration with Leïla Sebbar for *Femmes Des Hauts Plateaux* (*Photo-texts*, pp. 122-59). As I discovered in an interview with Garanger for my MA by Research (8 February 2009), Garanger developed a profound animosity towards Sebbar during their partnership, with Garanger unhappy at the meaning Sebbar's text inscribed on his images. Despite this, Stafford concludes that Sebbar treats Garanger's images 'carefully [...] albeit as fabulative material'. We will return to this term in our chapter on digital memory of the Algerian War.

political factors, without explicitly acknowledging this contextual element. Beneath Carole Naggar's influential essay 'The Unveiled' for example, lie references to the beginning of the debates about Islamic headscarves and *laïcité* in French public education.²³ Similarly, many reactions to Garanger's Lifetime Achievement Award at the 2010 New York Photography Festival focused on the importance of Garanger's photography in the light of the French Government's plans to ban the Burqa and Niqab in public places.²⁴ By contrast, in December 2000 François-Marie d'Andrimont wrote in *Photographie* magazine:

Les aveux récents de militaires responsables d'actes de torture, commis pendant la guerre, révèlent en mots, au monde entier, toute la violence abjecte que Marc [Garanger] s'efforce de montrer avec ses photos depuis 1961. Ces aveux, au même titre que ces photos, apparaissent comme des morceaux manquants au puzzle de l'Histoire qui gardait caché tous les faits jusqu'à aujourd'hui.²⁵

We can therefore suggest that rather than 'subjectively' or 'magically' determining the feelings of the subjects of Garanger's photography, as MacMaster might imply, critics are using the socio-political frameworks contemporaneous with their writing to structure their analysis of the images. In this sense, MacMaster's historically embedded analysis is an important step away from this trend, helping to redress some of the generalisations about the interaction between the French army and the Algerian population which repeatedly occur during interpretations of Garanger's photography.²⁶ Furthermore, MacMaster's chapter begins to consider the questions that Garanger's work raises about the construction of the *contingent*, moving away from solely examining his depiction of Algerian Women.

²³ Naggar, pp. 2-8.

²⁴ See Leo Hsu's blog post about the exhibition 'Bodies in Question' at NYPH10, which features several videos with reactions to Garanger's photography, and Garanger's presentation to the festival: Leo Hsu, 'Marc Garanger and NYPH10', (20 May 2010), <<http://www.foto8.com/new/online/blog/1197-marc-garanger-and-nyph10>>, [Accessed: 18 December 2011].

(Archived by WebCite at <<http://www.webcitation.org/641ZSmRnF>>).

²⁵ François-Marie d'Andrimont, 'Marc Garanger: une photo vaut mille mots', *Photographie.com magazine en ligne*, Issue N° 7, (Paris: December 2000), <<http://www.photographie.com/magazine/actual/0012-100576/fr/>>, [Accessed 18 December 2011]. (Archived by WebCite at <<http://www.webcitation.org/641a2vPd7>>).

²⁶ Indeed, I include my own previous work on Garanger within this category, which pitted the Algerian people and the *contingent* in a dialectical opposition with one another with Garanger acting as a mediator: Iain Mossman, 'Representing Conflict through Photography: Marc Garanger's *La Guerre d'Algérie vue par un appelé du contingent*' (unpublished thesis for the degree of MA by Research, University of Leeds, 2009).

Amidst these analyses, there is space for a critical examination of *La Guerre d'Algérie* in the context of which they were first published. In this chapter therefore, we shall use Garanger's album as a case study for the shifts in the construction of the Algerian War *appelés* during the early 1980s. Little academic consideration has gone into why it was in this period that Garanger's photography of the Algerian War began to find a significant audience; and one of the contributions of this chapter to the increasing body of critical material on Garanger will be to offer an answer to this question. We shall also detail, elaborate and probe the social frameworks surrounding Maghrebi immigration which helped to facilitate the emergence of Garanger's photography in the early 1980s. Furthermore, we shall examine the ways in which Garanger's photography of the *appelés* marks an evolution from earlier constructions, and will look to understand how the interrelation between the *contingent* and indigenous Algerians widened the circle of *appelé* memory.

Photography and representation

In the remainder of this introduction we will outline how we intend to theoretically frame Garanger's photographs. In order that we avoid the tendency to reduce Garanger's photographs to either a historicist or a contemporary reading, we shall outline in this section some contemporary theory regarding photographs of political violence; positing Garanger as an agent of memory, but simultaneously establishing the need to consider the social frameworks which channelled the reception of his photography. We will therefore consider two theories, one from Suzie Linfield, the other from Ariella Azoulay, which will enable us to approach Garanger's photographs from different angles.

Photography has tended, ever since its invention as a medium, to fascinate in part because of its ability to transcend the bounds of time, capturing an instant and preserving it indefinitely. This temporality has intrigued theorists of the photograph, who have approached photographs through two distinct lenses (so to speak), inscribing a meaning to an image based on either the moment of the photograph's production, or the moment of its reception. This first approach allows us to examine the photograph through 'the *world* that gave birth to it',

framing our interpretation of the image as a both a product of and comment on the histories and politics of its era.²⁷ The second approach is seemingly more problematic, given firstly that photographs—as enduring objects—are approached by each viewer at different moments in time, and given secondly that the notion of reception itself draws a third party (the receptive party) into the crossing of gazes between the camera/photographer and her subject. Here therefore, interpretations of the photographic image begin to diverge, as is the case with analyses of Marc Garanger’s photography.

Questions also arise, particularly in the case of the reception of war photography, about the ethics of photography: not solely in relation to a photographer’s ethics of documenting rather than acting, but also the ethical position of the viewer and whether we should share in ‘the pain of others.’²⁸ These questions come to the fore in particular when we come to the subject of images of political violence. Susan Sontag’s influential writings on photography interlaced with ethics, have influenced a significant number of articles on Marc Garanger, in particular those focussing on the *Femmes Algériennes* portraits. These articles examine the photographs through Orientalist frames with Sontag’s terminology and approach leading to readings of the photos as voyeurism or as a form of rape.²⁹ Such assertions, it is claimed, counteract Garanger’s didactic intentions in recirculating his photography from Algeria.³⁰

Contemporary conceptualisations of the theory of social documentary photography have been quick to distance themselves from the reductive ways in which the some post-modern photography theorists (such as Sontag and to an extent Barthes) dealt with this viewer reception of photography. Susie Linfield’s thesis in her 2010 book, *The Cruel Radiance*, suggests that emotion, a crucial element in classical theories of cultural criticism (such as those of Benjamin and

²⁷ Susie Linfield, *The Cruel Radiance* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2010), p. xvii. (Linfield’s emphasis).

²⁸ On the question of the photographer’s ethics see: David Levi Strauss, ‘The Documentary Debate: Aesthetic Or Anaesthetic’ in *Between the Eyes: Essays on Photography and Politics*, ed. by Diana C Stroll (London and New York: Aperture, 2003) pp. 3-11. On the ethics of viewing see: Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (London: Penguin, 2004).

²⁹ An example of this is Carole Naggar’s essay, ‘The Unveiled’.

³⁰ On this point see for example Jennifer Howell’s article ‘Decoding Marc Garanger’s Photographic Message [...]’ which offers a reading of *La Guerre d’Algérie* diametrically opposed to the one in this chapter.

Baudelaire), was eschewed by post-modernists such as Barthes, Baudrillard and Sontag, instead:

[They] approach photography—not particular photographs, or particular photographers, or particular genres, but photography itself—with suspicion, mistrust, anger, and fear. [...] For them, photography is a powerful, duplicitous force to defang rather than an experience to embrace and engage.³¹

Linfield's conclusion is that, in the contemporary era, this distrust for photography in general has been amplified by the prevalence and relative ease with which one can manipulate digitised images. Meaning that:

[We] are experts [...] at distancing ourselves from photographs [...] What we have lost is the capacity to *respond* to photographs, especially those of political violence, as citizens who seek to learn something useful from them and connect to others through them.³²

Proposing instead that the photographer acts as an agent of the photograph, bringing an image of political violence to a viewer which inspires a deep-seated emotional response. For Linfield these emotions stem, only indirectly, from the subjects of the photographs; as photographs, she argues, are 'the perfect medium to mirror the lacunae at the heart of human-rights ideals.'³³ In other words, photographers such as Garanger inspire emotions, not directly through the subjects of the images, but indirectly through what the subjects lack: the human-rights that the viewer enjoys.

A photograph, therefore, emerges as a complex site of social engagement. Ariella Azoulay's 2008 book *The Civil Contract of Photography*, breaks down the implicit social relations inherent in the photographic act and ascribes them with a civil political contract.³⁴ This *civil* contract is set as a stark alternative to the hegemonic domination of nation-state politics and personal property rights, which Azoulay argues lead inextricably to the societal divisions evidenced by the photography of political violence.³⁵

³¹ Linfield, *The Cruel Radiance*, p. 5.

³² Linfield, *The Cruel Radiance*, p. 24.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

³⁴ Ariella Azoulay, *The Civil Contract of Photography*, trans. by Relä Mazali and Ruvik Danieli (New York: Zone Books, 2008).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12: 'Every photograph of others bears the traces of the meeting between the photographed persons and the photographer, neither of whom can, on their own,

The Civil Contract of Photography is an attempt to anchor spectatorship in civic duty toward the photographed persons who haven't stopped being "there," toward dispossessed citizens who, in turn, enable the rethinking of the concept and practice of citizenship.³⁶

Azoulay's focus is toward photographs of people who have been subjected to political domination and violence (her examples stem from the Israeli/Palestinian conflict), who have the opportunity—albeit a weak opportunity—to subvert dominant national agendas and engage in a political act through posing for a photograph.³⁷ This act is 'watched' through the photograph, particularly a photograph that witnesses an injury to a person, by a community of people engaged in a process that Azoulay terms 'the citizenry of photography.'³⁸ Here the photographic image is used to negotiate and renegotiate the terms in which the 'watcher' is ruled as a citizen, and potentially act in solidarity with the injured subject.

The consent of most photographed subjects to have their picture taken, or indeed their own initiation of a photographic act, even when suffering in extremely difficult circumstances, presumes the existence of a civil space in which photographers, photographed subjects, and spectators share a recognition that what they are witnessing is intolerable.³⁹

For Azoulay, the emergence of a community of people 'watching' the civil space around a photograph, and being compelled to mediate the image through an act of citizenship, is a political marker governed by her civil contract. The community is a virtual one in many senses, as there is no necessity that the watchers of an image know or relate with each other, or indeed, that anyone will watch the photograph at all. However, it has the potential to be an actual community, marked by the image and taking political action because of it. As Azoulay notes, this community 'is not dictated by the ruling [national] power, even when this power attempts to rule and control photography. When the ruling power

determine how this meeting will be inscribed in the resulting image. The photograph exceeds any presumption of ownership or monopoly and any attempt at being exhaustive.'

³⁶ Ibid., p. 16.

³⁷ 'Watching', for Azoulay, suggests a more active engagement with a photograph than merely 'viewing' or 'seeing' it.

³⁸ Azoulay, *Civil Contract*, p. 85.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 18.

interferes in this sphere, it amounts to no more than an additional player acting alongside the others.’⁴⁰

It is worth noting that Azoulay’s theorisation of social documentary photography is heavily influenced by the ongoing Israel / Palestine conflict. While the social relations at the time of the production of Garanger’s photographs bear a number of similarities with those analysed by Azoulay in relation to the Israel/Palestine conflict—several tiers of citizenship; a segregated society; an authoritarian regime; the use of violence (and photography) as a tool of state repression—by the time that Garanger’s photographs were received in the 1980s, these social relations had moved on and Algeria was an independent state.

Azoulay’s theory around how ‘watchers’ engage in political action through a photograph will bear special significance in this chapter, as our argument will develop the significant interrelationship between Garanger’s images and the political and social landscape of France of the 1980s. We will also examine how this relationship was mediated through the Human Rights framing of early anti-racist movements, in line with the theories proposed by Linfield. It will therefore be productive to spend some time, in the subsequent section, setting out the social frameworks which mediated memories of the Algerian War in the early 1980s. Given Azoulay’s theorisation of the importance of a citizenry of a photograph, an in depth understanding of the social frameworks which sat around Garanger’s photographs, will be of paramount importance to appreciate how and why the politics of Garanger’s photographs found traction in the early 1980s. The social frameworks will also offer us the opportunity to question the way in which cultural memory of the *appelés* was actualised around Garanger’s photographs. As we will see the situation of Maghrebi immigrants in France in the 1980s set up a set of polarising political debates which are mimicked in Garanger’s photographs of the *contingent* in Algeria.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 23.

SECTION 2: SOCIAL FRAMEWORKS

In this section, we will examine the social frameworks which mediated public understanding of the Algerian War around the time of the publication of Garanger's albums in the early 1980s. In particular we will consider attitudes towards immigration and anti-racism and how they were rooted in colonial and post-colonial mentalities. In the subsequent section we will use these social frameworks to shape our analysis of Marc Garanger's photography, considering how these frameworks influenced the reception *La Guerre d'Algérie* and the construction of the *appelés* it actualised. In turn this chapter will develop how the interactions between immigration and anti-racism debates and the memory of the Algerian War, was mediated through Garanger's photography of the *appelés*.

Immigration from the Maghreb in the 1960s and 1970s

Immigration had been a fundamental aspect of French culture since the end of the 19th Century, however in the aftermath of the Second World War immigration took on an important role filling the demographic gap of working age men in French society.⁴¹ However, immigration peaked in the late 1960s and early 1970s for economic rather than social reasons.⁴² Market driven, rather than heavily regulated by government, immigration brought France cheap labour and drove economic growth.⁴³ Migrants to France at the beginning of the *trentes glorieuses*

⁴¹ Silverman highlights three significant waves of immigration in modern French history: 'the end of the nineteenth century saw an influx of Belgians and Italians, the 1920s saw the arrival of Poles, Czechs and Slavs, and the post-war period has seen an immigration from North and West Africa as well as a large Portuguese immigration in the 1960s'. Maxim Silverman, *Deconstructing the Nation*, (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 10. The website for the *Cité Nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration*, (<<http://www.histoire-immigration.fr/histoire-de-l-immigration>>) is also a useful resource for information pertaining to the history of immigration in France.

⁴² See the detailed review of trends in immigration statistics in: Jane Freedman, *Immigration and Insecurity in France*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 17-9.

⁴³ There were token efforts towards regulation, including the creation of a National Immigration Office (ONI) in 1945, but the hefty bureaucracy was largely sidestepped by employers and government officials were happy to turn a blind eye. As Gary Freeman suggests: 'Over the years from 1947 to 1967, France slipped into a long period of haphazard and lackadaisical control of immigration that amounted to a *laissez-faire*

were typically of European origin: the two largest communities being Italian and Portuguese. This trend shifted in the aftermath of the Algerian War and the independence of Tunisia and Morocco, when, alongside the return of one million *Pieds Noir* settlers, a large number of Maghrebi nationals came to France.⁴⁴ These groups, in an era of low unemployment, quietly integrated into society.⁴⁵

Algerians were given the right to settle in France, and in some cases receive French citizenship, as a part of the settlement of the Evian Accords. However, following larger numbers of Algerian immigrants than expected in July 1968 France heavily restricted Algerian immigration to the hexagon; imposing a limit of 1000 workers per month and withdrew the right for immigrant workers to repatriate their families. This was subsequently renegotiated with the Franco-Algerian accord of December 1968, to a level of 35,000 people per year.⁴⁶ Despite these restrictions, and a 1973 Algerian halt to emigration,⁴⁷ by 1974 Algerians were among the highest immigrant populations in France (846,000 on 1 January 1974).⁴⁸ The working destination of Maghrebi immigrants was predominantly the industrial sector, working on assembly lines within automotive factories, but also in steel works and other heavy industry.⁴⁹

However, the economic shocks of the 1973 and 1979 Oil Crises brought recession, the end to the *trentes glorieuses*, and a sharp halt to immigration. Unemployment returned to levels that had not been seen since the Second World War. Heavy industry was significantly affected, and the subsequent restructuring

approach. [...] immigration was largely spontaneous, often clandestine, and usually carried out with the government's open collusion, or under its swiftly averted eye.' Gary Freeman, *Immigrant Labor and Racial Conflict in Industrial Societies: the French and British Experience 1945-1975* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979), p. 73.

⁴⁴ For more on this see the summary of the waves of post-war immigration in: Silverman, *Deconstructing the Nation*, pp. 36-69.

⁴⁵ Gérard Noiriel suggests that the low unemployment kept immigration out of public discourses, thus allowing 'l'intégration silencieuse' of immigrants into French society. Noiriel, *Immigration, antisémitisme et racisme en France*, pp. 524-5.

⁴⁶ < <http://www.vie-publique.fr/politiques-publiques/politique-immigration/chronologie-immigration/> > [Accessed: 20th November 2011].

⁴⁷ Patrick Weil, *La France et ses étrangers: L'aventure d'une politique de l'immigration de 1938 à nos jours*, (Paris: Éditions Calmann-Lévy, 1991), p. 122.

⁴⁸ From Ministry of Interior statistics cited in: Silverman, *Deconstructing the Nation*, p. 47.

⁴⁹ Noiriel, *Immigration, antisémitisme et racisme en France*, p. 484.

of the French economy, created a permanent level of mass unemployment.⁵⁰ Given that heavy industry was the sector that had taken on the greatest level of immigrant labour, it is not surprising that the apex of immigrant population in France came during the late 1970s and early 1980s.⁵¹ Despite some immigrants moving away from France, there was a huge disparity in levels of unemployment between immigrant and native French populations, with immigrants three times as likely to be unemployed. Maghrebi immigrants were also disproportionately affected, as many worked in the automotive sector, which had seen the largest decline. It has been suggested that this structural economic crisis led to significant reappraisals of immigration and the place of immigrants within French society.⁵²

Mitterrand's ascendance to the Presidency in 1981 was seen as offering a new direction regarding immigration given that he ran in part on a ticket to regulate the estimated 300,000 "sans papiers".⁵³ Mitterrand's election brought the rights of immigrants into the mainstream of political and social consciousness, and was a distinct change in direction from that of Giscard D'Estaing whose aims had been on control (with the July 1974 suspension of immigration) and the integration of immigrants. However, this political shift was, given the increasing level of visibility of Maghrebi unemployment and presence within the *banlieues*, accompanied by a change in focus by the media from issues around the working and living conditions of immigrants, to issues of integration and social cohesion.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Noiriél cites the closure of steel factories in the North and in Lorraine as the key symbols of this crisis. Noiriél, *Immigration, antisémitisme et racisme en France*, p. 591.

⁵¹ Noiriél's figures put total immigrant population at 3.7 million in 1982, against 3.3 million in 1999. With regards Algerian immigrants, the reduction in numbers is fairly startling: 805,000 (1982) against 475,000 (1999). Noiriél, *Immigration, antisémitisme et racisme en France*, p. 591.

⁵² Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard and Sandrine Lemaire, 'Introduction. La fracture coloniale : une crise française' in *La Fracture coloniale : La société française au prisme de l'héritage colonial*, ed. by Pascale Blanchard and others (Paris: Éditions La Découverte, 2005), p. 23.

⁵³ About 110,000 illegal immigrants were brought into the system under Mitterrand's amnesty. Noiriél, *Immigration, antisémitisme et racisme en France*, p. 607. Mitterrand's other pledges were 'to remove discriminations affecting migrant workers, to grant immigrant workers equal rights with French nationals including the right to vote in municipal elections, and to 'democratise' the organisation of the Office National d'Immigration (ONI).' Freedman, *Immigration and Insecurity in France*, p. 36. For the full texts of the pledges, see: Weil, p. 213.

⁵⁴ Noiriél, *Immigration, antisémitisme et racisme en France*, p.606. See also: Alec Hargreaves, 'The Beur generation: integration or exclusion?' in *Contemporary France Volume 3 A Review of Interdisciplinary Studies*, ed. by Jolyon Howorth and George Ross (London and New York: Pinter Publishers, 1989), p. 148.

For France in an era of a depressed economy, the increased visibility of immigrant populations brought into question deeply held notions surrounding national identity.

Derrière ce que l'on appelle le « problème de l'immigration », les questions soulevées dans la période coloniale resurgissent : la religion musulmane est-elle compatible avec les principes de la République française ? Doit-on accorder le droit de vote aux immigrés, les confiner dans un « deuxième collège » à part, comme ce fut le cas en Algérie en 1947 ? Faut-il mettre en œuvre un processus d'assimilation par abandon d'un « statut personnel », ou admettre la citoyenneté en reconnaissant un particularisme communautaire ?⁵⁵

Conceptions of immigration and immigrants became quickly polarised around these questions, with few parties taking a nuanced stance on the topic. The debate was not waged around a simplistic 'for' and 'against' model, but as a more complex opposition between many binary factors, as Silverman explains:

[D]iscussion of immigration was frequently trapped within the binary oppositions of inclusion and exclusion, assimilation (or integration) and repatriation, or entangled within the ambivalent concept of cultural difference. Anti-racism moved from the negative images of the 1970s (immigrant as victim) to the positive images of the early 1980s (immigrant as success or as social actor). Rarely were voices heard which challenged the dualist framing of the debate around immigration and attempted to situate immigration within the more complex totality of the modern national/social formation.⁵⁶

The press of the late 1970s and early 1980s also took a factional stance, with left wing newspapers drawing their coverage of immigration around Marxist principals of class struggle, and right wing papers (such as *Minute*) that put forward xenophobic notions.⁵⁷ However, as the extreme left wing began to decline, popular conceptions gravitated towards nationalist impulses, with many newspapers (even on the centre-left) adopting some of the positions of the extreme right.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Stora, *La Gangrène et l'Oubli*, p. 287.

⁵⁶ Silverman, *Deconstructing the Nation*, p. 16.

⁵⁷ Simone Bonnafous, *L'Immigration prise aux mots. Les immigrés dans la presse au tournant des années 80* (Paris: Éditions Kimé, 1991).

⁵⁸ Television news bulletins were taking an increasingly important role in the dissemination of the news, reaching far more viewers than the newspapers could with their readerships. Thus, as Noiriel has suggested, the newspapers began a steady move towards commentating on the news, rather than merely reporting it. This accentuated political biases of the newspapers in this era, with previously neutral papers taking a

Mediatization, Les Minguettes, and the Algerian War

The right wing press (notably *Le Figaro*) began to increase the volatility of their rhetoric surrounding immigration from 1981 onwards. Immigrants, and particularly ‘Maghrébins’, were equated with invading dangerous forces, pitting normal French people against the North African other.⁵⁹ Ralph Schor puts the development of this popular conception of ‘invasion’ down to the combination of three factors: rising unemployment, visibility of certain foreigners, and the conflicts of daily life which exasperated the feelings of difference between the French and immigrant communities.⁶⁰ However, the rhetoric was also drawn directly from that of Jean-Marie Le Pen’s political party the *Front National*, which was to receive its electoral breakthrough in 1982. For example:

[Des] minorités nationales étrangères armées et organisées menacent la sécurité intérieure et extérieure des Français [...] comme on l’a vu dans d’autres pays, [les usines d’automobiles] joue le rôle de casernes de la révolution.⁶¹

In particular, media immigration debates fed upon a series of increasingly prominent events in the ZUP des Minguettes near Lyon. The ZUP had suffered badly from the downturn and estimates put youth unemployment in the Minguettes at around 40% in the early 1980s.⁶² However, what particularly marked the area out was that it was perceived, and would be reported by the media during

position within every debate. See: Noiriél, *Immigration, antisémitisme et racisme en France*, pp. 598-603.

⁵⁹ For example in linking the ‘rodéo des Minguettes’ with Government policy: ‘Dans les quartiers à forte densité maghrébine, la situation devient explosive. [...] Le Gouvernement, en supprimant les expulsions d’individus douteux, encourage donc les dévoyés’ (*Le Figaro*, 7th July 1981). Or in the article ‘Les Maghrébins et les autres’ that the government ‘a ouvert en grand la porte de notre pays à l’invasion et à l’aventure.’ (*Le Figaro*, 22 September 1981).

⁶⁰ Ralph Schor, *Histoire de l’immigration en France de la fine du XIX^e siècle à nos jours*, (Paris: Armand Colin/Masson, 1996), p. 248.

⁶¹ Jean-Marie Le Pen, *Le Monde*, 11 February 1983.

⁶² Catherine Panassier, *Les Minguettes, un marqueur national de la politique de la Ville: retour sur les années 1980 et zoom sur la Marche pour l’égalité*, (December 2008), Online Publication for the Millénaire 3 project in Grand Lyon, <http://www.millenaire3.com/uploads/tx_reesm3/Les_Minguettes1208_01.pdf/> , [Accessed: 03/12/2011], (Archived by WebCite at <<http://www.webcitation.org/63sQdUZ5c/>>), p. 15.

the 1981 and 1983 disturbances, as being in the process of ‘ghettoisation’, with many flats empty and young immigrants a strong, visible force on the streets.⁶³

Disorders broke out over the summer of 1981 and again in 1983, in what came to be termed the ‘*étés chauds des Minguettes*’.⁶⁴ Tensions flaired between police and Maghrebi youths, and large numbers of cars were torched, totalling two hundred over the course of the summer.⁶⁵ The media developed the issue as a frightening example of the failure of urban integration, which was leading to second-generation immigrants becoming a dangerous force on the streets:

Beaucoup d’Européens ont déserté la ZUP, c’est pourquoi sur les 8860 appartements, 1390 sont vides et 25 à 30 % de la population sont constituées d’immigrés. Un taux qui, selon les experts, n’est pas compatible avec une intégration réussie. Près de 4 mille habitants sont actuellement chômeurs. Ces deux paramètres conjugués en font une terre de prédilection pour la petite délinquance.⁶⁶

As Ahmed Boubeker has examined, it was in the visual sphere that this new conception of second-generation immigrants as a threatening force was created. Analysing video footage of the events he suggests:

Les vidéos des Minguettes c’est l’acte de naissance public de la génération issu de l’immigration, la seconde génération — celle qu’on appellera plus tard la génération Beur. C’est la première fois, que le consensus selon ceux qui régnaient auparavant le distance de cette génération, c’est la première fois que ce consensus est rompu. Il faut bien savoir qu’auparavant, cette génération était pris [sic] en tenaille entre le discours du travail sociale qui considérait ces jeunes comme des êtres négatives, comme des victimes du tiraillement du tout de [sic] culture ; et le discours de la police [...]⁶⁷

Images of Maghrebi youths were therefore a key feature of the media landscape in the early 1980s. The television news bulletins in the summer of 1981 were dominated by images of dark skinned youths confronting the police, cars in

⁶³ See for example the polemical book written by current PCF deputy Mayor of Vénissieux: André Gérin, *Les Ghettos de la République* (Paris: Quatre Chemins, 2006). However, despite the perception of ‘Ghettoisation’, comparisons of French ZUPs with American ghettos have shown these perceptions to be resolutely false. See: L. J. D. Wacquant, ‘Banlieues françaises et ghetto noir américain: de l’amalgame à la comparaison’, *French Politics and Society*, vol. 10, no.4 (1992), 81-103.

⁶⁴ Claude Dilas, Interview with Grégory Moris, 2008. Cited in Moris, p. 6.

⁶⁵ Moris, p. 6.

⁶⁶ *Le Progrès de Lyon*, 13 July 1981.

⁶⁷ Ahmed Boubeker, interviewed in: *Douce France, la Saga du mouvement beur*, dir. by Mogniss H. Abdallah (IM Média, 1993).

flames, or the shells of those that had been torched the night previously. However, the *été chaud* of 1983 became iconic for a different reason when Toumi Djâida, a protestor from the Minguettes who had been accidentally shot by the police, decided to organise the ‘Marche pour l’égalité, contre le racisme’, from Marseille to Paris. The march aimed to highlight the *double peine* of the second generation immigrant, a French national through birth and culture but discriminated against because of their parents origins in the Maghreb. By the time the march reached Paris, now dubbed by the media as the ‘Marche des Beurs’ it was joined by 80,000-100,000 Parisiens. Djâidja, other leaders of the *beur* movement were granted an audience with Mitterrand and the crisis of second generation immigrants received a truly national audience.

Numerous studies have shown how the roots of these increasingly polarised debates can be traced back to the colonial period, and indeed to the transmission of memory of the Algerian War. Moroccan intellectual Tahar Ben Jelloun for example, has traced the roots of anti-Maghrebi racism to a long inherited line of racist stereotypes, focusing in particular on the heritage of the 17th October 1961 massacre in Paris.⁶⁸ For Noiriel, anti-Algerian racism was the necessary continuation of the interiorisation of colonial stereotypes and those popularised during the Algerian War:

La guérilla et les attentats perpétrés sur le sol algérien, mais aussi en métropole, ont été largement relayés par la presse et la radio. Tous les Français ont ainsi intériorisé les discours sur les « terroristes » et les « fellagha ». C’est à partir de ce moment-là que les Algériens vont devenir la figure centrale, et même unique, symbolisant « l’ennemi de l’intérieur ». Un nouveau racisme émerge alors, conjuguant les stéréotypes forgés dans les décennies antérieures sur les « race antagonistes » et les « races inférieures », au croisement de la stigmatisation de l’étranger et du colonisé. Ce processus est renforcé par le fait que l’immense majorité des émigrants/immigrants algériens qui vivent en France à cette époque-là font partie du prolétariat.⁶⁹

The formerly colonised people, while maintaining their perception of being subordinate citizens, are seen as ‘the enemy within’. Stora also poses a key

⁶⁸ Tahar Ben Jelloun, *Hospitalité Française, Racisme et Immigration Maghrébine* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1984), p. 34. For more on the link between 17th October 1961 and immigration debates in 1980s, see: Jim House and Neil MacMaster, *Paris 1961: Algerians, State Terror and Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 288-95.

⁶⁹ Noiriel, *Immigration, antisémitisme et racisme en France*, p. 537.

question which goes right to the heart of the link between the Algerian War and Maghrebi immigration:

En France, le « problème de l'immigration » occupe une place centrale dans les débats politiques, idéologiques. Derrière les mots « intégration », « assimilation », se dessine la grande question des Arabes en France, leur place, leur rôle comme nouveaux citoyens. Nombre de souvenirs qui paraissaient perdus se réveillent, se manifestent : **peut-on être musulman et français à part entière ?** A nouveau se lève le défi, non réglé, qui a conduit à la guerre d'Algérie.⁷⁰

This unresolved tension is particularly important for the photography of Marc Garanger, whose work is positioned as a mediating link between the French and Algerian populations in Kabylia, 1960-62. Thus, published during the height of the immigration debate (1982 & 1984), Garanger's first two Algerian albums draw these two periods into synchronicity, with the elements of the social tensions present from the 1980s mirrored in the disparities inherent between the Algerian population of Kabylia and the French army. This comparison is made even more complex by the competing meta-narrative of the immigrant community as an enemy within, when it was the French who were technically the foreigners in Algeria. We will examine both elements of this debate during the textual analysis of *La Guerre d'Algérie*.

Perhaps even more significant for our study of Garanger's photography is that it was in the visual domain that the immigration debate took its most visceral form. As Thomas Deltombe and Mathieu Rigouste suggested in their chapter of *la Fracture Coloniale*, in this period of the 1980s:

[On] voit se formuler dans les représentations médiatiques ce caractère double de la question sécuritaire appliquée à l'altérité, qui vise à présenter une image ambiguë de l'« Arabe » pour cerner les contours d'une menace pour l'identité et le régime politique français. [...] La reformulation de cette dissociation entre une identité menacé [identité française] et une altérité menaçante [l'Arabe] se fait au moment où l'on comprend que les « immigrés », que l'on a vu apparaître dans les médias avec les années 1970, sont voués à rester en France et qu'ils sont ou seront inévitablement « Français », donc dès lors indissociables juridiquement.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Stora, *La Gangrène et l'Oubli*, p. 279. (My emphasis).

⁷¹ Thomas Deltombe and Mathieu Rigouste, 'L'ennemi intérieur : la construction médiatique de la figure de l'« Arabe »', in *La Fracture coloniale*, p. 192.

The events of the ‘étés chauds’ provided a focal point for these issues. But two images had a significant resonance with the French public through the TV news: images of torched cars; and images of masked Maghrebi youths attacking policemen.⁷² While these images were not new to the French viewer, American and South African race riots would have previously graced their screens, they were new in a French context.⁷³ As Noiriel comments: ‘Les discours élaborés par les experts dans les années 1960 sont devenus des sujets d’actualité’.⁷⁴

To recap, therefore, we shall examine *La Guerre d’Algérie* against the backdrop of 1980s immigration debates which directly and indirectly reflected a number of the dynamics of Algeria during the early 1960s. Garanger’s images returning to prominence in this period, mediate between French and Algerian perspectives on the conflict, and offer a novel avenue to link these two periods through the medium of photography. Through approaching Garanger’s photographs through the theoretical paradigms of Linfield and Azoulay, we will examine the way in which Garanger’s photographs, showing the *contingent* juxtaposed against and in relation to the Algerian community in Bordj Okhriss, chimed with the social frameworks of the 1980s and presented a nuanced image of the *contingent* as both victims and perpetrators of the war.

⁷² Battegay and Boubeker have further suggested that incidents, which would have only made the local press’ faits-divers prior to 1981, all-of-a-sudden, became national headline events. Alain Battegay and Ahmed Boubeker, *Les Images publiques de l’immigration. Média, actualité, immigration dans la France des années 80* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1993).

⁷³ Tahar Ben Jelloun makes this link in *Hospitalité Française*, p. 36.

⁷⁴ Noiriel, *Immigration, antisémitisme et racisme en France*, p. 609.

SECTION 3: PHOTOGRAPHIC READINGS

In this section we will make a thematic reading of a corpus of photographs from Garanger's album *La Guerre d'Algérie*, using the theories of Linfield and Azoulay set out in our introduction, to develop a construction of the *contingent* interlaced with our analysis of the social frameworks around Maghrebi immigration from the previous section. We will also briefly consider the album's reception at the time of its publication. The themes we shall examine are: constructions of masculinity; images of *pacification* operations; and battlefield imagery; and at each stage we will consider how the construction of the *contingent* is refracted through their interactions with Garanger's Algerian subjects.

The most significant challenge which faces a viewer of Marc Garanger's photography from the Algerian War is the complex and varied responses that his photographs provoke. As Christiane Chaulet-Achour's analysis of *Femmes Algériennes* perceptively concludes, Garanger's photography:

[...] parle de la guerre en un discours polysémique que seul l'emprisonnement par un autre discours peut circonscrire et canaliser. Ainsi, l'imaginaire de la guerre se construit à partir de toutes ces sources, elles-mêmes plurivoques et obligeant les deux « rives » à dialoguer pour l'inscrire dans les mémoires.⁷⁵

Chaulet-Achour goes on to suggest that it is the photographs' ability to incite such a multitude of opinions that has motivated Algerian authors to engage with the photographs, attempting to channel a response dignified of the history behind the images of the *Femmes Algériennes*.⁷⁶

Garanger's first album was published after a well-received screening of his photographs from the Algerian War at the *Rencontres Photographiques* in Arles 1981. The event combined images of the *Femmes Algériennes* and his images of *appelé* life

⁷⁵ Christiane Chaulet-Achour, *Photographies de Femmes*, p. 111.

⁷⁶ Chaulet-Achour, analyses both the work of Leïla Sebbar and lesser known author Nourredine Saadi in *Photographies de Femmes*. Saadi imagines a fictional Garanger taking the photographs through 'un mélange de honte et de désir' for one of the women, this is eventually reconciled when the photographer and the SAS in which he worked are killed by a landmine. Nourredine Saadi, *La Maison de lumière* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2000), pp. 221-5.

to a soundtrack of the ululations of the women of from the Algiers Casbah. Garanger's vision of the war was contrasted in the event against images from *Paris Match*, and images from an FLN photographer, Mohamed Kouaci, who had taken photographs of the women who fought with the FLN. The structure of the first edition of *Femmes Algériennes, 1960* played with these strong contrasts: one half of the album started with a French cover, a preface and then displayed photographs on the right hand page, allowing the album to be read from left to right; the other half had an Arabic cover and preface, and photographs on the left hand page allowing the album to be read from right to left. The images met in the centre pages, creating a crossing of gazes which mimicked the relations between photographer and subject inherent in each photograph. The album was a commercial success despite inciting polemic reactions, and sold out its print run very quickly.⁷⁷

This conceptual play with the idea of a gaze is not lost from *La Guerre d'Algérie*; the second half of the title, *vue par un appelé du contingent*, sets up a narrative dynamic whereby the viewer is invited to consider the images through the eyes of an imagined other, an *appelé*. This intervention from the title immediately distinguishes the photographs from pure documentary, giving the images a testimonial slant and pushing them into the realm of memory: they are the war as seen by an *appelé*, an active participant in the conflict. So, it could be argued that each photograph, no matter what its subject, in some way highlights a construction of the *contingent*.

This active engagement with a partisan memory of the war is furthered through the two prefaces to the album. The first is a polemical piece by Francis Jeanson, the second an autobiographical essay by Garanger, establishing his authorial authority (as an *appelé*) and a similar anti-war politics as highlighted in the TV interview of 20th March 1982. The inclusion of Jeanson's preface establishes the album within a distinct pro-FLN paradigm: Jeanson was notorious as a *porteur-de-valise*, and organiser of the Jeanson network, a group of French citizens who helped to clandestinely fund and support the FLN and Algerian independence. The Jeanson's connection reinforces Garanger's presentation of the album as an anti-military/pro-Algerian work. Unlike in recent years, when

⁷⁷ Interview with Marc Garanger, 8th February 2009.

Garanger completely rejects the nomenclature of soldier or *appelé*, in this period Garanger sets himself out as the *appelé du contingent* of the title, but uses his associations (with Jeanson and with Roger Vailland who he mentioned in his preface) to highlight his anti-war sympathies. Despite this however, Jeanson's preface also establishes Garanger's empathy and sympathy with the *appelés* through the following quotation:

‘Marc Garanger à cette époque-là? [...] une affectivité tout bêtement normale, qui lui permet de vivre les mêmes drames personnels que la plupart des autres « appelés », les mêmes vacheries d'ordre sentimental. « L'heure de sieste, se rappelle-t-il, c'était aussi pour beaucoup l'heure du courrier, des lettres de la femme ou de la fiancée, qui nous raccrochaient à la vie. Un jour, un copain vous demande de lui lire une lettre qu'il ne parvient pas à déchiffrer. Une lettre qui dit : "Je ne t'aime plus, j'en ai trouvé un autre... Salut." Le copain craque ; on se dit : pauvre vieux, il n'a pas de chance. Et puis un jour, cette lettre, on la reçoit. Dans la chambrée, personne n'y a échappé. »⁷⁸

Here Garanger is included in a seemingly unavoidable bonding function of the *contingent*: their separation from France, through the symbol of the break-up letters, unites them as a group in a form of collective victimhood. Garanger's personal experience of the same device aligns his experiences in Algeria with those of the other *appelés* in his barracks' dorm. This device establishes Garanger as an authoritative source, and sets up the album's construction of an *appelé's* view of the war as a reliable one.

Neil MacMaster's historically embedded chapter on Garanger's photography, in his 2009 book *Burning the Veil*, has shown in some depth, the misreadings that can occur from binary interpretations of Garanger's photographs, which posit the French army in Kabylia in direct opposition to all the local Algerian population. Through combining a reading of Garanger's photographs (including *Femmes des Hauts Plateaux* and *La Guerre d'Algérie*) with an examination of the specificities of the area around Bordj Okhriss taken from the military archives of the *Service Historique des Armées de Terre* [SHAT], MacMaster has shown that the complex reactions of women to the identity card portraits can be explained, in part, through the complex relations the families of the area held with three competing groups: the French army, the MNA and the FLN.

⁷⁸ Francis Jeanson in Garanger, *La Guerre d'Algérie*, p. 9.

Some of the women who faced Garanger's lens had husbands, brothers or sons who were in the maquis, or who had been arrested, imprisoned or killed by the army. Others, like the young woman from Mesdour on the cover of *Femmes Algériennes*, had had their villages destroyed and been moved behind the barbed wire entanglements of the resettlement camps. Others again were member of families or clan groups that had tried to find protection with the army, and the men had joined the *harkis* or formed self-defence groups.⁷⁹

However, despite this developing understanding of Garanger's photography in the contemporary era, Garanger's images of the contingent have not been considered in so nuanced a manner. Two scholarly considerations exist which consider the place of the *contingent* within *La Guerre d'Algérie*, one by Benjamin Stora and one by American academic Jennifer Howell.⁸⁰ Each article however considers the album in an oppositional reading, contrasting it against another representation of the Algerian War: in Stora's case against photography of Marc Flament, and in Howell's case against anti-military sentiment. Stora sets up Flament, the official photographer of then Colonel Bigeard's 3^e RCP, as an example of the pro-military representation, with Garanger likened to a pro-Algerian viewpoint.⁸¹ For Howell, Garanger's photographs of the contingent present a positive image of the life of the *appelés* where, despite Garanger's anti-war texts and the anti-militaristic images, 'the French are constantly redeeming themselves' and the album overall presenting a vision of 'both colonial and military nostalgia'.⁸² The striking contrast between these two readings, highlights the importance of a more in depth analysis of Garanger's construction of the contingent—are the photographs really so open to interpretation that they allow such divergent readings?⁸³

In considering the construction of the *contingent* in this chapter therefore, we shall consider a number of key themes: the nuances of Garanger's presentation of masculinity; images of *pacification* which mediate the relations between the

⁷⁹ MacMaster, p. 234.

⁸⁰ Benjamin Stora, 'Les photographies d'une guerre sans visage'; Jennifer Howell, 'Decoding Marc Garanger's Photographic message', pp. 85-95.

⁸¹ This distinction was also drawn during Stora and Laurent Gervereau's 2004 exhibition, 'Photographier La Guerre d'Algérie' where Garanger and Flament's photographs were mounted on opposing walls of one of the exhibition rooms, physically drawing their visions of the war into contrast. (Interview with Marc Garanger, 8 February 2009). See also: Laurent Gervereau and Benjamin Stora, *Photographier La Guerre d'Algérie* (Paris: Marval, 2004).

⁸² Howell, p. 92 and p. 88 respectively.

⁸³ Howell's proposed reasoning behind this gulf in interpretation, stems rather curiously from drawing attention to, *ad hominem*, Stora's *pied noir* heritage. Howell, p. 87.

contingent and the Algerian community around Bordj Okhriss; and images of the *contingent* in the battlefield. We will argue that through approaching the album using photographic theory aligned with Human Rights ideals, we can read the album as a text that highlights the multiple potential victims and memories of the conflict. Through considering the diverse ways in which these constructions drew upon the social frameworks and debates around immigration and anti-racism in the early 1980s, we will also argue that the significance of the album comes less from its depiction of individual victims, than from its polysemic presentation of the social relations between army, *contingent* and the Algerian population of Bordj Okhriss.

Masculinity

While 20th Century Europe saw gender roles within wartime and warzones largely redefined, as we have examined in previous chapters, in the sphere of (post)colonial representation a set of dominant gender and racial stereotypes remained prominent into the 1980s. So, as we saw in the social frameworks, the increasing visibility and political activity of first and second generation Maghrebi immigrants in France generated both sympathy and xenophobia in equal measure. Garanger's presentation of masculinity within the Algerian War focuses on two seemingly discreet sets of subjects in the *appelés* and Algerian men, and yet as we shall examine in this section, these two masculinities are linked through and reflected in the social frameworks of immigrant identity in 1980s France.

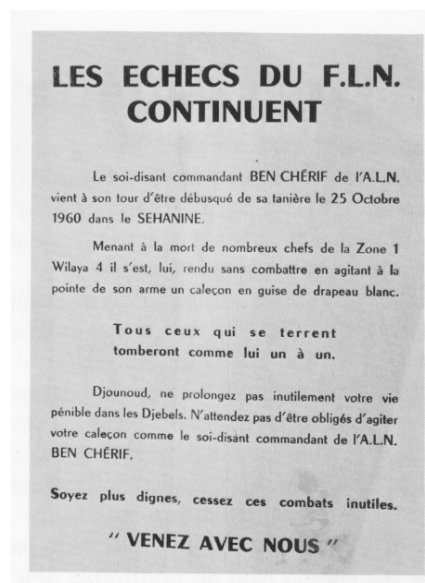
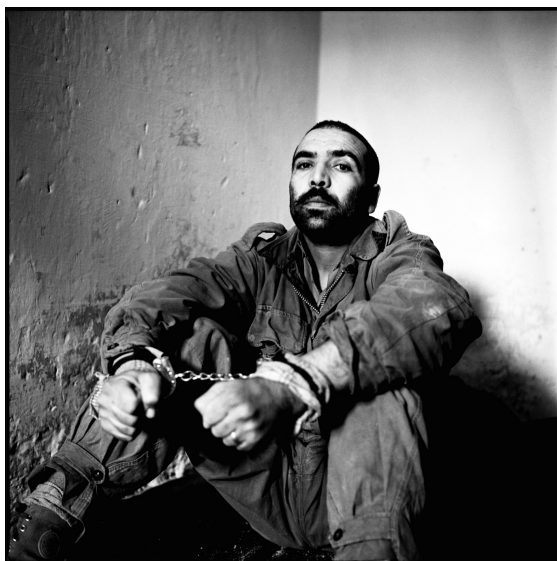


Figure 8 (*left*): 'Le commandant Bencherif, de l'ALN., fait prisonnier le 25 octobre 1960. Le colonel français avait commandé ce portrait pour le faire imprimer au dos d'un tract délateur. La photographie n'a finalement pas été utilisée. Aumale, novembre 1960.' (p. 17). Figure 9 (*right*): 'Le tract' (p. 16).⁸⁴

Garanger's portrait of Commander Bencherif (Figure 8), which is also the image on the sleeve jacket of the album, offers a dramatic image of virile, Algerian resistance to the French. The prominence of this photo in the album, means that a watcher is almost required to compare it against the other depictions of manhood in the album. Bencherif had begun the war as a 2nd Lieutenant in the French regiment of the *Tirailleurs Algériens*, but deserted in 1957 to join the ALN; he was captured by Garanger's regiment in Sehanine in October 1960. Garanger was commissioned by de Mollans to take a photograph which would adorn the rear of a propaganda leaflet describing the purported cowardly and emasculate way in which Bencherif surrendered to French forces; using his underwear as a make-shift white-flag (See Figure 9). Garanger's portrait could not be further from this description: Bencherif, with head held high and tilted backwards, sits in a cell straining against his handcuffs. He sits with clenched fists, his legs apart, in an aggressive crotch display and undeniably defiant pose. This rebellion is accentuated by the visual aesthetic created by the strong lighting in the cell; Bencherif is sat in the corner, (which while seemingly implying that he is 'backed into a corner') in fact frames the image. Bencherif therefore emerges a crisp figure

⁸⁴ Each figure will be captioned with the text that appears in the album and the page that it appears on. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Marc Garanger for allowing me to print the photographs that appear in this chapter.

in front of the stark shadows on the wall behind him, the dramatic lighting reinforcing his dramatic gesture. As Bencherif writes in his autobiography, *Parole de Baroudeur* :

Je pris la décision d'envoyer à travers cette photo, un message de résistance à mes anciens compagnons. Serrant les poings tendus, le regard fier, je fis face au photographe. Une conversation muette s'engagea entre cet appelé français du contingent et moi, et, respectant le message que son expérience d'artiste avait immédiatement perçu, il fit ses photos.⁸⁵

While it is clear that Bencherif's freedom is restricted, sat in a cell and handcuffed, he nevertheless takes the opportunity, to assert his resistance. Garanger meanwhile makes little attempt to change the interpretation of Bencherif's gesture which contradicts the message of the tract. While the photograph's caption highlights that the photo wasn't used for the tract, its prominent usage on the front cover of the album, confronts watchers with a reversal of the imagery associated with masculine stereotypes in previous phases of the war's memory. The *appelé du contingent* of the title is face-to-face with a hyper-masculine, Algerian resistor, dominating the photograph, with the strong aesthetic serving to make the image memorable throughout the album, the watcher comparing it readily against the other photographs.

Hence, while the citizenry intended for the photograph would have been very different from that who eventually received it (i.e. it was intended for a propaganda tract in 1960 not the cover of a photo album in the 1980s), the effect would have been markedly similar, in a reversal of the imagery going alongside it. The tract suggested that Bencherif surrendered dishonourably, and yet the photograph implies the opposite. Likewise, the title of the album purports 'the Algerian War as seen by an *appelé*' but the image of Bencherif is incongruent with previous representations of this narrative, the masculinities thought of as an integral part of the colonial lifestyle are reversed with Algerian virility displayed rather than French.

This strongly individualised Algerian fighter is a major contrast to the complex manner in which the masculinity of the *contingent* is presented in the album. The series of images of the celebrations for *le Père Cent*, serves an

⁸⁵ Ahmed Bencherif, *Parole de Baroudeur* (Algiers: Éditions ANEP, 2003), p. 103.

interesting role in presenting the multiple masculinities of the *appelés*. The tradition was a commemoration of the final one hundred days of military service, celebrated with widespread drinking and a party in the barracks. The celebration however was generally laced with competing emotions: conscripts took the opportunity to drink heavily, but this frequently led to negative reactions, one hundred days was still a considerable period of time to serve and fits of despair from fear, homesickness, or sexual deprivation were relatively common.⁸⁶

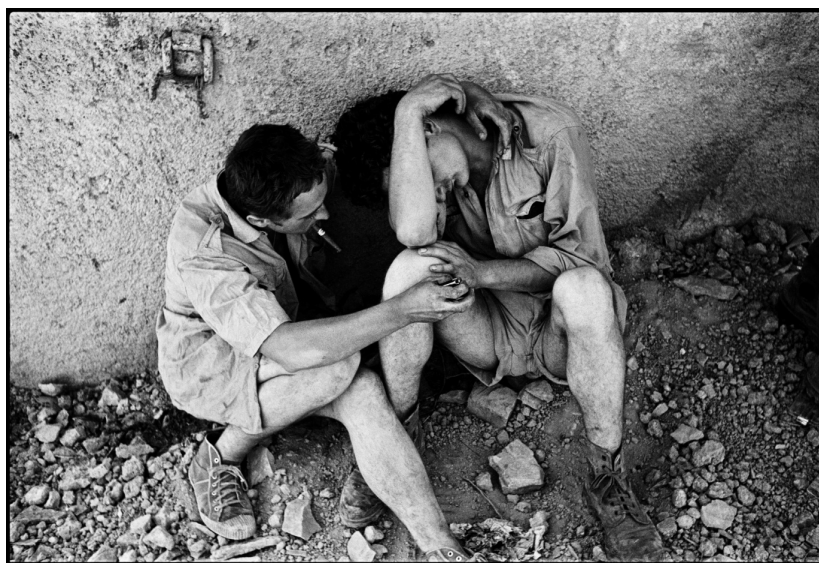


Figure 10: 'Militaire français fêtant le « Père Cent ». Aïn Terzine, juillet 1960.' (p. 91)

One such fit is shown in the image from July 1960, 'Militaire français fêtant le « Père Cent »' (Figure 10). Perhaps the caption is laced with irony, as the photograph does not appear celebratory: the photograph depicts two *appelés* sat on the rough ground outside a building dressed in shorts, untucked shirts and casual shoes. The *appelé* on the right has his head buried in his arm, his eyes hidden from the camera but clearly upset. His companion, on the left-hand-side of the picture, cigar in mouth, attempts to comfort him, with his left arm around the despairing *appelé*'s neck and his right hand clasping a lighter and perhaps offering it to his comrade. Jennifer Howell has analysed this image as 'misleading', suggesting that while the distressed *appelé* appears to be upset because of the horrors of war it is rather that he is 'sick from excessive drinking', a trope that Howell suggests correlates to a general theme of military nostalgia in the album.⁸⁷ However, if we

⁸⁶ Benjamin Stora, *Appelés en guerre d'Algérie* (Paris: Gallimard, 1997), pp. 78-9.

⁸⁷ Howell, both quotations from p. 90.

consider the image from a more classical critical standpoint, using Linfield's approach, to 'connect to others' through the photograph, we cannot help but empathise emotionally with a conscript whose *libé* is within sight but not yet within grasp.⁸⁸ Perhaps the caption, which refers to only one of the soldiers ('militaire' is used in the singular) as celebrating, suggests this reading. Images of *le Père Cent* in general are perhaps some of the most polysemic photographs of the contingent; while *appelés* celebrated *La Quille* (the return to France) most of all, *La Quille* was symbolised by each *appelé* or unit crafting a wooden totem which represented their service. These totems however were made in time for the *Père Cent* and were then buried, to be unearthed at the end of the class's service. This ritual thus embodied the proximity of the *appelés* to returning home, but also the work that remained to be accomplished. Thus, the *appelé* in the photograph is still bound into service for another hundred days during which time he will face danger in the line of duty. As a viewer, we can empathise with this lack of freedom. The image therefore stands out from an emotive standpoint as one of companionship and camaraderie, hinting at a few positives that can be drawn from the homosocial bonds of the life of the *contingent*, while it suggests some of the fears associated with fighting in a war. There is however a marked contrast in the emotions evident in such a depiction of the *appelés* against the virility of the Bencherif portrait, with the *appelés* appearing weak and undetermined, positing the *contingent* (and by association the French army) as a less dominant force within the country.

A photograph of a different *Père Cent* celebration from October 1960 frames the masculinity within the *contingent* in a markedly different manner. The photograph (Figure 11) depicts a table of five *appelés* celebrating their *Père Cent*, the remnants of the meal remain on the table, as one *appelé* stands, with his shorts pulled down his thighs, his shirt held up, exposing his genitals. The *appelé* to the left of the standing *appelé* (as the viewer sees it) mimics a castration ritual, by holding a knife between the first man's penis and his testicles. The other four *appelés* sit, laughing and smiling, while the *appelé* on the far left of the frame is delighted enough to clap. The exposed *appelé's* head is cropped out of the frame of the photograph in an awkward manner with his crotch taking a prominent position in the centre of the frame, in line with the heads of the other *appelés*. This

⁸⁸ Linfield, p. 24.

could suggest that Garanger is treating the *appelé* as a sexual object; however, the image is in no way eroticised, the blurriness around the borders suggest that it was a hastily taken shot, rather than a carefully framed photograph. The photo flirts with normally taboo, sadomasochistic imagery, which the *appelés* have perhaps embraced given a liberal consumption of alcohol associated with the event.



Figure 11: Appelés du class 58 2/B fêtant le « Père Cent ». Aïn Terzine, octobre 1960.' (p. 93)

This imagery plays with the motif of castration, which is a small but recurrent theme in photographs of the Algerian War, as the FLN ritual for the execution of traitors and *Harkis* frequently involved post-execution castration with the removed genitals being placed in the corpse's mouth as a symbol of ultimate humiliation and a warning for others.⁸⁹ The image therefore marks a somewhat ironic play with images of masculinity and the taboos of the war. While the photograph ostensibly depicts the homosocial relations between the soldiers, and the hijinks which come with youth, isolation and alcohol, it is significant that the *appelés'* relations with one another are mediated around a practise of the enemy.

The stereotypical rite of passage, within the fraternal bonds of the army, of proving one's manhood is invoked in the pride of the exposed *appelés'*

⁸⁹ One famous example of a similar ritual was documented by American photojournalist Dickey Chapelle in 1957, after a period when she was embedded within an ALN *katiba*. The photographs can be seen in: Gervereau and Stora, pp. 122-6.

gesture—hands on hips, revealing himself without shame. However, in the castration gesture, and in the disconcerting way in which the *appelé's* head has been cropped from the picture, the presence of an 'other' masculinity—as embodied in the fear of the enemy, Algerian virility—is lurking beneath the surface of the photograph. Thus the *appelés'* perceptions of what is deemed 'masculine', are a negotiation between a young French ideal in the self-exposure, and a flirtation with an Algerian practise of emasculation. External fears and influences relating to Algerian masculine identity leak into a photograph of a highly symbolic *appelé*-specific event.

In both of these images of the *contingent* therefore, whether sorrowful or celebratory, the masculinity of the *appelés* is constructed through the invisible relations between the soldiers and the fear inspired by the war context and Algerian masculinity. Photos such as the cover photograph of Bencherif, positing the hyper-virility of FLN combatants, act as a direct contrast to the photographs of the *appelés*. This construction of *appelé* memory as challenged and threatened by Algerian masculinity draws a link between the situation in Algeria during Garanger's military service and that of France in the early 1980s. In both circumstances, French identities were being put into perspective and challenged by Algerian men: be that in Garanger's strong images of Algerian virility, or the iconicity of the widely mediatised images of *beur* youths in the Minguettes. This theme in *La Guerre d'Algérie* thus suggests a progression in the construction of the *appelés* from previous phases of cultural memory, in that the collective image of the *contingent* is defined not in terms relating to France or other French soldiers, but in relation to a set of Algerian icons and values. We shall now move onto a separate dynamic, which looks at the relations between Algerian and French subjects in photographs on the theme of *pacification*.

Images of Pacification

While the photographs we considered in the first thematic presented the Algerians and the *contingent* separately, a second set of images relevant to the construction of the *contingent* relate to the way in which the *appelés* interact with Algerian people through the motif of *pacification*. As we have previously considered, *pacification* as a

tactic had two prongs: a ‘hearts and minds’ approach in the provision of support to Algerian communities (medicine, education etc.); and military aspects, which sought to eradicate units of Algerian resistance, and reduce the impact Algerian nationalism had on local communities.

A number of photographs in the early stages *La Guerre d’Algérie* set up the work of Commander de Mollans in terms of positive images of the Army in the community: handing out prizes to local schools (p. 35); distributing food (p. 33); helping election campaigns (p. 39). The *contingent* however, feature relatively infrequently. This sets up a distinction between the work of the *contingent* and the work of the professional army, with the *contingent* represented in a more militaristic contexts. This is perhaps counter-intuitive, given perceptions of the role of a professional military; however, it sets the *contingent* as a liminal group that mediated between the army and the Algerian communities. One image which illustrates this is a photograph of a protest by a group of Algerian elders against their eviction from the Douar des Rouabas to the Meghnine regroupment camp (Figure 12).



Figure 12: ‘Après la décision du commandant de déplacer les habitants du douar des Rouabas dans le village de regroupement de Meghnine, les hommes viennent protester. Le commandant leur oppose d’abord un « half-track ». Aïn Terzine, mai 1960.’ (p. 43)

The photo (the first of two photographs in the album documenting the protest – the other comes on p. 45) shows the group of men walking down a dirt track, towards the French command post. Blocking their path, slightly ahead of

the leaders of the group and in the foreground of the photograph, is a lone French half-track with a front-mounted machine gun. A mass movement of Algerians against a lone French machine, supported by only a handful of *appelés*.⁹⁰ The group of elders appear unarmed, but have been headed off by significant firepower. The framing of the photograph accentuates the size of the group of Algerian men: taken from a slightly elevated position looking into the sunlight over the scene, the half-track looms larger in the foreground, but the line of men stretch further into the distance. This framing highlights the fundamentals of the situation of the *appelés*; Algerian group has significant popular support but the French have the mechanical and technological advantage.

Four *appelés* stand on or near the half-track; two stand to its side and appear to be in discussion with one another. While the caption of the photo purports to represent the two sides in conflict, an ambiguity emerges given the seeming relaxed manner of the *appelés*. They are not set to use the turret on the front of the half-track, neither do they appear in any other way violent. Hence the *appelés* are in some way, literally as well as figuratively, in between the army and the Algerian elders marching towards them. They play a token role in witnessed and appeasing the Algerian men. This is emphasised by the caption which highlights the commander's order for the half-track to be in position.

An image of the multiple ways *appelés* responded to *pacification* and the Algerian community comes in the photograph of two young *appelé* officers, dressed in formal garb, receiving the Chief from a nearby village (Figure 13). The caption suggests that the Chief is complaining to the administrative office for *pacification* about the beating and mistreatment of people in his village by a commando unit of the French army. The Chief is talking, counting something out something on his fingers as the camera captures him in side profile, sternly facing the soldier directly opposite him. The two *appelés* pictured on the right hand side of the image have starkly different reactions to the Chief's story. The *appelé* furthest to the right stands eye-to-eye with the chief, also in side profile. He is listening to the story but the viewer is left with the distinct impression that the story is being ignored, his body language is such that he appears arrogant: his arm

⁹⁰ Garanger had travelled with the *appelés* on the half-track but hiked up the hill to take this photograph. Interview with Marc Garanger, 22nd and 23rd May 2010.

on his hip, his fingers splayed, chest puffed out. By contrast, the *appelé* in the centre of the shot, seated behind a desk and looking up at the chief, takes a far more defensive pose. The camera has a clear view of his face, his hands clasped in front while he bites his lip; he appears worried, or perhaps shocked yet far more passive than his colleague who towers above him. While there is no extra detail to the nature of the chief's complaints, we are left with two simultaneous reactions by *appelés* to the incident before them: one an arrogant disregard, the other a concerned look of worry.

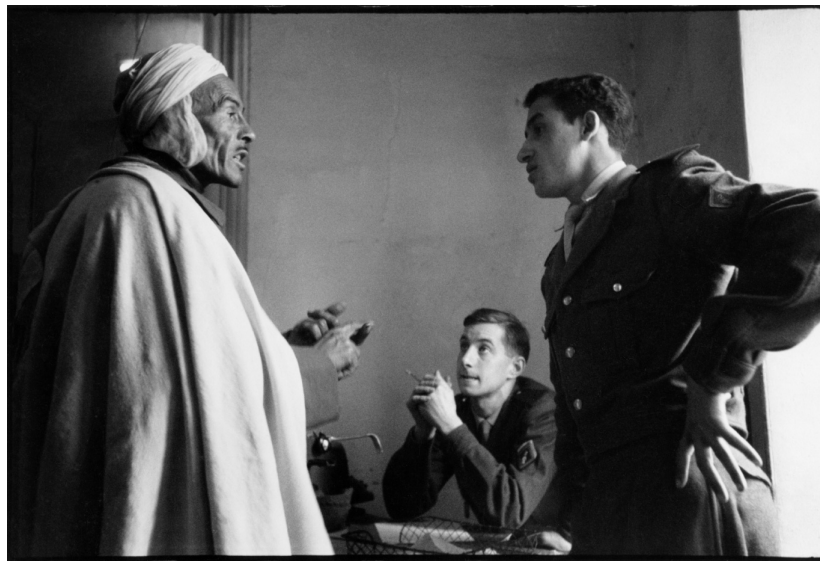


Figure 13: 'Algérien, chef de village, venu porter plainte au 3^e bureau « Pacification » du secteur d'Aumale, contre le commando 11, pour coups et mauvais traitements. Aumale, novembre 1961.' (p. 29)

While we cannot ascertain the outcome of the complaint, nor the exact relations between the men, within the space of the photograph however we can deconstruct a political dynamic from the three men's relationship to the French army.

Azoulay's framework for analysing a photograph in *The Civil Contract of Photography*, places a emphasis on the process of being governed, which 'allows a rethinking of the political sphere as a space of relations between the governed whose political duty is first and foremost a duty towards one another, rather than toward the ruling power.'⁹¹ The army is an unseen entity in the photograph, symbolised by the uniform of the *appelés* rather than a specific physical presence.

⁹¹ Azoulay, p. 17.

As *appelés*, the young Frenchmen engaged in military service are subject to an involuntary submission to the same authority as the people of Algeria, and thus a levelling parallel emerges. While it is easily argued that the Frenchmen in this photograph relate to a higher stratum of French citizenship than the Algerian chief, they are nevertheless all ‘governed’ by the same force, the French army. Within this photograph therefore, the nuance between the two reactions to the Algerian Chief’s complaint—one empathetic, the other less so—can be explained without recourse to an army narrative, but by other political factors, such as prejudice towards Algerians. This is the lesson that Francis Jeanson’s prologue to the album highlights that a lesson be drawn from the album, in order to halt ‘les ruineux engrenages du racisme’ (p. 9). So, while the photograph ostensibly depicts relations from the early 1960s, the photograph also reflects the dynamics of debates around immigration from the 1980s: the contrast between the two *appelés*’ responses to the Algerian chief’s complaint mirroring the polarised debates surrounding Maghrebi immigrants to France in the early 1980s.



Figure 14: 'Saïd Bouakli, commissaire politique du F.L.N., fait prisonnier à Bordj Okriss, le 19 mars 1960. Blessé à la jambe droite lors de son arrestation. Le certificat de décès dit : « transfixion par balle de la jambe droite. — Deux transfixions thoraciques par balles antéro-postérieures. — Transfixion crânienne par balle. » Le constat de gendarmerie dit : « Il est décédé le 25 mars 1960 des suites de ses blessures. »' (p. 123)

The final photograph we shall consider under this theme is the photograph Garanger describes in the television segment we considered in the

introduction to this chapter; Saïd Bouakli captured alive and pictured in the French barracks at Bordj Okhriss (Figure 14).

Bouakli was an FLN political commissioner who was captured shortly after Garanger first became the regimental photographer. As a high profile prisoner, Commander de Mollans asked Garanger to take photographs of Bouakli and of the scene of his capture in order to document de Mollans' success as a commander.⁹² Bouakli is seen with his right leg heavily bandaged and visibly bleeding from the knee. He is laid on a stretcher, which is perched between stools on a black and white tiled floor. Bouakli's hands are cuffed across his chest despite the injury to his leg, suggesting his helplessness in the hands of his captors. A soldier is cropped at the top left hand corner of the image, where he sits on a windowsill, and we can discern only his leg and hand resting on his knee as he perches above Bouakli in a dominating position. The lighting in the room is dim; however, a beam of light enters from a window behind where the soldier sits, creating strong contrasts between light and dark. These contrasts (as with the floor tiles) represent a play with stereotypical images of good and evil: the soldier's limbs are rendered dark by the framing against the bright window frame; while the beam of light, creating a halo effect, lights up Bouakli's face and the pillow on which his head rests. Thus, the photograph draws on the long-held notions of light representing innocence, and darkness representing evil; Garanger has stated that the soldier in the picture was renowned as the main torturer of the regiment.⁹³

This photograph builds upon some of the Human Rights frameworks established during the second phase of *appelé* memory of the Algerian War. The caption for the image alerts the viewer to the injustice that would come upon Bouakli. While clearly pictured alive with only one injury to his leg following his capture, his death certificate would read, as highlighted in the caption: 'Transfixion par balle de la jambe droite. – Deux transfixions thoraciques par balles antéro-postérieures. – Transfixion crânienne par balle.'⁹⁴ The clear breach of Bouakli's rights as a prisoner of war under the Geneva Convention further,

⁹² Interview with Marc Garanger, 22nd and 23rd May 2010. Garanger spoke of de Mollans as somewhat of a narcissist who hoped to use Garanger's photographs to collect evidence of his perceived military excellence.

⁹³ Garanger and Cypel, p. 46.

⁹⁴ *La Guerre d'Algérie*, p. 122.

illustrates the gulf in power and status evidenced between the French and the Algerians.

In examining the commonalities between these images of the relationships between the French *contingent* and Algerians through *pacification*, we should return to our theorisation of photographs of political violence. The emotional power of such images, Linfield argued, stems from their illustration of what the subjects lack—the Human Rights that the viewer enjoys.⁹⁵ Indeed therefore, it could be argued that both conscripts and the Algerian community fall into this classification at times in Garanger's album. The viewer is thus drawn into empathy with the plight of these two groups, through certain images, and antipathy in others. If we follow the logic of Ariella Azoulay, as in the image of the *Bureau de Pacification*, in assessing the politics within the relations between the French army and the Algerian people, the citizenry of Garanger's images might begin to renegotiate their understanding of how this legacy impacted on contemporary events, such as racism towards the Maghrebi community, as was suggested by Francis Jeanson.

However, to avoid the danger of drawing somewhat polarised conclusions (i.e. French army = bad, Algerians = good) we must remain aware of our use of both of these theoretical approaches, for, as with the binaries evident in analyses of the photographs of the *Femmes Algériennes*, a superficial image of the *contingent* (and of the Algerians) could emerge that belies the complexities of Garanger's photographs. While the images of Bouakli does indeed bring out this polarised ideal between good and evil, the other two photographs posit a more nuanced construction of the *contingent* in its relations with the Algerian communities around Bordj Okhriss. The final theme we shall examine will continue to build a picture of the *contingent* in *La Guerre d'Algérie*, comparing the *appelés* depiction in the battlefield against photographs of Algerian soldiers in the battlefield.

⁹⁵ Linfield, p. 37.

Images from the battlefield

Photographs from battlefields are among those which are considered to be the most emotionally charged, or indeed the most iconic. Within contemporary culture, few photographs are better known than Capa's 'Falling Soldier' or Nick Ut's photograph of a napalm attack during the Vietnam War. In Algeria however, a number of factors either prevented extensive photojournalism (such as the SCA control of almost all photographic and videographic material produced outside of Algiers), or defied representation itself. For example: one of the defining factors of the 'battles' of the Algerian War, was that they were fought by a small number of Algerian guerrilla groups, against a much larger, and better equipped French force. In the countryside, such as where Garanger was stationed battles were long, drawn-out affairs, set amidst the vast landscapes of Algeria. As such, in addition to the very few photographs from the Algerian side of the conflict, what Stora and Gervereau term a 'guerre inégalitaire des images', the iconic images of the French army in Algeria thus dealt with the scarcity of the enemy through representing the French army as dominators of the landscape, and by association, dominators of the enemy.⁹⁶ Garanger's battlefield photographs are altogether different.



Figure 15: 'Soldats français « cueillis » par les balles des combattants F.L.N. A droite, gerbe de terre soulevée par un impact de balle. Djebel el Kantara, mars 1961.' (p. 115)

⁹⁶ Gervereau and Stora, pp. 7-9. See pp. 47-53 for examples of French army's photography.

The first photograph we shall consider in this thematic shows a group of *appelés* out on operation, in a wide-open plain, being shot at by the F.L.N. (Figure 15).⁹⁷ Here an invisible enemy lies to the right of the frame of the photograph. The vista appears empty but, instead of reassuring the soldiers of the lack of visible opponents, it is instead terrain that hides a surprise cache of enemies. The soldiers lie prone on the ground or crouched as they move forward hiding from bullets. On the right-hand-side of the photograph, a light puff soil indicates the impact of a bullet. The soldiers that we can see are in the middle distance of the shot, as small as the large clumps of grass and mud that can be distinguished in the foreground. The photograph appears hastily taken, lacking the aesthetics of framing or scale, which serve as a marker of authenticity and highlights the precarious situation. The *appelés* are shown as a group, but far from the photographer. So, they appear small in the distance as they lie prone in the grass, dominated by the landscape that spreads out in front of them; they do not even stick out above the horizon. The wide scale of the landscape and tiny figures, as well as the marker of the bullets being shot at them, serves to highlight the fragility of the *appelés*, and the experience of how the war was waged in Algeria.

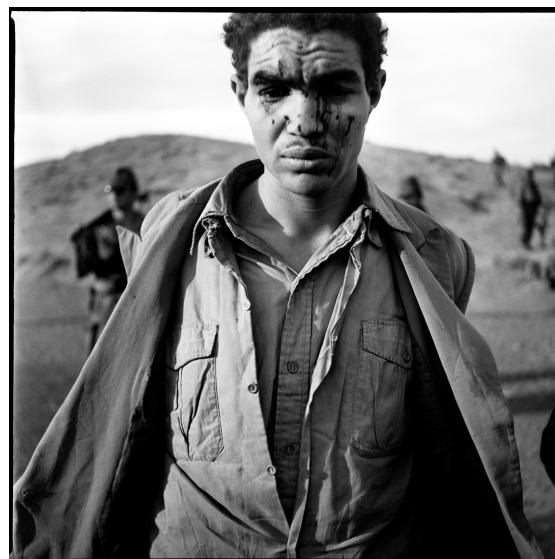


Figure 16: ‘Combattant F.L.N. fait prisonnier. Opération H. Octobre 1960.’ (p. 121)

A contrasting image from the battlefield is that of an FLN soldier during Operation H in October 1960 (Figure 16). Although the soldier’s jacket is blown open, the angle of his shoulders, pulled backwards slightly awkwardly, suggests

⁹⁷ It was during this mission that Garanger was injured, taking a bullet in the back, which led to him being awarded the *Croix de Valeur Militaire*.

that his hands are bound behind his back, hinting at his status as a prisoner. His pose and demeanour, strong and virile, link back to the portrait of Commander Bencherif on the cover of the album. This prisoner's gaze is ambiguous, the shadows on the left hand side of his face partially concealing an expression which could be stern or downtrodden. However, the shadows fail to conceal the trails of blood and bruising, which suggest that he has been beaten. Like the *Femmes Algériennes* he is powerless to physically resist the French, but his image itself is potent. Here the Algerian prisoner is foregrounded and individualised, in stark contrast to the *appelés* in Figure 15. Nevertheless, the *appelés* appear in the background of the shot, but blurred as the focus rests of the portrait.

In contrast to many of Garanger's photographs which were not received until the 1980s, this photograph was used by the FLN shortly after Algerian independence as a front page photograph for *El Moudjabid*, the official state newspaper. The photograph was however cropped closely around the figure of the FLN soldier, removing the figures of the French soldiers surrounding him. Garanger was reportedly very happy with the newspaper's usage of his photograph.⁹⁸ Such a framing further individualises the narrative of the soldier highlighting his stoic resistance, removing the *appelés* around the borders of the frame reinforces this vision, focusing on the spirit of independence rather than resistance to French rule.

If we draw these two photographs into comparison both the *appelés* and the Algerians take on a form of victimhood, but alternate types of victimhood. In the battlefield the *contingent* is constructed collectively, although from a distance, as if Garanger is separating himself from the group. By contrast the FLN soldier (or prisoner) is individualised, closely framed under dramatic lighting. This image connects with the theoretical paradigms of Linfield and Azoulay, the watcher able to connect emotionally with the violence the subject has borne, and in the context of the 1980s they would have been able to associate the implied narrative of violence in the photograph to frameworks of immigration and racism. Yet for the image of the *appelés*, such connections are more troublesome. The distance between photographer and subjects is large, and while the caption contextualises

⁹⁸ I would like to thank Neil MacMaster for offering this information, during the *viva* to my MA by Research, November 2009.

the scene on a battlefield with bullets literally flying, this physical distance correlates to an emotional distance; just how far can a watcher associate with a distant group of men if no individual features are visible? So the victimhood of the *appelés* lies in this status on the margins of photographic representation, they are victims of the photograph as much as they are of the violence of the war.

We shall now briefly consider how these themes were received at the time of the album's publication, in order to develop further how the themes interacted with the social frameworks of the 1980s.

Reception of the album

Le Monde of 17th July 1984 carried a significant review of the album, written by Jules Roy, famous for his opposition to colonialism despite his *Pied Noir* upbringing. Roy read the album as a complete vision of the Algerian War:

Pour qui ne sait encore rien de la guerre d'Algérie il suffit de tourner les pages, tout y est : la vie de tous les jours, le surnaturel, la tragédie en chaque conscience.

Roy sees the life of the *appelés* therefore within a tragic narrative, partly guilty, partly victim; lost in a war in which they have little agency but merely exist (drawing from Garanger's preface to the album) *au fond du gouffre*... This correlates with our impression in this chapter of a nuanced construction of *contingent*, existing in the liminal space between the official army and the Algerian people, between victims of violence, and perpetrators of it:

'Quel Gouffre? [...] ce n'est qu'une vague impression, avec une unité comme les autres, où les gens font ce qu'on leur commande et attendent la quille. Seule distraction : les bars d'Aumale le samedi, les mouquères, les virées minables.'

As with our reading in this chapter therefore, Roy reads the images of the *appelés* within a completely different set of frameworks than that which had been seen in previous phases. The wait for 'la Quille' is of paramount importance, meanwhile the *appelés* live out a bored life. Roy also contrasts the *appelés* situation against that of the Algerian subjects of the album. Focussing in particular on the final image of the album (Figure 17), he comments:

Dans ce région pouilleux de Bordj Okhriss, des hommes – une cinquantaine ? une centaine ? – sont rassemblés à l’occasion d’une fête religieuse pour la prière de l’aube. Le photographe les a pris de dos, à leur issu. Tous en beau burnous et en turban, comme ils attendaient le préfet, debout, face au soleil qui déverse de grandes ombres brillantes et obliques derrière eux. [...] Pendant ce temps-là, dans les petites unités du secteur, on casse la croûte au vin rouge, on graisse les armes.

Through this deliberate contrast, highlighting the religious piety of the Algerians against the perceived excesses (‘vin rouge’) and warmongering (‘graisse les armes’) of the *contingent*, Roy’s interpretation brings out a number of the points we have attempted to make in this chapter: First of all it highlights the importance of comparative readings of Garanger’s photographs emerging as they were published. These situate the *appelés* against the resonances of the Algerian community. The reading is a binary one; Roy reifies the Algerian community while disparaging the *contingent*. We can discern from this that, in Garanger’s photographs, the construction of the *appelés* is interlinked and interdependent on that of the Algerian community.



Figure 17: ‘Fête de l’Aïd-El-Kebir. La Prière du matin. Bordj Okhriss, mai 1961.’ (p. 133)

SECTION 4: CONCLUSION

As with Roy's reception of *La Guerre d'Algérie*, this chapter has attempted to draw out the album's construction of the *contingent*, through reading the album's photographs of *appelés* in context against its images of Algerians. Such a comparative reading of the vision of the war presented by Garanger, the *appelé du contingent* of the title of the album, highlights the increasing importance of social frameworks around Algerian and Maghrebi immigrant identity in channelling memory of the Algerian War in 1980s France. The album builds a complex construction of the *contingent*, signifying a quite dramatic shift from the constructions that came with previous phases of *appelé* memory.

The album was published and received, to an extent, off the back of the success of *Femmes Algériennes, 1960* two years previously; an album which has always, and most probably will always, eclipse *La Guerre d'Algérie's* fame. However, the nuanced presentation of the war within *la Guerre d'Algérie* enables us to develop a very rich understanding of a cultural construction of *appelé* memory from the period. The *appelés* are shown, to a far greater extent than in previous phases, in relation to the Algerian communities in their local area, in acts of pacification, on the battlefield and within the environment of the barracks. Yet in each of these settings and themes, they are constructed through a liminal identity, on the borders between the French army, the Algerian community and the lives they left behind in France. The invocation of solitary resistance, seen in the second phase of *appelé* memory, gives way to a collective vision of the *contingent* that attempts to reconcile the variety of responses the *appelés* had to the war.

The *appelés'* masculinity is continually presented through the prism of the Algerian masculinities that Garanger presents in the album, particularly in the image of Bencherif. These build upon the social frameworks of immigration, connecting with the iconicity of the presentation of Maghrebi immigrant politics in the French visual media, and highlighting the growing influence of Human Rights ideals in representing the Algerian War. Images of *pacification* build a nuanced image of the *appelés'* work within the Algerian community around Bordj Okhriss, demonstrating the multiple ways in which the *contingent* responded to

their duties in Algeria. On the battlefield the *appelés* are again set in stark contrast to the soldiers of the ALN, depicted collectively as fragile against strong and individualised Algerians, even after their capture. The aesthetics of Garanger's photographs serve to accentuate these themes, tending towards strong portraits of Algerian soldiers and community, against a more gritty depiction of the *appelés*.

In recent years, Garanger has denied his status as a veteran of the conflict or even as a member of the *contingent*; but during the 1980s he operates as an active participant in *appelé* memory. Garanger's military achievements (such as the *Croix de Valeur Militaire*) and the similarities between other *appelés* experiences and his own, are invoked to justify Garanger as a credible witness of the war. Garanger's photographs, while testifying to some of the atrocities that the French committed, also tell an individual story of the war (*vue par un appelé du contingent*), that holds within it some of the tensions common to both the situation in Algeria in the 1960s and France of the early 1980s.

In considering the reception of Garanger's photography in the 1980s, let us think back briefly to the 1982 television segment on *appelé* memory of the Algerian War in which he featured. Garanger and Gérard focus not on the experiences of the *appelés* but on an occasion where the army mistreated, and ultimately murdered, Saïd Bouakli, a prisoner. Their choice of invoking the polemical subject of Algerian victims as their dominant memory and testimony of the war during their two minutes in the spotlight, (Gérard also mentions, albeit briefly, torture), draws on the growing polemics surrounding Algerian immigration into French society. Through linking their experiences back to the lesser seen actors within the Algerian War; through highlighting the problems caused by institutionalised racism within the army; the two former *appelés* mobilise their experiences, through the catalyst of the photograph of Bouakli, to form a memory with pedagogical intentions. This is the lesson that Francis Jeanson's preface to *La Guerre d'Algérie* aimed to highlight as the key theme of the album: 'nous rendre plus attentifs [...] à tout ce qui, en nous et hors de nous, risque de nous engager de nouveau [...] dans les ruineux engrenages du racisme.'⁹⁹ Highlighting the ways in which history appeared to be repeating itself, albeit on French soil.

⁹⁹ Jeanson, in Marc Garanger, *La Guerre d'Algérie*, p. 9.

As failures in immigration and integration policies meant that people back in France were coming into increasing contact with politically active and disgruntled first and second-generation Maghrebi immigrants, the emergence of a construction of the *contingent*, which begins to come to terms with *appelé* relations in Algerian communities, seems prescient. We argue in this chapter that only through understanding the contrasts between presentation of the *contingent* and the Algerians depicted in the album can we begin to move beyond overly polarised understandings of the construction of the *appelés*. The debates within which this album chimed in the 1980s were not yet debates about the history or memory of the Algerian War, which although beginning to emerge in the public sphere, would not have a dramatic impact until the early 1990s. Instead, the album played into the very present debate around the place of immigrants in French society, and how France could come to terms with the recent legacies and repercussions of its colonial domination of another country.

CHAPTER 5

Constructions of the Algerian War *Appelés* in online digital media

SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION

Thus far, this thesis has considered three case studies examining the evolution in phasing and impact of the mediatization of *appelé* cultural memory in France. These chapters examined the media of television, prose text, and photography and the period from 1959 to 1984. This chapter will consider a final set of *appelé* texts taken from the internet and will contextualise them against 21st Century social frameworks, with a theoretical approach grounded in recent appraisals of memory in digital media. While this is admittedly a large chronological jump from where the previous chapter left off, the historiography of the Algerian War through the 1990s is a field which has been explored in detail by the academe: cultural memories of Algerian War began to re-emerge in public consciousness, with the first academic reappraisals of the war, and subsequently through the increasing media scrutiny surrounding French military abuses in Algeria. These frames will not be omitted from the case studies in this chapter, and will be considered in the social frameworks section. In the introduction to this chapter, we will firstly problematise the analysis of digital media memory of the Algerian War through a brief discussion of an application made for LeMonde.fr, from which we will draw out the chapter's research questions. We will then outline the theoretical debates pertinent to a study of digital media memory, before moving onto sections on social frameworks and digital readings.

In 2012, *Le Monde* commemorated its role in building the French public's awareness of military abuses in Algeria through a series of digital texts published on LeMonde.fr. One of these texts was a 'visuel interactif' entitled 'La torture et la guerre d'Algérie'. This Adobe Flash application (see Figure 18), took the form of a media-rich timeline of the key dates and documents in the historiography of

torture during the Algerian War—with a particular emphasis on the role *Le Monde* played in the development of that historiography.¹

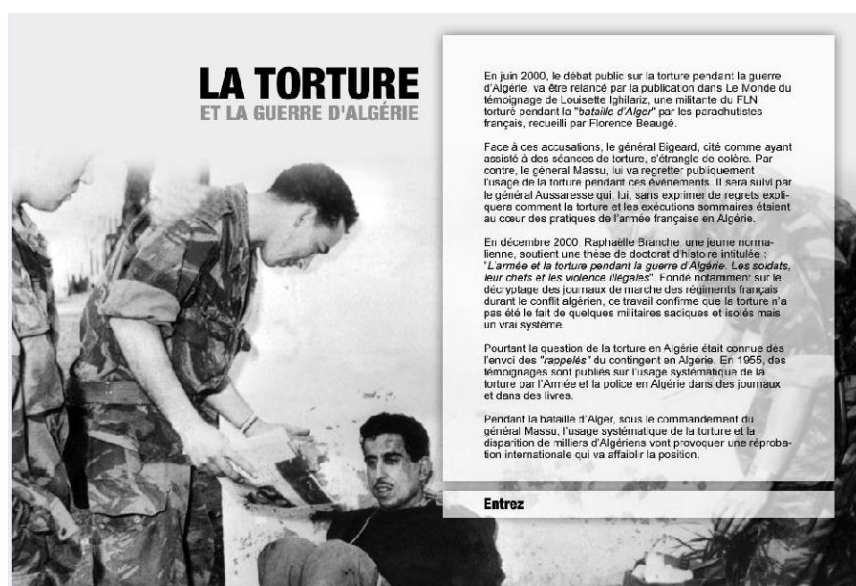


Figure 18: Screenshot of the LeMonde.fr 'Visuel Interactif'

Upon loading, the application displays an introductory screen, which depicts a photograph of soldiers interrogating an Algerian prisoner with a text box superimposed above it that summarises the history of the use of torture during the Algerian War. The reader must then directly engage with the application, clicking to enter a second screen which displays an interactive timeline, spread between 1955 and 2003, with clickable links to the key dates and years in the torture polemic. Each click on the timeline then brings up a separate panel, with a text summarising the historical pertinence of the period or date, with the information attached to each date evidencing the evolving public awareness and political symbolism of the systemic use of torture in Algeria by the French army. Each is text marked up with hyperlinked documents for a reader to discover more about the topic should they wish by clicking through and bringing up a new

¹ LeMonde.fr, 'La torture et la guerre d'Algérie', online application, <http://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/visuel_interactif/2012/03/17/la-torture-et-la-guerre-d-algerie_1671229_3212.html> [Accessed: 13 January 2013], archived by WebCite at <<http://www.webcitation.org/675103kDT>>. Where possible and appropriate, all webpages cited in this chapter have been permanently archived using the WebCite archiving tool, to enable access should the host page change or be taken down in the future.

webpage. The panels all include relevant photographs (often, as with the introductory image, un-captioned), and videos taken from the archives of INA are embedded on five of the panels.

None of the texts, dates or links in refers in particular to the experiences or memory of the *appelés*; instead the application develops a detailed framework showing the sanctioning of torture at an elite level. However, while the text itself makes no reference to the *appelés*, the form of the digital medium, with the application, embedded into a webpage connected with social media and comment functions, allows for readers/viewers of the application to articulate alternate memories, constructions and political points alongside the primary text. Such functions allow for immediate reception and commentary on the application, with subsequent viewers experiencing the application and its reception contemporaneously.

How then does *appelé* memory feature in this digital forum? Two of the responses to 'La torture et la guerre d'Algérie' insert memories of the *appelés*. One commentator posits the *appelés* as having been victims of the systematised violence of torture:

Que l'adversaire dans un conflit ait usé de tortures n'est pas une excuse qui permettrait d'utiliser les mêmes méthodes. Les français se sont déshonorés en imitant ou en cherchant à justifier les mêmes pratiques que celles des nazis, de certaines unités du FLN ou du MNA. N'oublions pas non plus que des appelés ont été complètement déstabilisés en étant mêlés à de telles pratiques (gégène, "corvées de bois", etc.).²

Serge GUILMIN, therefore, separates the *contingent's* experiences in Algeria away from those described in the application, which highlighted the elite sanctioning of torture. Serge GUILMIN posits the *appelés* as psychological victims of the practice and links torture to debates around the Nazis and the Second World War. In

² Serge GUILMIN on LeMonde.fr, 'La Torture et la guerre d'Algérie - vos réactions' [Accessed: 16th January 2013] <http://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/reactions/2012/03/17/la-torture-et-la-guerre-d-algerie_1671229_3212.html>, archived by WebCite at <<http://www.webcitation.org/6Dur914xw>>. To avoid excessive use of [sic] errors found in this and all subsequent quotations in the chapter are kept as they appear on the original webpages.

contrast another commentator, jp4921, who indicates that he was an *appelé*, suggests that the use of torture was justified by the historical context of the ideological frames in which it took place; and that, by implication, its use was condoned by the *contingent*.

Avant d'aller faire mon "devoir", j'ai appris. Je n'ai pas oublié le contexte de guerre froide, les actualités à propos de l'Indochine. Berlin, Budapest. La haine et la peur du monde libre face aux Rouges. Détacher la pratique de la torture de ce contexte relève d'une étrange obnubilation. Indochine, Corée, les doctrines de guerre contre révolutionnaire se sont appliquées en AFN, naturellement. Les socialistes ont donné "carte blanche" à l'armée. Oublié Mitterand? Que les politiques assument!³

These two comments highlight both the divisiveness of the use of torture in Algeria, and indicate some of the ways in which *appelé* memories shape and are shaped by digital cultural memory of the Algerian War. While one articulates the *appelés* as victims, the other builds a construction of the servicemen in relation to political policy and the approval of torture.

A final comment to the 'visuel interactif' also bears reflection regarding generational constructions of the *appelés*, highlighting a personal history of the commentator's *rappelé* father in order to criticise the application for only considering the French army's use of torture:

Mon père, sous-officier de réserve fut rappelé en 1956, quelques jours après ma naissance. Et s'il a toujours pensé que l'indépendance était inéluctable, il a aussi vu de ses propres yeux les effets du terrorisme FLN: des soldats achetant des croissants sur les quais d'Alger agonisant et mourant car les croissants étaient remplis de verre pilé. Il n'est plus poliquement correct de parler de l'horreur FLN mais elle était tristement et sauvagement réelle.⁴

The commentator, Patrick Borderie, channels a highly emotional response to his father's memories, bringing together an assertion supporting Algerian independence with an anecdote and using them to qualify his own personal criticism of FLN brutality. Patrick Borderie's comment therefore suggests a new form of imagined and/or inherited set of generational *appelé* (or in this case *rappelé*)

³ jp4921, Ibid.

⁴ Patrick Borderie, Ibid.

memories emerging online. These comments enrich and complicate the pedagogy of the *Le Monde* application, whereby active *appelé* memory frameworks are inserted into, and thus develop co-presence with, an article about the history and morality of torture. In contrast with the forms of media previously examined in this thesis, which had discrete production and reception, in the online digital media we will discuss in this chapter, the production of one text and its reception are contemporaneous.

In this chapter we will consider the themes of victimisation, French military abuses in Algeria and generational transmission of memory that this brief discussion of the ‘visuel interactif’ has begun to draw out. Through this we will question and challenge the diverse ways in which *appelé* memory is constructed online. We shall first consider the theoretical context of cultural memory mediated online, questioning the continued influence of socially constructed forms of memory on the Internet. We will then move onto examining a set of social frameworks which will situate our analysis in the francophone context, detailing the extent to which the concepts of *fracture coloniale*, generational transmission, and polemics around torture shape the memory of *appelés* online. We will finally read three digital texts which mediate *appelé* cultural memory online, questioning the construction these texts build of the *contingent*.

Theoretical approach

Many theoretical texts that approach cultural memory mediated online define the field of study as that of ‘new’ media or ‘new’ memory.⁵ However, we should be wary of such terminology for a number of reasons. A first confusion that can arise from defining a medium or memory as ‘new’ is that the individual formal elements of online media cannot be construed as particularly modern. The media which make up a contemporary webpage can include: written language, illustration

⁵ Indeed the term ‘new’ has leaked into the emerging historiographical study of the Algerian War since the millennium. See: Neil MacMaster, ‘The torture controversy (1998-2002): towards a ‘new history’ of the Algerian war?’ *Modern and Contemporary France*, Vol. 10, No. 4, 2002, pp. 449–59.

and images, photography, sound recordings and video; all of which have been around for many years. Furthermore, the content of the memories is not necessarily ‘new’ either, for as Andreas Huyssen has suggested: ‘Untold recent and not so recent pasts impinge upon the present through modern media [...] The past has become part of the present in ways simply unimaginable in earlier centuries.’⁶ This is particularly pertinent in the field of memory of the Algerian War, for, as each chapter so far as determined, both past and present contexts intrude on cultural constructions of the *appelés*.

The newness in new media therefore, derives from the recent advances in the digitisation of such materials and the potential that this digitisation offers for rapid editing, dissemination and reception of digital products through computers and the internet. However, this concept of newness sits in opposition against the ways in which digital technology dissolves and challenges the boundaries between present and past. In this arena to refer to media as ‘new’ is to obfuscate the complex temporal relationships the technology embodies. Thus to avoid confusion, in this chapter we shall refer to ‘digital media’ rather than ‘new media’. This shift in terminology is not uniquely the advent of this chapter, but marks a semi-conscious and subtle shift in the way in which this form of memory has been critically addressed in the move into the current decade.⁷

The concept of a ‘mediated memory’, introduced by José Van Dijck, describes the situation whereby a neurological memory has taken a form outside of the mind, in the form of any object be it for example a diary, a photograph, a painting, an illustration, a written word, a video, a sculpture or any other cultural

⁶ Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2003), p. 1.

⁷ A number of critics, while never explicitly recognising the shift, have changed the way they conceptually name ‘new media’ shifting away from this term to ‘digital media’, ‘online media’, ‘internet media’, ‘social media’, ‘connective media’ etc. See for example the progression in the way Andrew Hoskins negotiates the terminology on his publications page:

<<http://www.gla.ac.uk/colleges/socialsciences/ourstaff/andrewhoskins/>> [Accessed: 16 January 2013], archived by WebCite at <<http://www.webcitation.org/6Duryi3jN>>. I am grateful to Bill Marshall who pointed me in the direction of Hoskins’ work.

form.⁸ In an increasingly digital era, a second more problematic form of mediation occurs when such memories are mediated online, where the boundaries between public and private spaces are ever more blurred, as are questions of intellectual copyright. Previously private forms of cultural product are migrating online: the traditional diary has become the weblog or Twitter feed, address books the fora of social networking sites such as Facebook or MySpace. Similarly, home videos and photographs are increasing taking a semi-public form, be it through a general social networking site or a medium specific website such as Flickr, Instagram or YouTube (or in the Francophone sphere Dailymotion). While these websites often specialise in a specific medium, they also offer forms of social networking and public reactions, such as comments, responses, which generate a massive array of links to other webpages and websites.

Tensions arise here from how digital media are stored. A digital file offers the seeming possibility of perpetually storing a piece of information, in a way that (in theory at least—excluding the possibilities of corruption within a given file system) will never change. It is infinitely reproducible with no loss in data quality; each byte of information can be replicated exactly in the course of a right-click and a copy-paste. There is thus a contrast to be found with Walter Benjamin's 1936 essay, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', in that the digital text can be infinitely reproduced without the loss of the 'aura' that Benjamin suggested distinguished an original from a reproduction; the digital text is by definition the same wherever it is reproduced.⁹

However, in an era where 'to photoshop' has become linguistic currency for digital manipulation of an image, and given the widespread availability of editing software for video, sound, image, and text files, critical approaches to digital media memory must be alive to complex manipulation and hijack.¹⁰ Deep

⁸ José van Dijck, *Mediated Memories in the Digital Age* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2007).

⁹ Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', in Hannah Arendt (ed. and tr.), *Illuminations* (London: Fontana, 1968), p. 216.

¹⁰ We draw the concept of 'hijack', from the work of Andy Stafford on Gisèle Freund. In *Photographie et Société* (Paris: Points, 1974), Freund writes of how a photograph's caption can hijack [*détourne*] the visual image, changing its meaning and significant.

redirections of digital memories are possible in what Shaun Wilson terms as digital memory ‘remixes’ or ‘versions’:

the fundamental changes in recent online citizen journalism, such as blogs and wikis, have relied on the remixing and reversioning of memory in such a way as to change the methods of articulating the past through the representation and redistribution of media-rich narratives. Although one might suggest that the Internet is a digital storage pen for archiving the past it is, however, by the process of reproducing information that the stories of the past - our memories - can change or subsequently vanish.¹¹

The layering of multimedia narratives from broadly different contexts means that new connections can be built and made which were not previously possible. While this is often seen as one of the key strengths of the digital era, as new knowledge is generated through such connections, it also offers the potential to fabricate memories of incidents that never happened—as is the case of a YouTube video that we will examine in this chapter. Furthermore, the more dominant a digital memory is, through accumulating page views, links and copies, the more it can relegate more obscure memories towards being forgotten. This is a regular occurrence online where for example, the most popular videos gather hundreds of millions of hits, but many more are never seen.¹² Thus, in contrast to our examination of previous phases of the Algerian War, where we have examined individual media in a partly isolated manner, the radical hybridity of digital media poses numerous challenges in terms of how we will go about understanding a cultural memory of the *appelés* in an online space.

Stafford notably applies this to the relationship between Marc Garanger’s photography and Leïla Sebbar’s photo-text, *Femmes des Hauts Plateaux* ([Paris]: La Boîte à Documents, 1990). In the context of this chapter, we shall apply Freund’s notion of hijack to the way in which embedded commentary online, streaming contemporaneously and comingling with digital memories, can hijacks *appelé* memory.

¹¹ Shaun Wilson, ‘Remixing Memory in Digital Media’, in Garde-Hansen et al. eds., *Save As...*, p. 185.

¹² According to YouTube developer James Zern, ~30% of the videos on the site make up ~99% of the views. See: James Zern, ‘Mmm mmm good - YouTube videos now served in WebM’, 19 April 2011, <<http://youtube-global.blogspot.co.uk/2011/04/mmm-mmm-good-youtube-videos-now-served.html>> [Accessed: 8th February 2013], Archived by WebCite at <<http://www.webcitation.org/6EOKHwBUi>>.

A final difficulty in theorising how to conceptualise internet texts within a cultural memory approach is how to situate memories, comments and discussions provoked online which are an increasingly normalised feature of contemporary websites. In many cases, such as on video and image sharing sites, a thread of comments is integrated almost seamlessly with the initial digital text. These comments, offering reception and evaluation of the memory, become an important element in the ultimate meaning to be derived from the text: as each new person viewing the initial files receives both text and commentary simultaneously. These comment threads also generally involve ranking systems that allow viewers to indicate their preferred comments, which can elevate certain readings of a text, denying, confirming or probing the central tenets of the original. This is a radical shift from the reception of other texts we have examined in this thesis, where in digital memory, the delay between publication and reception has been reduced to zero.

It is clear from this background that contemporary digital media technologies have increased the velocity at which memories are created, mediated, received and reiterated. This velocity poses serious challenges when it comes to the authenticity but also the permanence of any specific memory online. In the same way that Gisele Freund has articulated the radical potential for a caption or text associated with a photographic image to 'hijack' the meaning of a photographic image; the realities of online social media take this potential to new levels for digital memory.¹³

Andrew Hoskins has suggested that there is a link between the mediation of memory through digital technologies and the growing interest in witness accounts of war:

the ever-accumulating technologies of the electronic and digital media shape and direct the mass representing and archiving of all-things-past through a near-obsessive commemoration of events. These are derived from a collecting of the individual, personal, and wherever possible,

¹³ Freund, pp. 153-63.

emotional accounts of eyewitnesses to, and survivors of, past wars and catastrophes.¹⁴

Two factors stand out in this quotation as pertinent to the way in which memory of the Algerian War circulates online. Firstly, Hoskins' suggestion that eyewitness accounts have a large degree of digital capital in the memory of wars and secondly the suggestion that emotion plays a part in this capital. In the social frameworks section of this chapter we will consider to what extent narratives of victimhood (and in consequence emotional trauma) play into the building of contemporary *appelé* memories of the Algerian War. This will be articulated through the concept of a *fracture coloniale* which divides the French national community in groups which perpetuate colonial identities.¹⁵ In the globalised arena of the internet, therefore, where any community has a (potentially) equal opportunity to engage with a digital memory, these colonial fractures come into constant contact and friction.¹⁶ One aspect of this is a competitive form of victimhood between groups as a means promoting their memories.

We shall also examine to what extent copresence of 'eyewitness' and generational memory of the *appelés* shapes these debates. It is here that the paradoxical structure of the temporality of digital memory becomes evident' as past (eyewitness) memory comingles and in some cases supersedes present (generational) memories. Here the concept of mediation is taking place on a number of levels: where *appelés* with first-hand experience of the war dialogue with later generations; where engagement with the history and memory of the Algerian conflict can come from many different angles; and where the boundaries between facts, comments and fiction are fluid. In concert with the *appelés*' liminal status on the borders of a number of groups implicated in the conflict, and with the

¹⁴ Andrew Hoskins, 'Ghosts in the Machine: Television and Wars' Past(s)', in *Communicating War: Memory, Media and Military*, Sarah Maltby and Richard Keeble eds. (Bury St. Edmunds: Arima Publishing, 2007), pp. 18–28, 20.

¹⁵ Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel and Sandrine Lemaire (eds.), *La Fracture coloniale: La France au prisme de son héritage colonial* (Paris : La Découverte, 2005).

¹⁶ This opportunity is only potentially equal because the penetration of the internet is particularly marked between developed and developing nations. In the francophone context, for instance, as of June/July 2012 the internet has a 76.9% penetration rate in France, but only 14% in Algeria. (Statistics taken from internetworldstats.com).

multiple potential memories embodied in the *contingent*, we will begin to question the fabric of the idea of a socially constructed collective memory of the *appelés*. As Huyssen accurately suggests:

[It] seems clear that older sociological approaches to collective memory—approaches (such as Maurice Halbwachs's) that posit relatively stable formations of social and group memories—are not adequate to grasp the current dynamic of media and temporality, memory, lived time, and forgetting. The clashing and ever more fragmented memory politics of specific social and ethnic groups raises the question whether forms of collective consensual memory are even still possible to day.¹⁷

We shall return to this question in the chapter (and thesis) conclusion, as we consider how the medium in which a memory is mediated impacts upon the memory itself.

In the next section of this chapter we will outline some of the social frameworks, communities and themes that interact with *appelé* memories of the Algerian War mediated in digital formats online. We will use this section to probe and ground our approach in the francophone context, and to clarify some of the potential ambiguities relating to our theorisation of digital media and memory. We will also develop a set of themes which we shall apply in our subsequent readings of three sets of digital, *appelé* memory texts.

¹⁷ Huyssen, *Present Pasts*, p. 17.

SECTION 2: SOCIAL FRAMEWORKS

Our theoretical framing of digital media memory has outlined the competing narratives, modes and temporality inherent in approaching cultural memory of the *appelés* mediated online. It therefore seems appropriate to begin this social framing from a broad perspective, looking at conceptions of a ‘fracture coloniale’ across French society, and then progressively narrowing down our focus to a set of thematic critical understandings of the *appelé* memory in the 21st Century, which will structure our textual analysis of digital memory online. These themes will be: models of victimisation through memory, the framing narrative of French military abuses in Algeria, and generational transmission of memory.

Fracture coloniale and the instrumentalisation of Algerian War memory

The realm of Algerian War memory has from time-to-time been referred to as a ‘guerre des mémoires’, denoting a continuation of the polarised debates of the war period itself, which resurface in the contemporary through competitive memories and political schemes.¹⁸ However, while the phrase ‘guerre des mémoires’ rhetorically evokes the urgency and currency of these debates, we must remain wary of it. As Olivier Le Cour Grandmaison suggests, it is often:

Employée pour jeter l’opprobre sur les nouvelles mobilisations commémorielles car, sous couvert de *qualification*, prospère en fait la *disqualification* de revendications légitimes et, bien sûr aussi, la disqualification de ceux qui les portent.¹⁹

Through levelling all memories and groups to equal levels of legitimacy or illegitimacy, the phrase acts to enshroud and weaken memorial and

¹⁸ See for example Benjamin Stora’s interviews with Thierry Le Clerc in: *La guerre des mémoires : la France face à son passé colonial (entretiens avec Thierry Leclerc)* (La Tour d’Aigues: Éditions de l’Aube, 2007)

¹⁹ Olivier Le Cour Grandmaison, ‘Passé Colonial, Histoire et “Guerre des Mémoires”’, *Multitudes*, 2006/3, No.26, p. 150.

commemorative debates. Thus, labelling any memory of the Algerian War as part of a ‘guerre des mémoires’, can inhibit any new claim it may have on the memorial landscape, and obscure the nuanced and multiple ways in which memory groups commemorate the war. This is particularly pertinent in the digital media context, where, as we saw in the theoretical framing, fact, fiction and commentary are often comingled and inseparable.

It is tempting for a study of *appelé* memory to consider the term, given that a number of the instances where *appelé* memory is mobilised online come during polarised debates about the war, akin to the competing ideologies of the war period. However, one of the defining characteristics of the *appelés* as a memory group is that they act, remember, and commemorate not as a homogenous collective, but heterogeneously. Similarly, for every active agent of *appelé* memory there remain many more *appelés* who do not voice their memories of the war, be that through choice or indifference. Thus to posit any invocation of the *appelés* within a ‘guerre des mémoires’ is, in this instance, a double obscuration: disqualifying the legitimacy of the memory *à la* Le Cour Grandmaison, and simplifying the complexity of *appelé* memory with a singular viewpoint.

Bancel, Blanchard and Lemaire’s book, *La fracture coloniale*, theorises the suggestion that a number of fissures in contemporary France can be explained firstly by a long disengagement with colonial history in 20th Century French society, and secondly by the continuation of colonial power hierarchies into the present day.²⁰ The term is therefore useful in considering the situation of the *appelés* for the reasons that *guerre des mémoires* was not: for Bancel, Blanchard and Lemaire the *fracture coloniale* is a response to the past societal lacunae around colonial history which impinge upon the present. This is a trope to which, as we saw in the introduction to this thesis, *appelé* memories repeatedly return.

La fracture coloniale argues that these two streams have developed to the extent that, in 21st century France, colonial influences have permeated the national politics of memory, whereby official policies, laws and commemorations feed into

²⁰ See: Bancel, Blanchard and Lemaire, ‘Introduction’, in *La Fracture coloniale*, pp. 9–30.

and provoke, wider memorial debates within society.²¹ A prominent example of this issue, cited by Bancel, Blanchard and Lemaire, is the 2005 ‘Appel des Indigènes de la République’, which demonstrated how young, second and third generation Maghrebi immigrant populations, reconciling colonial and contemporary identities, played into the political scene in France.²² The movement divided the political spectrum, demonstrating the currency of colonial debates to contemporary France.²³

However, in the period since the end of the Algerian War, *appelé* memories have rarely emerged as an important memorial node in their own right. Rather *appelé* memory has sat in the interstitial spaces between the more widely mediated memories of other groups. Through examining elements of the *fracture coloniale*, we will look at the groups invested in the sphere of Algerian War memory in contemporary France around which *appelé* memory coalesces.

In the introduction to *La fracture coloniale*, Blanchard, Bancel and Lemaire distinguish between the causes of the fracture (at an elite level) and the effects of it which are felt at a grassroots level. They argue that the causes stem in general from a long term lack of state engagement with colonial history. This lack of engagement has manifested in three ways: a lack of action over colonial commemoration;²⁴ legislative matters;²⁵ and a connection between formulations of

²¹ Ibid., p. 16.

²² The ‘Appel’ and the ‘Indigènes de la République’ movement more broadly can be read as a highly successful digital memory inspired, in part, by the Algerian War. The movement’s website <<http://www.indigenes-republique.fr/>> is very active, and is readily cited in online debates.

²³ Other examples of ‘fracturing’ issues could be the polemics around religious symbols in schools (such as the Islamic headscarf), the rise of the Front National and anti-Islamic politics, and (as we shall examine later in this chapter) polemics around torture and rape during the Algerian War, which re-emerged into the public sphere in the early 2000s.

²⁴ In the Algerian War context, debates over the (unofficial) commemoration date still divide groups implicated in the conflict. FNACA, support the date of the 19th March – the day the cease fire was declared; support also wavers around other dates including, the 11 November and 5 December, the date of the inauguration of the Algerian War memorial on Quai Branly in Paris.

²⁵ Such as the proposed law in February 2005 which aimed to teach the positive aspects of colonialism. For more of the genesis of this law, and the lobbying of *Pieds Noir* and

French republicanism and ‘elite’ level History projects. This latter category is best exemplified by Pierre Nora’s seven volume work, *Les Lieux de Mémoire*. The project was a reaction to what Nora perceived as a *balkanisation* of society through memory.

[P]ractically every organised social group, and not just the intellectuals or educated, has followed the lead of ethnic minorities in seeking their roots and identities.²⁶

Through bringing together a selection of France’s most eminent historians, Nora aimed to redirect society away from individual memory work and enshrine a professionally endorsed notion of national sites of collective memory. As Richard Derderian has suggested, in this way, ‘Nora hoped to reduce the dangers of memory going public.’²⁷ However, criticisms of the project are multiple; enshrined within it, Stephen Englund argues, was an old fashioned model of history built around a glorification of French national self-perceptions in the mould of the distinguished historians of the post revolutionary period. And so Nora’s project, developed as ‘an aesthetic/spiritual creation on behalf of “national history,”’ in a combat against the dangers of ‘communautarisme.’²⁸ This pertains to French perceptions of disunity in Anglo-Saxon societies caused by embracing a model of multiple community identities, in which individuals feel stronger bonds to their ethnic or community identity than to their nation. As Le Cour Grandmaison has warned:

La fonction essentielle de ce grand mot [...] n’est pas de différencier les réalités désignées pour mieux les appréhender, mais de stigmatiser et de

Harki groups in favour of it, see: Olivier Le Cour Grandmaison, ‘Sur la réhabilitation du passé colonial de la France’ in *La Fracture Coloniale*, pp. 121–8.

²⁶ Nora’s introduction to the English edition of *Lieux de Mémoire*, *Realms of Memory*, (cited in Derderian p.255).

²⁷ Richard L. Derderian, ‘Confronting the Past: The Memory Work of Second-Generation Algerians in France’, in Patricia M.E. Lorcin (ed.), *Algeria & France, 1800-2000: Identity, Memory, Nostalgia* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2006), p. 255.

²⁸ Stephen Englund, ‘Ghosts of Nations Past’, *Journal of Modern History*, 64 (June 1992), 299-320, p. 317.

réduire au silence les personnes accusées de menées communautaristes.²⁹

The *appelés* and their memory, as we have seen throughout this thesis, is innately ‘communautaire’, blending into the interstitial spaces between other groups, and it is therefore targeted and weakened by such formulations of history and memory.

Another criticism of *Lieux de mémoire*, by Derderian in particular, but also by Englund, Blanchard Bancel and Lemaire, is that the project contained only one article on colonial history, and nothing at all relating to the Algerian War.³⁰ Their arguments suggest that this lacuna creates an elite conception of French History, devoid of nodes of identification for immigrant communities or for actors in colonial histories, preventing their full integration into the French national community.³¹ This is not just a failing in *Lieux de Mémoire*, for, as Blanchard, Bancel and Lemaire suggest, this is a lacuna in the study and teaching of colonial history more generally, particularly felt in relation to the Algerian War.³²

While these elite level lacunae offer some insight into the cause of the *fracture coloniale*, the effects of the *fracture* are more difficult to quantify and approach:

²⁹ Olivier Le Cour Grandmaison, ‘Passé Colonial, Histoire et “Guerre des Mémoires”’, p. 152.

³⁰ This was Charles Ageron’s article on the colonial exhibition of 1931. Charles-Robert Ageron, ‘L’Exposition coloniale de 1931 : mythe républicain ou mythe impérial’ in Pierre Nora (ed.), *Les lieux de mémoire, tome 1 : La République* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984), pp. 493–515.

³¹ Derderian, ‘Confronting the Past’, p. 255. Scott Soo also offers a nuanced reading of the place of immigrant communities in *Les Lieux de mémoire*, albeit non colonial immigrant communities, suggesting that finding ‘realms of memory’ beyond the nation-state is a problematic endeavour. Scott Soo, ‘Between borders: the remembrance of Spanish exiles in the south-west of France’ in Henrice Altink and Sharif Gemie (eds.), *At the border: Margins and Peripheries in Modern France* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008), pp. 96–116.

³² This is also the argument put forward in Jo McCormack’s chapter, ‘Memory in History, Nation Building and Identity: Teaching about the Algerian War in France’ in *Algeria & France, 1800-2000*, ed. by Patricia M. E. Lorcin (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2006), 135-149, p. 139. We shall consider this towards the end of these social frameworks.

Il est essentiel de renoncer à chercher une “cohérence systémique” dans les effets contemporains de la fracture coloniale : elle affecte des champs très divers, qui ne sont pas nécessairement liés.³³

However, this assertion poses a fundamental problem when trying to approach how colonial memories are mediated online, as the diversity of the effects of the *fracture coloniale* are compounded by the ways in which online comment streams tend towards polemicizing debate. One avenue for approaching these memory formulations is to consider the ways in which the memories have been instrumentalised.

In an article from 1994, Stora examines the forms in which memory of the Algerian War, resurfacing in the late 1980s and early 1990s, emerged around two poles: a ‘bonne mémoire’ and a ‘mauvaise mémoire’.³⁴ For Stora, ‘bonne mémoire’ referred to the second-generation memory of immigrant groups (such as Maghrebi immigrants, the *harkis* and *Pieds-Noirs*); whereas ‘mauvaise mémoire’, referred to radical far-right *Pieds-Noirs* and OAS memories of the war. However, the key distinction between the two forms came, not from the political make-up of the groups, but from how these groups instrumentalised their memories.

‘Bonne mémoire’ emerged from second generations engaging with their family histories from the Algerian War, and unlike the accusations of ‘communautarisme’ levelled at them from some political circles, for Stora these groups ‘tentent de concilier les exigences de la citoyenneté et la fidélité ou la recherche de traces par rapport à la mémoire de leurs pères’.³⁵ In turn, memory emerges, according to Stora, along pedagogical lines, ‘qui essaye de se confronter, d’exister et de circuler’.³⁶ Stora sees this as a positive engagement with memory either through informing great social understanding or through bringing families together as groups.

³³ Bancel, Blanchard and Lemaire, ‘Introduction’, in *La Fracture coloniale*, p. 23.

³⁴ Benjamin Stora, ‘La Guerre d’Algérie quarante ans après, connaissances et reconnaissance’, *Modern and Contemporary France*, 2:2, (1994), 131-9.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

For Stora, the contrasting ‘mauvaise’ form of memory is one which cannot be separated from the ideologies of the Algerian War period: ‘elle estime que la fin de l’Algérie française n’est pas la fin d’une histoire mais que l’histoire doit se poursuivre sous d’autres formes.’³⁷ It is therefore a bellicose memory, whereby the situations and attitudes from the Algerian War resurface in an opposition against other group’s memories, actively working against them.³⁸ Over the following decade Stora revised the premise from ‘mauvaise memoire’, to ‘une mémoire de revanche’.³⁹ Even so these terms are, I would suggest, overly laced in partisan ideology, and indeed in terming one as ‘good’, one as ‘bad’ or ‘revenge’, Stora obfuscates the processes of instrumentalisation which they denote.

Tzvetan Todorov’s theorisation of the instrumentalisation of memory for the book, *Les Abus de la mémoire*, makes a similar distinction between two forms of memory discourse.⁴⁰ While he does not draw upon examples from the Algerian War, rather studies of holocaust memory, his terminology is more universally applicable, although there is also an important distinction from Stora’s model. Todorov’s distinguishes a ‘mémoire littérale’ from a ‘mémoire exemplaire’. As with Stora, Todorov’s distinction is based on the ways in which the memory has been instrumentalised: thus a ‘mémoire exemplaire’ is a memory used as a pedagogical exemplar, ‘le passé deviant donc principe d’action pour le present.’⁴¹ Contrastingly, a ‘mémoire littérale’ is lived perpetually in the present without a pedagogy: ‘j’étends les conséquences du traumatisme initial à tous les moments de l’existence.’⁴² We will draw on this distinction in our digital readings, where parallels and contradictions emerge in the formulation of digital mediation of memory from eyewitness *appelés* and generational memories.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ This formulation echoes the articulation of Algerian War memory debates as a ‘guerre des mémoires’, which is a dominant paradigm in Stora’s writings on Algerian War memory. See for example: Benjamin Stora, *La guerre des mémoires*.

³⁹ Benjamin Stora, ‘La Guerre d’Algérie dans les memoires francaises: Violence d’une memoire de revanche’, *l’Esprit Créateur*, Vol. XLIII, No.1, Spring 2003, pp. 7-31.

⁴⁰ Tzvetan Todorov, *Les Abus de la mémoire* (Paris: Arlea, 2004). Todorov’s text was first published in 1995, but had been widely presented from 1992 onwards. It seems likely that Stora’s 1994 model was influenced by Todorov, although this is not acknowledged by Stora.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 31.

⁴² Ibid., p. 30.

Victimisation

Victimisation is a key element of ‘*mémoire littérale*’, whereby the memory agent takes on the mantle of victimhood: ‘si personne ne veut *être* une victime, tous, en revanche, veulent l’avoir été, sans plus l’être ; ils aspirent au *statut* de victime.’⁴³ The embodiment of a victim status means that the memory agent takes on a form of power; they are owed something by society. Todorov extends this out from the individual to the group level, suggesting that the powers meted out are further amplified group memories, ‘plus grand a été l’offense dans le passé, plus grands seront les droits dans le present.’⁴⁴ The key distinction with Stora’s model however, is that Todorov perceives generational groups within this paradigm; we will consider this further in due course.

Elements of the group amplification of ‘*mémoire littérale*’ hold true in the memorial sphere of the Algerian War, whereby the groups with the largest and most homogeneous memories of the conflict, such as the *Pieds-Noirs* or perhaps the *Harkis*, often have a large degree of political clout – such as was seen with the proposed 2005 law promoting the positive aspects of colonialism, lobbied for by these groups. Indeed the internet offers a space where models of victimisation and victim identities can be played out, particularly given the relative anonymity that the internet user can take on, and the physical separation from the virtual world mediated by the inputs of a computer. However, a defining characteristic of ‘*mémoire littérale*’ in relation to the Algerian War comes in the way victimisation is modelled against and between groups implicated in the conflict.

Stora has argued that up until May ‘68, youth protests framed political anger against injustices brought about by the state. However, as time has gone onwards these forms of protest have made a profound shift:

De nos jours, des logiques de posture victimaires l’emportent dans la société sur les recherches de responsabilités étatiques ou... personnelles

⁴³ Ibid., p. 56.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

[...] les différentes groupes de mémoire, déjà à la périphérie de la société, ne demandent pas à l'État ou aux responsables politiques de rendre des comptes, mais le demandent à l'autre communauté.⁴⁵

In this way the *Pieds-Noirs* and the heads of the French army posit themselves as victims Charles de Gaulle's treasonous politics; Algerians see themselves as victims of the French; and the *Harkis* conceive of themselves as betrayed by French authorities.⁴⁶ In each of these instances, the group's victimisation emerges as a polarisation against another group. This is a key element of the *fracture coloniale* as different groups see themselves not as a cohesive community, investigating a memory or identity under the umbrella of the French nation, but as inter-victims of the colonial enterprise, and of one another. We will examine this theme in more depth in our first set of digital readings.

French military abuses in Algeria

Military abuses in Algeria, particularly the army's use of torture, have acted as an important framing narrative for *appelé* memory since the re-emergence of the topic as an important debate in Algerian War historiography in the year 2000. Three broadly linked events and a receptive media served to rekindle this interest: Raphaëlle Branche completed the first doctoral project to catalogue the way in which torture had been used systematically by the army in Algeria as a means of psychologically overpowering the FLN;⁴⁷ *Le Monde* published the testimony of Louise Ighilahriz, who had been raped and tortured by the *parachutistes* for a number of months during the battle of Algiers; and subsequently in response to these rising polemics, three prominent French Generals of the Algerian War

⁴⁵ Benjamin Stora, 'Quand une mémoire (de guerre) peut en cacher une autre (coloniale)', in *La Fracture coloniale*, pp. 57–65, 64.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Branche's thesis was subsequently published as a monograph: Raphaëlle Branche, *La Torture et l'armée pendant la guerre d'Algérie, 1954-1962* (Paris: Gallimard, 2001).

(Massu, Bigeard and Aussaresses) gave frank testimonies to their roles in the use of torture in Algeria.⁴⁸

While General Massu confirmed Ighilahriz's testimony and expressed regret at the use of torture during the Battle of Algiers, General Aussaresses' November interview with *Le Monde* and the subsequent 2001 publication of his memoir *Services Speciaux* provoked fresh controversies.⁴⁹ Aussaresses, amnestied under the edicts of March 1962, thus was able to speak in complete candour about his first hand experiences in Algeria. Controversial were the sections where he dealt with the torture of FLN activists, and where he testified to murdering Larbi Ben M'Hidi by hanging him with his bare hands. Following the scandal around the book, Aussaresses was eventually tried and found guilty for the crime of conspiracy to glorify war crime, with a corresponding 7500€ fine, and the removal of his *legion d'honneur*.

One of the responses to these torture polemics came from veterans of the conflict, for whom the Generals' testimonies legitimated their speaking out about the experience and prevalence of torture on the ground in Algeria. MacMaster writes of a:

'flood of 'testaments' in the form of letters to the press, or radio and television interviews, in which ex-soldiers described in close detail the horrors to which they had been witness, but also expressed the sense of release in being able to exorcise for the first time a past that had haunted them for four decades.'⁵⁰

MacMaster, writing in 2002, concluded that the increasing prominence of torture as a framing debate around the Algerian War implied that a 'new history' was emerging in France, but not in Algeria—a factor which influences the reception of digital memories of the Algerian War online.

⁴⁸ For more on the *Le Monde* articles see: Florence Beaugé, 'Comment "Le Monde" a relancé le débat sur la torture en Algérie', *Le Monde*, 17 March 2012.

⁴⁹ Paul Aussaresses, *Services Speciaux : Algérie 1955-1957* (Paris: Le Grand Livre du Mois, 2001).

⁵⁰ Neil MacMaster, 'The torture controversy (1998–2002)', p. 451.

This fundamental shift in public opinion, in particular the growing recognition of the systematic and institutionalised role of torture within the colonial state, is an important precondition for the ‘new’ history to flourish⁵¹

However, if torture frames a ‘new’ history of the war as having been an integral element of the systematic use of violence as part of the French state’s control over Algeria, such as suggested by Branche’s study, it follows that the role of individual torturers in that history is less pronounced, as they acted as part of a policy of violence. This jars against a separate culturally constructed conception of military abuses in Algeria that emphasises the importance of individual agency from the torturer.

This cultural model of torture in Algeria, posits the practise as a necessary evil, and can trace its roots to the ‘ticking time bomb’ thought-experiment first posited in Jean Lartéguy’s novel about the Battle of Algiers, *Les centurions*.⁵² The novel starts at the end of the Indochinese War where a *Parachutiste*, Boisfeuras, is captured and tortured by the North Vietnamese. He escapes and takes his experiences and the tortures learned in Indochina over to fight the FLN in the Battle of Algiers. The novel posits a situation whereby an uncooperative FLN terrorist, a dentist named Arouche, is in military custody having placed fifteen bombs that will explode the next day through the *Pied Noir* sectors of Algiers, causing great loss of life. Boisfeuras implements a series of the tortures he had learned in Indochina, and elicits a confession from Arouche with enough information to ensure that the literally ticking bombs can be recovered before they explode. The pain and suffering of Arouche are thus consciously justified by the lives saved. Lartéguy’s novel was hugely successful, selling 500,000 copies and the ‘ticking time-bomb’ trope was used in a number of films relating to the Algerian War, such as Pontecorvo’s *La battaglia di Algeri* and Hollywood film, *Lost Command*. Darius Rejali has argued that these cultural constructions of torture have little bearing on the reality of torture’s usage in Algeria, but that they nevertheless ‘powerfully shape how we remember, discuss, and think about

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 457.

⁵² Jean Lartéguy, *Les Centurions* (Paris: Presses de la Cité, 1960).

modern torture event today. Too often, we recollect not actual events but these cultural artefacts.’⁵³ This cultural model of torture focuses on the individual agency of the torturer, Boisfeuras acts alone as the perpetrator of the torture, and yet he is compelled to torture by the situation; he is thus a victim of his circumstances and a torturer. Despite the inaccuracies of this model, as we shall see in our digital readings it is the cultural model of torture in Algeria which is more regularly invoked in relation to *appelé* digital memory online. Our second set of digital readings will examine the extent to which *appelé* eyewitness and generational memories of French military abuses in Algeria articulate and reversion complex formulations of guilt and victimhood.

Generational transmission of memory

With regards the memory of the Algerian War, the concept of generational transmission of memory, or of a pedagogical memory, is one that is frequently associated with second generation Algerian immigrant memory, particularly through the literature of *beur* authors, rather than in conjunction with the *appelés*.⁵⁴ As we have seen however, there is a distinction between Stora and Todorov’s conceptions of the instrumentalisation of memory when it comes to their understanding of generational transmission. Stora sees the passing of memory from parents to children as a positive force, with communities taking charge for the continuation of their heritage in the face of a gap in official histories. Here the second generation refracts the ideologies inherent in their parents’ memories and draw out positive pedagogical lessons. However, for Todorov, generational transmission is often associated with negative connotations, whereby generational memory groups inherit, internalise and in some cases amplify narratives of victimisation for political gain. This is perhaps a facet of the different groups from

⁵³ Darius Rejali, *Torture and Democracy* (Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 545.

⁵⁴ That is not to say however that second (or third) generation literature of the *appelés* is not emerging. Indeed perhaps the most lauded Algerian War novel in recent years is Laurant Mauvignier’s *Des Hommes* (Paris: Minuit, 2009), which was written by the grandson of an *appelé* inspired by his family history.

which they draw their examples, or can perhaps be explained with recourse to debates around 'communautarisme'.

Marianne Hirsch's term of postmemory has bearing here as a conceptual tool. The term was developed through analysis of photography and the children of Holocaust survivors, but Hirsch also suggests that 'it may usefully describe other second-generation memories of cultural or collective traumatic events and experiences.'⁵⁵ While postmemory is highly personal, drawing from the ways in which families build generational memories through artefacts such as the photo album, the concept is also characterised by temporal distance from the instant being remembered; similar to the concepts of eyewitness and generational memories in digital media memory. As a form of memory therefore postmemory's 'connection to its object or source is mediated not through recollections but through an imaginative investment and creation.'⁵⁶ The term does not necessarily fall into either of Stora or Todorov's categorisations, between victim and pedagogy, but instead could be invoked under a number of formulae dependent on the investment of the second-generations. Hirsch continues, 'postmemory characterises the experience of those who grow up dominated by narratives that preceded their birth, whose own belated stories are evacuated by the stories of the previous generation shaped by traumatic events that can be neither understood nor recreated.'⁵⁷ Yet, the *appelés* as a broad group have been characterised as stoically refusing the *devoir de mémoire* of transmitting their memories of the Algerian War to their children; if we return to the testimony of Jean Baspert that

⁵⁵Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: photography, narrative and postmemory* (Cambridge, Mass.; and London: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 22. Hirsch's theorisation of postmemory is particularly aimed at familial memory transmission, and is drawn from the study of photography, but it has been applied other representational paradigms, notably with reference to the Algerian War in the writing of Leïla Sebbar (See: Jonathan Lewis, 'Filling in the Blanks: Memories of 17 October 1961 in Leïla Sebbar's *La Seine était rouge*', *Modern & Contemporary France*, 20, 3, (2012) pp. 307–322), and in *Bande Dessinée* (See: Jennifer Howell, "Illustrating Independence: The Algerian War Comic of the 1980s." *The Middle East Institute Viewpoints (Special Edition): The State of the Arts in the Middle East* (May 2009): 23–5.)

⁵⁶ Hirsch, *Family Frames*, p. 22.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

opened the chapter on Marc Garanger, for example, Baspert refused to testify in depth around his children saying ‘il ne faut pas en faire un trop grand étalage’.⁵⁸

However, it is for this reason that a loosened formulation of postmemory is important in considering digital memories of the *appelés*. As we have seen throughout this thesis, *appelé* narratives of the war have remained on the edges of the dominant discourses of the state, or have been mobilised to further the memory of other groups, or as witness accounts to military abuses. So in the digital sphere, generational *appelé* (post)memories are therefore largely constructed with recourse to an imaginary based on these marginal accounts, which have been channelled through other inherited memory templates. This sits in stark contrast to other communities of the conflict, whose generations have grown up starkly marked, in the manner of the *Indigènes de la République*, by strong inherited colonial and diasporic narratives and identities.

These inequalities have been further extended by the teaching of the Algerian War in the classroom, which has historically been minimal (although this has begun to change). Jo McCormack’s intriguing chapter on the teaching of the war for the baccalaureate History course in *Terminale* for example, has suggested how little the war is taught in schools: textbooks from 1998 averaged 950 words on the topic, and students would spend on average 1.5 hours of class time studying the war.⁵⁹ McCormack cites an interview he made with Jean-Pierre Rioux in 2000 (when Rioux was at the time *Inspecteur general de l’éducation nationale*):

‘The republican school in France does not think we should favor [sic] the Algerian War to the detriment of other events also so as not to take the risk, because the school authorities do not want this, of inflaming the memory conflicts that exist and that one can detect in class, evidently, so as always to bring them back to elements of knowledge and knowledge acquisition for all pupils on a phenomenon like the Algerian War.’⁶⁰

⁵⁸ TF1 News Bulletin 8pm, 18th March 1982, 8mins. Archived at the INA ‘imago’ database, reference code: CAA8200508501.

⁵⁹ Jo McCormack, ‘Memory in History, Nation Building and Identity’, p. 139.

⁶⁰ Jean-Pierre Rioux, interview with Jo McCormack, France, February 2000. Cited in: McCormack, ‘Memory in History, Nation Building and Identity’, p. 143.

So there is a disparity in the way in which the postmemories of different groups implicated in the war have developed and been constructed, and a generational disparity around understanding of Algeria forged in the classroom. Richard Derderian has argued that ‘the memory work of [second-generation] Algerians often sheds light on neglected events, offers new critical perspectives, and opens up the past to a greater degree of public scrutiny and debate’.⁶¹ However, we will see in our third set of digital readings that in the sphere of *appelé* digital media memory, dominant memory templates of victimhood and their subsequent postmemories, overwhelm and stifle constructive debate between *appelé* eyewitnesses and agents of generational memory.

As we have outlined in these social frameworks, there are three themes that we need to consider in our digital readings that have a bearing, not only on the ways in which a *fracture coloniale* affects Algerian War memory generally, but also on the ways in which *appelé* memory is mediated online. These themes are: victimisation; military abuses; and generational transmission. In our textual readings, we will consider how the digital arena accentuates and accelerates the processes of memory associated with these themes, highlighting the individual eyewitness narratives of *appelés* but situating them in the centre of vociferous generational debate about the memory of the Algerian War in contemporary France. We will argue that the *appelés* place in this debate is a liminal one, as inter-victims of the many groups and fractured debates who develop and comment on digital *appelé* memory.

⁶¹ Derderian, ‘Confronting the Past’, p. 278.

SECTION 3: DIGITAL READINGS

In this section we will consider three digital texts that speak to the themes we have elaborated in the introduction and social frameworks: first, a series of blog posts by a former *appelé* for the independent media outlet Mediapart.fr, which construct an image of the *appelés* through the prism of victimisation; second, a composite YouTube video which posits the *appelés* as agents in and witnesses to genocides during the Algerian War; and finally, a series of forum postings by a former *appelé* acting as a pedagogical agent in the transmission of generational memory. The broad and contrasting constructions of *appelé* memory we will draw out from these three sets of digital texts will serve to highlight the wide range of social frameworks that play into the contemporary mediation of *appelé* memory in the digital sphere, and how the construction of the *appelés* is drawn in the liminal space between other group's competing memories of the war. The analysis of these materials will lead us, in the conclusion to this chapter, to question how far socially constructed conceptions of collective memory can inform debates around *appelé* memory in the modern digital era.

Victimisation

The first theme we shall consider in this textual analysis is victimisation. As we saw in the social frameworks, the articulation of victimisation has become a tenet of the memory discourses associated with *la fracture coloniale*. Within Algerian War memory it has been used as a theme in 'mémoire littérale'; and has shaped debates around the *appelés* relationship the war and particularly French military abuses in Algeria. In this section we will examine a series of blog posts by Gilbert Argelès on French online media outlet Mediapart.fr, which construct a medicalised discourse and *appelé* victim memory.

Mediapart.fr was set up in 2008 by Edwy Plenel, former Editor-in-Chief of *Le Monde*, as a new model of journalism published entirely online and paid for

through subscriptions and without advertising; Mediapart.fr was to be a completely independent voice in French journalism. The news content published by the website is set up along two dimensions; the first, a professional edition which publishes news stories by Mediapart's professional journalists, and the second, a 'Club' where readers can discuss stories, write their own blog posts and (if qualified) set up 'Editions Participatives'.⁶² These are themed niche blogs, where authoritative amateur journalists can contribute high quality articles on a specialist subject. One such 'Edition Participative' ran from 10 August to 15 October 2010, under the title 'Les séquelles inconnues de la guerre d'Algérie'. It was set up by Gilbert Argelès, a former *appelé* who featured in Bertrand Tavernier's film *La Guerre Sans Nom* and the accompanying book.⁶³ The blog's homepage states:

3.000.000 de jeunes ont été appelés entre 1956 et 1962 pour participer aux combats colonialistes en Algérie. Beaucoup sont revenus plus ou moins psychologiquement malades. Des documents confidentiels militaires en font état. Mais aucune Association, aucun Média ne s'est saisi de ce problème qui perdure malgré l'âge avancé maintenant de ceux qui en sont revenus vivants. Quelques recherches existent, passées sous silence, et pourtant révélatrices. L'objet de cette édition est d'apporter un certain nombre d'éléments irréfutables montrant qu'il y aurait encore beaucoup à faire pour informer d'abord, puis venir en aide à ces "anciens combattants" avant qu'ils ne disparaissent...⁶⁴

From the outset therefore, Argelès' blog sets up a pedagogical mandate to inform Mediapart readers and also to help veteran servicemen suffering from psychological illnesses related to their time in Algeria. In the realm of digital media it posits itself as authoritative, referring to sources and confidential documents. However, its focus on psychological illness is also a symbolic posturing of the

⁶² Géraldine Delacroix, 'Mediapart, visite guidée', 14 September 2010, <<http://blogs.mediapart.fr/edition/decouvrir-mediapart/article/140910/mediapart-visite-guidee>>, [Accessed: 14 November 2012], Archived online by WebCite at <<http://www.webcitation.org/6EX3ItfuF>>.

⁶³ Bertrand Tavernier and Patrick Rotman, *La guerre sans nom: les appelés d'Algérie, 1954-1962* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1992).

⁶⁴ Gilbert Argelès, 'Les Sequelles inconnues de la guerre d'Algérie', [no date], <<http://blogs.mediapart.fr/edition/les-sequelles-inconnues-de-la-guerre-dalgerie>>, [Accessed: 16 May 2012], Archived online by WebCite at <<http://www.webcitation.org/6EX3ZeXHf>>. Quotations from the website are kept as they were originally posted.

appelés as victims of an invisible malady, mirroring the lacuna felt by many former servicemen where the memory of the *contingent* is passed aside in histories of the war. The overt focus on psychological illness is also poignant in relation to memory, as it is memories of Algeria which perpetuate *appelés* psychological problems. However, the final sentences of the homepage aim this medicalised discourse at a specifically victimised constriction of *appelé* identity:

[Appelés et rappelés] sont aussi des victimes de cette guerre coloniale: ni reconnus blessés ou malades dans leur masse, ils n'en présentent pas moins des séquelles qu'il faudrait mettre à jour et faire mieux connaître. C'est aussi cela dénoncer la guerre et œuvrer pour la Paix.⁶⁵

This focus on the *appelés* as victims of the war draws into question the intended pedagogy of the blog. Does it develop a 'mémoire exemplaire', drawing lessons from the experiences of the *appelés*; or a 'mémoire littérale' revisiting and reliving their experiences in the present?

Victimisation is the emblem that runs through the main article published on the blog. Entitled 'Sur les troubles psychiques de masse des Anciens Combattants en Algérie', the article is a long review of a document from a hospital in Constantine recording the experiences of 1,280 *appelés* and *rappelés* who were committed for psychological evaluation and treatment under Dr. Crocq between July 1958 and December 1962.⁶⁶ In the opening lines of the article, Argelès contrast the maladies 'de masse' of the *contingent* against the way in which psychological illnesses are considered in contemporary France: 'Rares, très rares, sont les études et documents portant sur les troubles neuropsychiatriques observés chez les militaires durant la Guerre d'Algérie.'⁶⁷ Argelès thus draws on the paradoxical temporality of the digital medium to bring the past psychological suffering of the *appelés* into the present, drawing a parallel with the lack of engagement with their illness. This serves to simultaneously emphasise the

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Gilbert Argelès, 'Sur les troubles psychiques de masse des Anciens Combattants en Algérie', 10th August 2010, <<http://blogs.mediapart.fr/edition/les-sequelles-inconnues-de-la-guerre-dalgerie/article/100810/sur-les-troubles-psychique>> [Accessed: 8th February 2013]. Archived by WebCite at <<http://www.webcitation.org/6EOPLihOU>>.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

uniqueness of his article and build a collective victimhood of the *appelés* against the medical and military professions.

Argelès highlights in the work of Dr. Crocq a psychological condition unique to those who served in Algeria, ‘un profil de la **“névrose de guerrilla”**, propre à la guerre d'Algérie’, which Crocq estimated could have affected between eight and nine thousand men.⁶⁸ Argelès draws upon this unique illness to posit the validity of an *appelé* specific collective victim narrative; however he also develops this construction further, suggesting from his personal experiences as an *appelé* that the number should be significantly higher.

[Crocq et al.] oublient dans leurs estimations, le grand nombre de malades aux troubles psychiques plus ou moins mineurs, qui n'ont pas fait appel à la Médecine des Armées, qui souvent n'ont pas eu les moyens d'y faire appel du sommet de leur piton, qui étaient supportés comme tels, dont les troubles ne sont apparus comme inquiétants ou graves qu'après leur libération, qui vivent encore aujourd'hui avec ces troubles, plus ou moins enfouis.⁶⁹

In this quotation, Argelès uses emotive imagery and draws upon his own experiences, as an eyewitness, to develop the victim narrative built upon Dr. Crocq's observations. His themes invoke both and the long gap between military service and contemporary context, as a reason why a reader should empathise with the *appelés*. The internal logic of Argelès' posting therefore uses the digital capital of his own personal experiences to expound upon the collective victimisation of the *contingent* as a group.

This is particularly apparent in one of his other postings on the blog, entitled ‘Tout commence par le “décervellement”!’.⁷⁰ The post draws, again, from Argelès' personal experiences as an *appelé* to point the victimhood of the *contingent* at another set of actors in the war, the French army. Argelès describes being called

⁶⁸ Ibid. Emphasis retained from original.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Gilbert Argelès, ‘Tout commence par le “décervellement”!’, 14th October 2010, <<http://blogs.mediapart.fr/edition/les-sequelles-inconnues-de-la-guerre-dalgerie/article/151010/tout-commence-par-le-decer>>, [Accessed: 8th February 2013]. Archived by WebCite at <<http://www.webcitation.org/6EOQ3YRY5>>.

up in 1959 to serve as a reservist officer in the *Chasseurs Alpains*, where as a part of his training he had to take bi-weekly ‘action psychologique’ classes:

J'avais 25 ans, une solide formation politique et sociale, mais je voyais bien, qu'au fil des semaines, les plus jeunes ou les moins solides, cédaient petit à petit aux arguments simplistes, se faisaient lentement conditionner, acceptaient donc de se former à la fonction de Chef détenant l'autorité et le savoir.⁷¹

As we examined in our theoretical context, emotional eyewitness accounts are a significant element of the digital commemoration of past wars.⁷² Argelès' posting about the *appelés*' indoctrination uses this capital as a means of validating his construction of the *appelés* as victims.

The other articles on the blog also use the medium of digital media memory to articulate a victim narrative, through circulating and recirculating documents by other authors who reflect on the psychological ramifications of the conflict. These include Florence Beaugé's *Le Monde* article about Louissette Ighilaritz, and other accounts by psychiatrists and psychologists about the post-traumatic stress disorder.⁷³ Argelès therefore uses the possibilities of the blogging medium to further his argument and document his research; using the blog to allow an interested and engaged reader the opportunity to follow the trajectory of his research in a rapid manner, and with the continued stream of supporting material lending credence to his construction of the *appelés* as victims of the French army and of the war.

While Argelès' blog purports a journalistic pedagogy in informing readers of the effects of the Algerian War on all the *appelés*, the blog postings read as a highly affective account of one *appelé*'s construction of collective victimhood. Through the prism of a medical analysis and his own personal accounts, Argelès constructs the *contingent* as victims of their own memories through psychological

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Hoskins, ‘Ghosts in the Machine’, p. 20.

⁷³ See for example this article cited by Argelès from France's top military blog ‘Theatrum Belli’: H. Boisseaux, ‘Le stress au sein de la population militaire : du stress opérationnel à l'état de stress post-traumatique’, 20th April 2010, <<http://www.theatrum-belli.com/archive/2010/04/20/ee7c69e5ab12824b7ccd2b128b70b147.html>>, [Accessed: 8th February 2013]. Archived by WebCite at <<http://www.webcitation.org/6EORBkuX1>>.

illness; victims of the army which indoctrinated them; and victims of a medical profession which (excepting Dr. Crocq) ignored them. The *appelés* are projected homogeneously as institutional victims, but from the perspective of only one eyewitness. To draw from Todorov, the blog articulates a highly individual ‘*mémoire littérale*’ which ignores all other parties in the war (Algerians are notably absent). While this was perhaps not Argelès’ intention, in setting the blog up along the emotional lines of a model of successful digital memories, the tone of the blog draws on medicalised discourses to appeal repeatedly to the status of victimhood, projecting a construction of one *appelés*’ existence as having never come to terms with his experiences in Algeria.

In our next reading we shall examine a YouTube video which posits the *appelés* in a liminal situation among competing memory groups, and frames them against their involvement in military abuses in Algeria. We will consider the *appelés* once again through the prism of victimhood, but as inter-victims caught between the divisive narratives of other groups of actors in the Algerian conflict.

French military abuses in Algeria

As we examined in the social frameworks, a crucial theme in the ‘new,’ 21st Century historiography of the Algerian War, has been the re-evaluation of French military abuses in Algeria. In this section we will consider a YouTube video which problematizes the place of the *appelés* within this debate; and dialogues with the frames of victimisation that we examined in Gilbert Argelès’ blog.

‘ALGERIE - Les Auschwitz de la France en Algérie’,⁷⁴ is a 9 minutes 58 second clip, which has been cut and edited from André Gazin’s 2002 film, *Pacification en Algérie*, and posted to YouTube by an anonymous uploader with

⁷⁴ Vvscdn, ‘ALGERIE - Les Auschwitz de la France en Algérie’, 23 June 2007, <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RGLrdjkcLdM>>, [Accessed: 18 February 2013]. It is not currently possible to archive YouTube videos.

username: vvsdcn.⁷⁵ The clip, a plagiarised reworking of Gazin's documentary, makes no reference to the original film despite the original also being available in two parts on YouTube.⁷⁶

Gazin, an *appelé* who deserted during the Algerian War, made the original documentary in 2002, in response to the growing polemics about French military abuses in Algeria. The documentary features testimonies from prominent anti-colonial veterans including Marc Garanger, and Benoist Rey, and questions the ethics of the military on the ground during the war as well as the elite level sanctioning of torture by the French Government.⁷⁷ While the Gazin documentary is not the subject of this chapter, it is important to remark that vvsdcn's title for the clip, 'ALGERIE – Les Auschwitz', has no relation to the content of the documentary, which makes no reference to the Holocaust.

YouTube, as with other online video websites, mixes many different forms of media and information on one page, each of which have a bearing on the framing of the video. These media include: the video's title and description, keywords which help users search and find videos, statistics about the number of views the clip has amassed, social media functions allowing a viewer to 'like' or 'share' the video, a comments thread, a section of video reactions, and a sidebar of related videos on the right-hand side of the page which an algorithm suggests

⁷⁵ Vvsdcn has a YouTube channel with 202 posted videos, up until the 8th May 2012, dealing almost exclusively with the history of the Algerian War, but more recently with some videos around western interventions in the Maghreb, Libya etc. All the videos seem to come from an Arabic perspective – a large number are in Arabic, but some are in French and a few in English. See videos: <<http://www.youtube.com/user/vvsdcn>>.

⁷⁶ Gazin, A., dir. *Pacification en Algérie*, Article Z & Arte France, 2002. The full original high definition version of the film is available on YouTube: (Part 1:) <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oloeHSMK7qo>> and (Part 2:) <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6tGLQXCRCOo>>. Thanks go to Matthew Berry for finding the documentary and these links. [Note from February 2013: These videos have been removed from YouTube for copyright violation. We are reminded of the transitory nature of memories in digital media.]

⁷⁷ Rey, who fought as an *engagé* in a commando de chasse in Algeria, returned to France from his military service with a profound anti-military sentiment from the gruesome events he witnessed from the hands of the French military in pacification operations. He published a journal of his experiences in Algeria, *Les Égorgeurs* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1961), which was banned two days after its publication. It was republished in 1999.

might interest the viewer.⁷⁸ Given all of these variables, while the video itself will stay the same across time (unless removed by YouTube for copyright infringement or by vvscdn), each visitor's experience of that page will be unique, in that the words, links and statistics, and other films posted around the video will change upon each page visit.

Through manipulating elements of this framing, vvscdn takes a number of steps that distance the YouTube clip from the longer documentary. While the documentary was filmed entirely in French, the clip's description is in French and English:

A video describing the atrocities in the concentration camps set up by the French in Algeria during the colonial occupation which France never admitted they existed.

La France n'arrete pas de pleurnicher sur les atrocités NAZI(es) en Europe..hélas, elle semble tres fiere des siennes en Algerie, elle les glorifie meme.⁷⁹

The English description historicises the video, with pointed but emotionless language. The French description however, as with the video's title, draws comparisons with the Second World War, linking the French army to Nazism and the glorification of war crimes.⁸⁰ The language is emotive, and reminiscent of the language of Aimé Césaire's *Discours sur le colonialisme*, examined in Chapter 3.⁸¹ These descriptions (along with the title and keywords) make up the data that YouTube uses to publicise the video and allow users to search and link to it. They suggest therefore that vvscdn aimed the video at both a francophone audience and beyond.

⁷⁸ It is important to remember that while all of the above might seem quite overwhelming to consider in an academic study, the webpage itself is very immediate and familiar to a regular user of Youtube, and often very little time would be spent on a page, over and above the time taken to watch the clip itself.

⁷⁹ Vvscdn, 'ALGERIE – Les Auschwitz'.

⁸⁰ Similarly the keywords vvscdn attributes to the video make the link between Algeria and the Second World War. They are: 'Algeria, concentration, camps, france, occupation, colonial, torture, Algerian, algerien, fln, aln, guerre, war, liberation, holocaust.'

⁸¹ Aimé Césaire, *Discours sur le colonialisme* (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1955).

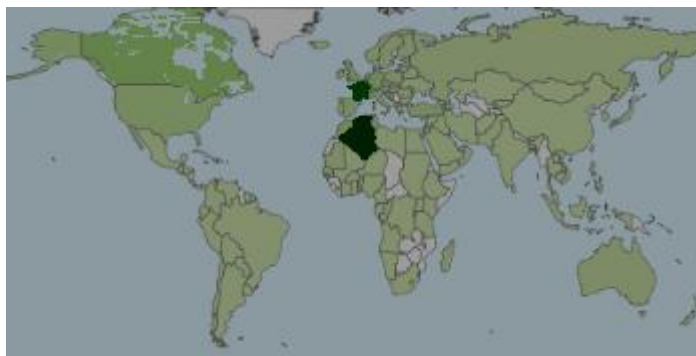


Figure 19: Map of the location of viewers of 'ALGERIE - Les Auschwitz de la France en Algérie' (Darker = more viewers)

However, as Figure 19 indicates, while there is a global distribution of views, the greatest concentration of views comes from Francophone countries (Algeria, France, and to a lesser extent Canada), indicating a significantly greater traction from the French meta-texts. The impact of the polemicising descriptions is also evident in comparing the number of views of the clip against those of the original Gazin documentary. As of 18 February 2013, 'ALGERIE - Les Auschwitz' has amassed 420,322 views since it was posted on 23rd June 2007, a rate of 203.6 hits per day. By contrast, the two parts of the original Gazin documentary combined accumulated 716 hits between the 27th January 2012 and 8th May 2012, a rate of 4.0 hits per day.⁸² While it is perhaps unfair to compare videos which were online for a short period with one which is five years old, there is clearly a huge disparity in the audiences of the 'Auschwitz' video against the Gazin documentary, even though the content of the videos is similar. Given the major difference being the description and 'Auschwitz' title of the shorter clip, it seems fair to posit that the reference to the holocaust is the key difference.⁸³

⁸² Note from February 2013: The two parts of the original Gazin documentary have been removed from YouTube for copyright violation, hence why the timescales of comparison between the two videos are not aligned.

⁸³ This seems corroborated by the number of copycat videos that 'ALGERIE - Les Auschwitz' has generated. A search for the title on YouTube brings up at least a dozen examples where vvscdn's posting has been reuploaded by other YouTube users, either copying the video exactly or inserting further references to the Holocaust. These videos mark further digital remixing's of the original Gazin documentary, with further disparate memorial narratives in action.

So while the clip ostensibly depicts a collection of testimonies by French veterans from Algeria who rejected (at the time or subsequently) the actions of the French army, vvsdcn's contextualisation of the video frames their testimonies with references Second World War atrocities, hijacking the specificity of the *appelé* memories. This framing of *appelé* memory of military abuses through the homogenising narratives of Nazism, holocaust and concentration camps is reminiscent of multidirectional memory.⁸⁴ As Rothberg has shown, the Second World War was the key frame which allowed for memories of the Algerian War to be expressed in an era when public commemoration of the war was lacking. While Rothberg's model considered high-cultural texts, with this plagiarised video we see a permutation of the multidirectional model, demonstrating that Second World War frames continue to be a narrative vehicle for Algerian War memory.

What then is the construction of the *appelés* in the video itself? 'ALGERIE – Les Auschwitz de la France en Algérie' is a melange of still photographs, newsreel footage and the individual testimonies of three *appelés* (and Benoist Rey who was an *engagé*). The opening image of the clip (Figure 20), splices a black and white still photograph used as the introduction to Gazin's documentary footage, with a subtitle which has been inserted by vvsdcn which reads 'Les Auschwitz de la France en Algérie dont on ne vous parles jamais...' The photograph beneath the subtitle depicts an Algerian prisoner upside-down in a stress position, his arms and legs trussed to a pole. As the camera pans away from photograph, the viewer can see that he is surrounded by four French soldiers, one of whom holds a stick at an angle indicating he will beat the prisoner. The narrator's commentary, questions the extent to which military abuses and torture such as seen in the photograph, were sanctioned by the French government. The clip then cuts seamlessly to a point halfway through Gazin's documentary where a series of veterans are interviewed about the practise of moving Algerian populations into camps during the war. Thus, the initial photograph of torture is therefore linked explicitly to the practise of moving populations into camps. This adds a further

⁸⁴ Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: remembering the holocaust in the age of decolonisation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009).

layer of ideology to the testimonies in the clip, as the viewer connects ideas of torture and the Holocaust to the *appelés*' testimonies.



Figure 20: Opening still from 'ALGERIE - Les Auschwitz de la France en Algérie'

Despite their back stories of resistance to the work of the French army, Marc Garanger and Benoist Rey are shown testifying in the clip captioned under their roles in the French army. Garanger with the moniker 'régiment d'infanterie', Rey as part of a 'commando de chasse'; thus while they testify in resistance against the actions that they describe: Garanger to the act of forcing local Algerian populations into camps; and Rey to the conditions of Algerian people in the camps; this subtitling inextricably implicates them in those practices. This is reinforced by elements of their testimony, Rey for instance suggests that:

On accordait le droit aux Algériens d'aller travailler dans leur champ quatre heures par jour. Mais comment ces camps se trouvaient à des kilomètres de leur champs ils ne pouvaient pas y aller.

Here, while testifying in sympathy with the Algerian farmers, through his use of the indefinite third person pronoun 'on', Rey includes himself in the actions that he describes. Similarly Marc Garanger's testimony likens French pacification tactics of moving the Algerian communities into regroupment camps to a concentration camp. He outlines his role, in taking identity card portraits, but his

testimony stops at that point; Garanger is therefore included in the repressive actions of the camp's management.



Figure 21: Still from 'ALGERIE - Les Auschwitz de la France en Algérie'

Similarly, the newsreel footage included in the clip implicates the *appelés* involvement in military abuses. In one collage, a number of clips of Algerian prisoners, all with their hands above their heads and surrounded by French soldiers are seen in quick succession. This is followed by a sequence (Figure 21), where a shepherd is thrown against a wall by two young French soldiers *appelés*, distinguished by the *voix-off* commentary. When the shepherd does not raise his arms in resignation, one of soldiers points at him, while the other draws his pistol, threatening the man before the camera cuts away.

Nevertheless, while the main thrust of the clip offers a distinctly negative image of the French army, including its conscripts; it does also offer a marginal second construction whereby one of the *appelés*, Laurent Peninou, testifies: 'On a une certain idée de la France qui se revolte par rapport a des pratiques comme cela'. Here Peninou distances himself from the actions and values seen elsewhere in the clip, questioning his relationship to his conception of the French nation. However, this regret is set against the strong images and testimonies of military brutality, amplified by the comparisons made by *vwscdn* to Auschwitz and the Holocaust.

The main construction of the *appelés* in the video is a divided one: firstly suggesting that soldiers were complicit with grouping Algerian people into camps, and then subjecting them to brutal treatment; while secondly that the witnesses for the documentary, attempt to distance themselves ethically, with the lens of time, from these practises and from the activities of the camps. The *appelés* are filmed for their value as eyewitnesses, offering individual testimonial accounts. However vvscdn's altering and reframing of the clip, reverts the narratives of the *appelés* to implicate them in graver acts. They appear at once as perpetrators of colonial violence; and are victims of the medium in which they are presented online. This is a structure coherent with MacMaster's 'new' history of the war in and around the 2002 period.

Analysis of this webpage would not be complete without examining the memory of the *appelés* propagated by the comment stream beneath the video. This stream allows viewers to comment, react and actively build or challenge opinions about the video material. As of 23rd July 2012, there were 2168 comments, a corpus of over 100,000 words. We shall consider a selection of these comments, with a view to how they interact with *appelé* memory.

It is important to reflect briefly on the makeup of a stream of comments beneath a YouTube clip, and how it affects the memory of a video. Firstly, the comments stream allows for people to post their reactions to the video but it also allows space for people to have conversations with other users about the material, by directing their comment at a particular user or set of users using an '@' sign. These two types of response co-exist simultaneously in the thread, diverting the stream of comments in often tangential directions. Similarly, it is important to recognise that the comments stream can often be as fundamental to a viewer's interpretation of the video, as the video itself. It should not be considered as a separate, receptive addition to the video, but a potentially integral part of the viewer's experience of the material which becomes a part of the experience of the digital text. The stream offers the facility to 'rate' comments by giving them a digital 'thumbs up' or 'thumbs down'. This lends credence to certain interpretations of the video deemed by the viewers to be positive, either through comedy, correctness, or general agreement. The two 'top rated' comments are

posted at the top of the thread, directly underneath the video and are therefore more likely to be seen by greater numbers of viewers (as of 8th May 2012) these two comments with +5 and +4 ratings respectively were:⁸⁵

mes respect au moudjahidin algerien et les martire que allah les accepte au paradis
 العالمين يا رب امين اعدائهم من ويذوق المأساة شهداء يرحم الله
 على يك ويوم لك يوم دول الايام هكنا

[ffffff9850](#) 2 months ago

Peu importe l'époque, la race, le lieu....Nous n'avons pas le droit de massacrer un être vivant, un être humain.

Je suis sidérée par l'injustice humaine.

[jemnikathy](#) 3 months ago

Both of these comments diverge significantly from the original documentary: fffffff9850's comment highlights a dimension of the war not covered by the clip, the place of Algerians who fought against (and were killed by) the French during the war, commending them from an Islamic point of view. 'jemnikathy's' comment also diverges from the clip itself, highlighting a general humanist perspective on massacres. Both of these responses take dominant memory frameworks, taken from the video's meta-textual references to a Holocaust in Algeria, and layer them over the testimonies of the *appelés* in the video. It therefore appears that the construction of the *appelés* memory in the video is overwhelmed by the competing memories of other groups. For example, in the following comment by Zebeerdy, victimhood is quantitatively defined using spurious statistics:

L'argument "algériens venus délivrer la France du nazisme et ayant servi de chair à canon, braves algériens blablabla" est faux.C'est reconnu par des historiens algériens eux-mêmes...

Taux de mortalité :

⁸⁵ More than 2000 comments from the thread have been archived, in reverse chronological order, on this page: <<http://www.webcitation.org/6EXDVobhl>>. As with the other sections of this chapter, all grammatical errors are kept as in the original quotations. [Note from February 2013: As with the removal of the Gazin documentary, these two comments are no longer the 'top comments' in the YouTube stream.]

- Africains : 5 %
- Métropolitains : 5,4 %
- Pieds noirs : 8,9 %

Vos arguments n'ont d'égal que votre abrutissement et votre niaiserie FLN (qui vous encule tous les jours depuis 50 ans).

[Zebeerdy](#) 2 years ago

This highlights Zebeerdy's perception that the *Pieds Noirs* suffered most from the conflict itself. Zebeerdy subsumes all other arguments in the thread with a 'blablabla', rejecting them in a derogatory manner without engaging with them directly. Zebeerdy then asserts the victimhood of the *Pied Noir* community through the use of death rate statistics for three types of French citizen, 'Africains', 'Métropolitains' and 'Pieds noirs'. It is unclear however what the death rate statistics refer to, and it seems likely that they are fictitious or fallacious. More importantly however, they mark an attempt by 'Zebeerdy' to quantify, and thus draw into competition, the victimhood of these communities. Thus, the fact that the 'Pieds noirs' have the highest of the three death rates justifies an implicit assertion that the *Pieds Noirs* are greater victims of the conflict than the other two communities. This competitive victimhood conforms with the competitive memory model characterised within our understanding of the *fracture coloniale*.

The few comments which relate to the *appelés* are also drawn into this competitive paradigm. In particular they stress the implied victimhood of obligatory military service; this can be seen in the following comment from Etoile 31600, the son of an *appelé*:

J'ai lu beaucoup de coms, ou certains disent que les français qui sont venus en Algérie pour la combattre sont des gros c..s oui oui vous êtes des gros c..s car vous oubliez un truc, les mecs qui étaient sur le front l'on pas voulu ou l'on pas choisi.

Mon père a fait 2 ans et demi la base et ce n'est pas lui qui l'a choisi, mais les politiciens franco-algériens, alors comme je l'ai déjà dit la critique est facile mais pensent à utiliser les bons mots.

[Etoile31600](#) 1 month ago

Oui ton père est un gros con, un assassin, et probablement un violeur, il n'avait qu'à désertre. Mais tuer des Algériens ne vous faisez ni chaud ni froid.

[daralhkma1999](#) in reply to [Etoile31600 \(Show the comment\)](#) 6 days ago

Etoile31600 thus asserts his father's victimhood given that as an *appelé* he did not choose to fight in Algeria, but was instead victim to the wider political context of the war. 'Daralhkma1999's' response, however, again demonstrates the competitive forum of the comments thread, insulting Etoile31600 and his father, and simplifying the *appelé* experience in Algeria to a binary between assassin or deserter.

While the material from which the video is drawn suggests a narrative of *appelé* resistance to torture and the practise of moving Algerian people into camps, the video's metadata, preliminary subtitling, and comment stream are far less concerned the construction of the *appelés*. Instead, the postings hijack the debate in a competitive manner, bringing with them a new set of memory templates which related to the way in which vvscdn framed the video as a depiction of an Algerian Holocaust. This set of memories frames the *appelés* as perpetrators of colonial crimes, and thus as subordinate to the memory of other groups who have a greater degree of victimhood. Indeed, this YouTube video highlights the volatility of dealing with cultural memories mediated through the prism of the internet. A documentary, such as Gazin's, is hijacked, re-versioned and reframed as evidence of a holocaust with *appelé* perpetrators, while the nature of the medium enables a comments thread to bring out competition between groups who assert the validity of their memory through levels of victimhood. Yet, their victimhoods are all inter-related, coalescing around the socio-political environment which enabled the *fracture coloniale*. While the *appelés* are constructed in the video as witnesses to or perpetrators of genocide, their memory barely emerge in the comments thread, amidst the vitriol of other groups. Thus, the *appelé* eyewitness memory clustered in Gazin's original documentary fades into the background, where it is drawn between and used as evidence of competing constructions of victimhood by the generational memories in the comments stream. Here, the *appelés* liminality acts against any dominant formation of their memory emerging in digital media.

The final digital memory text we will consider, a series of postings about the Algerian War in a discussion forum, evidences a more cohesive construction of *appelé* memory, with a quiet ‘*mémoire exemplaire*’ coming through the intervention of a former *appelé* acting as an agent of the generational transmission of memory. However, as in the YouTube video, this construction of *appelé* memory is lost to the dominant memory templates of other groups of actors in the war.

Generational transmission or pedagogical memory

In our final reading we shall consider an online discussion forum where an *appelé* and later generations dialogue and explore the lessons which can be learnt from the *appelé*'s experience in Algeria. In considering the discursive space which facilitates this construction of *appelé* memory, we will be able to productively explore the theme of generational transmission, or an *appelé* ‘*mémoire exemplaire*’. This supplements our examination of the competing discourses and memories of the YouTube video and Argelès’ construction of *appelé* victimhood. We will nevertheless also see that the *appelés*' liminal status, between many other groups implicated in the conflict, mean that on the online forum *appelé* memory is easily hijacked by the digital capital of other memory frameworks of the conflict. As it was in the YouTube video, the *appelé*'s eyewitness account is too quiet for the dominant digital memory of other groups. We will therefore posit the *appelés* contributions to digital memory as one of inter-victims, drawn between memories articulated in relation to the *fracture coloniale*, but failing to establish a dominant memory of their own.

HardWare.fr is the oldest French website selling computer parts, started in 1997. It is also the top ranked French website in this field, with forty million page views across 10.5 million visits a month.⁸⁶ Given the website's lack of any direct link to history or to the *appelés* it might seem like an odd online locus for memory

⁸⁶ Statistics taken from: ‘A propos de HardWare.fr’, <http://www.hardware.fr/html/a_propos/>, [Accessed: 18 February 2013], Archived by WebCite at: <<http://www.webcitation.org/6EWfO1Lbz>>.

of the Algerian War; however it also has an active discussion forum, with over nine hundred thousand members who have made more than ninety-seven million posts (as of February 2013).⁸⁷ The forum is split into multiple parts, with discussion boards, as might be expected, predominantly around hardware and IT related issues; however there are also boards which cover a range of other subjects, including current affairs, history and politics. The board is regularly moderated, which means that the level of discussion remains relatively polite unlike the unmoderated comments thread on YouTube. The specificities of the form of an online discussion forum mean that, through posting and counterposting, users of the forum engage in a form of online debate. We can thus draw out some of the imagined generational memories of the war, and the main memory structures and framings which animate this debate. We will also determine which posters take the lead in a discussion, and analyse how they interact with other users.⁸⁸

The forum we shall consider here is entitled, 'Evenements [sic] d'Algerie [sic]. 1954-1962', and was started by yannick007 on the 16th May 2008 under the 'politique' rubric of the website.⁸⁹ yannick007's posting begins:

La guerre d'algerie est un tabou en France.

J'aimerais comprendre de la part de ceux qui y sont allés.

Je suis né fin des années 60, je suis trop jeune pour savoir ce qui s'est passé. La documentation est trop partisane pour se faire une idée claire.

Qu'en pense ceux qui sont allés en Algérie entre 1954 et 1962? Ceux qui sont nés entre 1933 et 1941 ?

Pourquoi le J. M. Le Pen ou même F. Mitterrand ont-ils joué un rôle très important à ce sujet ?

⁸⁷ Statistics taken from: 'FORUM HardWare.fr', <<http://forum.hardware.fr/>>, [Accessed: 18 February 2013], Archived by WebCite at: <<http://www.webcitation.org/6EWfioYWb>>.

⁸⁸ As with Argelès blog and the YouTube video, anyone can view the forum, although only registered users can post. They do so under a username or pseudonym.

⁸⁹ 'Evenements d'Algérie. 1954-1962', online discussion forum, p. 1, <http://forum.hardware.fr/hfr/Discussions/politique/evenements-algerie-1962-sujet_80582_1.htm>, [Accessed: 18 February 2013], archived by WebCite at <<http://www.webcitation.org/6EWg5EJg9>>. As with our previous sections, to avoid the frequent use of [sic] grammatical errors are preserved as in the original forum postings.

Quelles sont les différentes tendances dans cette génération ? Certains haïssent (le mot est faible) Mitterrand, les autres De Gaulle. Beaucoup aiment le personnage de Le Pen tout en ayant rien à voir avec ses idées.

Je voudrais comprendre. J'ai quelques théories à ce sujet mais je ne suis pas sûr d'avoir raison...⁹⁰

Thus yannick007 invites commentary explicitly from *appelés* or soldiers in Algeria on why the war is a taboo in France. yannick007 mistakenly posits Jean-Marie Le Pen as politically significant in the 1950s (Le Pen was first elected in January 1956 but resigned to enlist in the *Parachutistes* in Algeria as an *engagé* in September 1956, he was not widely known in France at that point).⁹¹ And so, the questions in yannick007's initial post imply a binary understanding of the politics of the era between the political ideologies of Mitterrand and Le Pen, with a link towards the Algerian War. This binary is echoed later on that day by poster Quesque:

à cette époque [pendant la guerre d'Algérie] les jeunes de 20 ans étaient bien plus politiques qu'aujourd'hui... 40/45 c'était tout près, les familles étaient encore en deuil... les dockers bloquaient les ports... les manifestations anti guerre dans la rue... sont pas tous partis de gaieté de cœur... mais tous ceux qui sont revenus sont revenus marqués à vie et ne tiennent pas à en parler... soit à vomir de l'arabe, soit honteux d'avoir été l'instrument des derniers soubresauts du colonialisme français (bien caché par l'élan pro "pieds noirs" en vogue).⁹²

Here Quesque, reduces the *appelés* and their contemporary's position to an oppositional construction: on the one hand racist against Arab peoples; on the other ashamed at their place in history as agents of colonialism. These two initial posts on the thread therefore offer a reductive and simplistic construction of the *appelés* along the lines of simple poles on the left and right, as represented by Mitterrand or Le Pen. While this is coherent with some of the inflammatory rhetoric that we have seen invoked on other websites, polarising the position of the conscripts in this way ignores the broad spectrum of positions the *appelés* tend to take.

⁹⁰ Yannick007, *Ibid.*

⁹¹ Philippe Cohen and Pierre Péan, *Le Pen, une histoire française* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 2012).

⁹² Quesque, 'Evenements d'Algérie. 1954-1962', p. 1.

In response to these initial postings, on 25th May 2008 a new poster, meulan, comes to the thread, an *appelé* with a highly individual narrative. As bearer of eyewitness memories, meulan becomes an authority figure on the thread:

Quoique m'y étant comporté de manière quelque peu atypique (j'ai été appelé début Juillet 1957, classe 57 1C puisque né le 21 Mai 1937) et j'ai débarqué à Alger le 20.12.58... et ne suis revenu m'installer en France que le 24.10.70 accompagné par mon épouse d'alors (arabo-berbère issue d'un père kabyle du Chenoua -Tipaza- et d'une mère de la Mitidja - Blida-) et nos quatre enfants nés à Alger -F 13.02.61- et à Oran -F 18.10.63 puis G 31.08.65 et enfin F 11.02.67.⁹³

Meulan was therefore an *appelé* in Algeria from the end of 1958 onwards; however he also highlights his liminality, his memories of Algeria related also to a number of other communities implicated in the war: firstly, as the husband to a Algerian (arab-berber) woman; secondly, as a *Pied Rouge* [a French settler who stayed in Algeria after the end of the conflict]; and finally (although not mentioned in this quotation) as someone who has family currently living in Algeria.

Meulan posts extensively over the length of the thread replying to questions posed of him; developing or arguing against other people's points of view and steering the direction of the thread through his contributions. In this way, we can read the thread as a space where an online, generational community (none of the other posters claim to have lived through the war), engages with the memory of the Algerian War with a former *appelé*. However, while in its initial stages the posters take interest in meulan's tale of *appelé* life, as the thread develops it is often meulan's memories of other communities that draws the other posters' questions, and not the specificities of his *appelé* identity. We shall first develop some of the themes of meulan's postings, and the construction of the *contingent* they develop; we will then consider how the generational responses and reception of his posts stream his narrative through the frameworks of other groups' memories of the war.⁹⁴

⁹³ Meulan, Ibid.

⁹⁴ We should note here that our analysis might imply that the discussion forum is a neat and accessible digital text, particularly in comparison to the YouTube video. The case is quite the opposite however where, over the course of several years, hundreds of

In a series of posts in the weeks following his arrival on the thread, meulan offers an informed and nuanced construction of his life as an *appelé*. While meulan is keen to stress the variety of experiences of the *appelés*, he also attempts to focalise a collective construction of military service; these themes include: the boredom felt by the *contingent* in Algeria; their general willingness to serve their country; the low rates of desertion and conscientious objection; the importance of where each *appelé* was posted in forming their experiences of military service; and the values/faults of Patrick Rotman's feature film *L'ennemie intime*.⁹⁵ Meulan thus constructs a collective memory of the *contingent* as having passively witnessed the war. However, meulan's first contribution to the forum while commenting on the experiences of the *appelés* asserts the individuality of his response:

il me semble nécessaire de séparer ce qui est du ressort de mon vécu personnel... à ras de terre alors ... puis ce sur quoi j'ai réfléchi, lors des décennies suivantes, c'est-à-dire "à froid" et aussi détaché que possible, et des conclusions, assez nuancées me semble-t'il, auxquelles j'ai cru devoir aboutir aujourd'hui.⁹⁶

While he considers his posts to be nuanced he is also keen to stress that his postings are part personal memory, part reflection on his experiences and part conclusion. Initially his comments are well received, indeed Quesque responds, 'très juste ton analyse'.⁹⁷ However, very little discussion links off from these posts, and discussion on the thread slows down with no comment on the thread for four months. While meulan's collective posts about the *appelés* were thus well received, they did not inspire the forum's debate, with one line responses such as the one from Quesque. In online discussion forum, without discussion, memories do not circulate and disappear behind other more active threads. In part this could relate to the banality of meulan's construction of the *contingent*, or the lack of templates

conversations and themes overlap and interact with one another. We have chosen to analyse meulan's early postings on the thread, as he specifically invokes a digital memory of the *appelés*, and we need not stray too far through the thread to understand his position and its reception.

⁹⁵ Meulan, 'Evenements d'Algerie. 1954-1962', p. 2, <http://forum.hardware.fr/hfr/Discussions/politique/evenements-algerie-1962-sujet_80582_2.htm>, [Accessed: 18 February 2013], Archived by WebCite at <<http://www.webcitation.org/6EWkpKzWg>>.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Quesque, 'Evenements d'Algerie. 1954-1962', p. 2.

with which to channel responses to *appelé* memory out with the bounds of military abuses in Algeria or victimhood (as we have seen from our previous two sets of digital texts). As we have previously remarked, the other feature of meulan's posts is the exceptionalism of his narrative:

A titre strictement personnel, et plus que minoritaire donc non représentatif, es qualité d'enfant de Paris (Titi quoi !) issu d'un milieu populaire et plutot pauvre parmi les pauvres...⁹⁸

These strategies establish him as a self-aware poster, but in continually stressing the individuality and exceptionalism of his experiences, meulan opens his detailed accounts of *appelé* life up to the hijack of other posters.

The thread is reanimated by two new posters, cabilia and pompono, at the beginning of 2009 but with a completely different slant: cabilia asks for meulan's memories of working with *Harkis* and pompono comments:

Merci pour ton témoignage Meulan même si je le trouve un peu subjectif sur le colonialisme et même si les pieds noirs ont été trahis et abandonné par la France, ca n'en reste pas moins que des colons...⁹⁹


This marks a significant shift in the tone and discussion on the thread, whereby from this point onwards the *appelés* are rarely mentioned and the memory frameworks of other groups involved in the conflict are overlaid over meulan's testimony. Meulan continues to be the most frequent poster on the thread, however, the mention of the *Pieds-Noirs*, and to a lesser extent the *Harkis*, who's memory templates sit within emotional and vociferous frames of perpetrators and victim hood, inspire new posters to comment on the thread with strongly pointed postmemories of the conflict. An example of this comes from an exchange between orbis and adama37:

la guerre d'Algérie est un tabou en france parce que la France a commis des crimes de guerre et des massacres qu'elle veut cacher et/ou faire oublier massacres , exactions , colonialisme , endoctrinement et aussi

⁹⁸ Meulan, 'Evenements d'Algerie. 1954-1962', p. 2.

⁹⁹ Pompono, Ibid.

débauche finale sont des facettes de la guerre d'Algérie que la France veut enterrer dans les oubliettes du temps¹⁰⁰

To which adama37 responds: 'Le FLN et ses poseurs de bombes n'aurait pas dit mieux' ¹⁰¹ While the two posters make no claim to have experienced the war themselves, they nevertheless draw upon a set of postmemory templates through which they channel an argumentative exchange. Orbis, drawing on French military abuses in Algeria and adama37 characterising Orbis' response as that of the FLN. This exchange begins a multi-month long debate about casualties and various group's victimhoods in the war, along the lines of competitive victimhood seen in other arenas of digital memory. It is clear that these narratives hold more clarity as a generational response to the war. While meulan continues to post, the exceptionalism of his narrative is such that it allows for other posters to ignore it. Meulan may provide an authentic eyewitness memory, but its particularity does not allow for others to use it as a memory template in itself, thus the frameworks of other generational groups direct the flow of debate on the thread.

While younger generations value meulan's input, his experiences as an *appelé* without an accompanying collective memory template, do not offer an encompassing framework through which they can understand the war. This is the issue we have seen in our other digital memory texts examined in this chapter. The *appelés* memory as eyewitnesses to the war is unquestioned, but the lack of a coherent collective memory template means that their contributions are always relegated to the interstitial spaces between the frameworks of other groups. As the dominant articulation of the value of a collective memory in the digital sphere of Algerian War memory is victimisation; we have characterised the *appelés* as inter-victims, their quiet digital memory is pulled between and overwritten by the dominant discourses of other groups. This sits within the theory expressed by Andrew Hoskins in our theoretical framing of the chapter that within digital media it is the emotional narratives and memories which are the strongest

¹⁰⁰ Orbis, Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Adama37, Ibid.

online.¹⁰² The specificities of meulan's experiences as an *appelé* are thus drawn between the dominant digital memory frames of other groups.

¹⁰² Hoskins, *Ghosts in the machine*, p.20.

CONCLUSION

Amidst the cacophony of voices online, only the strong digital memory frameworks emerge from the noise. As Hoskins argued, this can often be the frameworks imposed by eyewitness memories, positing emotional narratives which have a large degree of digital capital. However, for the *appelés*, in the context of digital memory of the Algerian War, this construction of narrative memory is not successful. Their past, eyewitness memories of the Algerian conflict inform, merge and are hijacked and remixed by present, generational memories. These generational memories are channelled through dominant collective frameworks such as torture and military abuses in Algeria, stemming, in turn, from a root such as *La fracture coloniale*. The currency of models of victimhood articulated around colonial identities in the national memorial sphere thus infects online debate; here generational memory agents frame, imagine and form a postmemory of the war, drawing on and reframing sources such as the *appelés*, to serve their own memorial agendas.

The *appelé* memory texts we have examined online have shown us that *appelé* digital memory is quiet, lacking in any collective construction, and thus operates at the interstices of other more vociferous memories of the Algerian War. *Appelé* digital memory is largely constructed through recourse to witnessing and testimony, highlighting their role as eyewitness observers to the war. However, while other memory groups have taken a ‘closed off’ approach to their memory online, closely linking and interrelating their visions of the war, the *appelés*’ liminal, individualised narratives emerge in a broad range of digital spaces. However, this diversity demonstrates the failure of the *appelés* to articulate a strong collective identity in digital space. Their involvement in the war is framed in passive terms: they were conscripted to serve, and they are witnesses rather than active agents of memory. Assertions of collective victimhood, such as Argelès’ notion of the ‘nevrose de guerilla’ find little traction, collapsing under individualising discourses; while other individual memories are channelled through a level of exceptionalism, such as with meulan, which allows for them to

be easily hijacked. The medium of contemporary digital technologies also help to facilitate these forms of hijack, as we have seen in the remixing and reversioning of *appelé* testimony in the 'ALGERIE – Les Auschwitz' video; while the background memory noise on the discussion forum circulates the memories of groups with strong collective digital memory templates, rather than the quieter exceptionalised *appelé* memory of meulan.

Torture and French military abuses in Algeria remain a polemical debate, but this framework structures *appelé* memory in multiple ways. As reactions to the 'ALGERIE – Les Auschwitz' video suggest, *appelé* memory can be invoked in order to stigmatise veterans for supposedly having been torturers or murderers during the war: the act of testifying in any way becoming tantamount to an admission of guilt. This builds upon the culturally constructed view of torture during the war which highlighted the importance of individual agency in the practise of torture. In contrast, torture also acts as a framing narrative against which *appelés* claim a sense of victimhood. Historians have established the systemic violence carried out by the French army as an institutionally sanctioned facet the experiences of *appelés*. Thus, Gerard Argelès' Mediapart 'édition participative' was read as drawing out a sense of *appelé* victimhood from the psychological traumas veterans suffered as a result of their exposure to the war, a 'nevrose de la guerilla'. Both of these cases are formulations of Todorov's 'mémoire littérale', reiterating past memories in order to perpetuate victimhood in the present. By contrast, the HardWare.fr forum allowed for a mild form of an *appelé* 'mémoire exemplaire' to emerge; whereby meulan articulated a pedagogy based on his experiences in Algeria. This was short lived however, as the dominant, imagined generational framings inserted into the thread by other posters drowned out his *appelé* specific narrative, channelling his posts through the templates of other groups and, in particular, that of colonial violence.

Perhaps most significantly to the online study of *appelé* digital memory however, is that *appelé* victimhood can be constructed as a direct result of their fragmented collective identity. The online sphere of memory of the Algerian War appears to be one where debates are articulated in response to a continued sense of injustice at the legacies of colonialism; the internet plays out a macrocosm of

the *Fracture Coloniale*. However, within these debates the *appelés* voices are marginal, and testify within a broad range of personal, political and memorial agendas, facilitating the hijack of *appelé* digital memory by other groups, who channel it to add testimonial weight to own formulations of victimhood, as on HardWare.fr and the ‘ALGERIE – Les Auschwitz’ video. Thus, the *appelés* emerge as inter-victims, their digital memory remaining stuck in the interstitial spaces between other groups, and drawn into the competing victim narratives of other memory groups, but unable to establish a clear collective memory of their own online.

While the analysis of memory within online digital media is an emerging field, without a clear body of canonical literature, the challenging questions this chapter has posed demonstrate that digital memory is beginning to question the concept of socially constructed collective memory. This is one of the questions we will turn to in the thesis conclusion, where we will summarise the argumentation of the thesis, examine the overarching conclusions that can be drawn from the chapters, and put forward the potential avenues for new research opened up by this research project.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

In the introduction to this thesis we problematised the notion of silence and French military service conscripts of the Algerian War, considering the suggestion that, as agents of memory of the conflict, the *appelés* have not been actively involved in its commemorative culture. While each chapter of this thesis has shown this notion to be false, the fact that silence remains a reductive metaphor uniting the experiences of the conscripts indicates that no collective construction of the *appelés* or of the *contingent* has passed into French national memory. While the *appelés* have not been silent, neither have they been heard.

Such a conclusion may appear at odds with the structure of the thesis. We took a historiographic approach to the fifty year period since the end of the war, and in each chapter we drew out strong constructions of the *appelés* from our cultural readings. This approach showed us that constructions of military servicemen evolved from a state-sponsored collective *contingent* through to promoting accounts of individualised *appelés*. While this construction evolved, so too did the themes, media, and collective vocabularies of the cultural memories evolve to connect the experiences of the *appelés* to some of the dominant themes and social frameworks in French society in each era. In this conclusion therefore, we will come to question why it is that the specificities of the *appelés*' cultural memory, to borrow Wulf Kansteiner's phrase, have remained in the 'mode of potentiality'.¹ We will argue that the continually evolving construction of military service in Algeria, in concert with the liminal status of the *appelés* as a group, and the diversity of media in which their memory has emerged, mean that the *appelés*' cultural memories have never been instrumentalised in a consistent manner; they have therefore remained in the interstices of the commemorative debates of the Algerian War. We will begin this discussion by, firstly, summarising the arguments made in each chapter, we will then draw out the overarching conclusions of the study, before finally examining the avenues for future research that this thesis has opened up.

In Chapter One we approached four bodies of academic literature and cultural material, as a means of setting out the scope of the thesis. We firstly

¹ Wulf Kansteiner, 'Finding Meaning in Memory: a Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies', *History and Theory*, 41 (May 2002), 179-197, p. 182.

mobilised the concept of silence to draw out the themes and strategies that historical, sociological and 'French studies' scholars have taken when considering the *appelés* as individuals (through the collection and analysis of oral testimony) and collectively (through the writing of histories of the *appelés*' involvement in the Algerian War). We established a lacuna in the extended and comparative study of *appelé* cultural memory. We secondly drew on the theoretical field of collective and cultural memory studies, mobilising Halbwachs' notion of the social frameworks of memory and Kansteiner's methodological strategy, to set out an interdisciplinary, or perhaps more accurately, an intermedia approach to the research project. Thirdly, we considered literature relating to the study of Algerian War memory, and the ways in which that memory has emerge in phases across time. However, we determined that no model accurately accounted for the specificities of *appelé* cultural memory. We therefore approached a fourth body of cultural material, the French televisual, radio, published texts, and films from 1956-2009 which featured a construction of the *appelés*. We took a quantitative approach to each of the media, plotting the dates of production of the cultural materials, individually and comparatively, in order to determine a phasing of *appelé* cultural memory. We discovered that this phasing was strongly linked to the medium in which the memory was produced, and we therefore set out four case studies which considered a small set of materials from each of four distinct media, covering fifty years of the historiography of the Algerian War.

In Chapter Two we examined the construction of the *appelés* in three segments of French television news magazine *Cinq colonnes à la une* from 1959-60, questioning the continued legacy of the programme's segments about the *appelés*. We considered the programme through the prism of governmental control over television under De Gaulle, and at the juncture between two competing social frameworks: a colonial imaginary and the force of modernisation. Our reading of the three segments highlighted a strong, collective construction of the military service conscripts as a unified, virile *contingent* working under the colonial *mission civilisatrice*. This construction was channelled through familial and nation-building discourses, and enshrined a vision of a conscript force embedded in the colonial project. However, we argued that television's symbolic status within the social framework of modernisation generated a fracture in the programme's presentation of the Algerian battlefield; bringing images of colonial conflict into contact and

friction with the force of modernisation. This contrast helped embed a construction of the *contingent* ‘at war’ in Algeria into French cultural memory.

In Chapter 3 we analysed two prose texts from the late 1960s and early 1970s, Philippe Labro’s *Des Feux Mals Éteints* and Noël Favrelière’s *Le Déserteur*, as ‘multidirectional memories’ which drew upon the social frameworks of anti-colonial theory and the Second World War in order to begin to articulate individual memories of the *appelé* experience in Algeria.² Through detailing the hybridity of the forms of the prose, the textual readings drew out a collective construction of the *contingent* (analagised with Second World War collaborators), and individualised *appelés* who threaded an exceptionalised narrative arc (in the mode of the Second World War resistance). Yet the construction also highlighted the brutalisation of the *contingent* and of the individualised *appelés* in the mode of the anti-colonial frameworks. Thus, the chapter argued that the prose form acted as a space where the collective state-sponsored image of the *contingent* in the earlier phase of memory was broken down and articulated in ways which would inform later evolutions of *appelé* cultural memory.

In Chapter 4 we examined Marc Garanger’s photo album *La Guerre d’Algérie vue par un appelé du contingent*. We drew out, through a reading of academic studies of his corpus of photographs from Algeria and situating his photography against contemporary theory of social documentary photography, a need to examine the album against the social framework of immigration debates of 1980s France and the visual iconography of the *étés chauds des Minguettes*. In our photographic readings we considered the ways in which Garanger’s album constructed the *contingent* in relation to the indigenous Algerian community around *Bordj Okris*, highlighting a frail and weakened collective force, particularly when compared against his strong, virile photographs of Algerian combatants. We linked this inversion of the stereotypical state-sponsored constructions of the collective masculinity of the *contingent* (such as in *Cinq colonnes*) to the emerging human rights and anti-racist social frameworks which were inspired by the immigration debates of the early 1980s. However, we also highlighted the way in which, through the device of the second half of the title ‘vue par un appelé du

² Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: remembering the holocaust in the age of decolonisation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009).

contingent', the album constructed a unique individual vision of the war from an *appelé*.

In Chapter 5 we developed a reading of three sets of digital media memory texts: a series of blog posts by *appelé* Gilbert Argelès, a YouTube video entitled 'ALGERIE – Les Auschwitz de la France en Algérie', and a discussion forum on HardWare.fr. We grounded our approach through an extended discussion of the theories of digital memory and the social frameworks of Algerian War memory in contemporary France, where we focused in particular on the concept of *La fracture coloniale*.³ From this reading we drew out three pertinent themes: articulations of victimhood, French military abuses in Algeria, and generational transmission of memory. Our digital readings highlighted the disparate and liminal nature of *appelé* memory online. Argelès' blog postings formulated a collective construction of the *contingent* as victims of the war through the prism of a medicalised discourse. By contrast, the Youtube video reversioned *appelé* eyewitness testimony to implicate the *contingent* in military atrocities. Similarly, an emerging 'mémoire littérale' on the discussion forum was hijacked by agents of generational memory who channelled the eyewitness testimony of an *appelé* through dominant memory templates of other groups such as the *Harkis* and *Pieds-Noirs*.⁴ We concluded by positing the *appelés* as inter-victims, their digital memory stuck in the interstitial space between the more dominant memories of other groups implicated in the Algerian War.

From 'le contingent' to 'les appelés'

The historiographic approach taken in this thesis charted both an evolution in the forms of media in which *appelé* cultural memories were produced, and a qualitative evolution from a state-sponsored, collective construction of military-servicemen as a *contingent*, through to the increasing prevalence of highly individualised constructions of *appelés*.

³ Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard and Sandrine LeMaire (eds.), *La Fracture coloniale : La société française au prisme de l'héritage colonial* (Paris: Éditions La Découverte, 2005).

⁴ Tzvetan Todorov, *Les Abus de la mémoire* (Paris: Arlea, 2004).

The processes behind this evolution first appeared in *Cinq colonnes à la une* where, despite the collective construction of the work of the *contingent* in Algeria as based around infrastructure building and peacekeeping operations, the resonances of the programme's depiction of the battlefield highlighted to audiences that the *contingent* was involved in a colonial war. While at this point in the phasing of *appelé* memory this friction did not draw out individualised constructions of the *appelés*, it was a tension that would prove central in the ways later materials mediated the relationship between individual *appelés* and the collective of the *contingent*. In the prose texts, the linking of the *contingent* to anti-colonial theories of brutalisation drew on the framing narratives of the Second World War to contrast the constructions of exceptional *appelé* resistant characters, against a broadly collaborationist *contingent*. Similarly, Garanger's photography demonstrated a co-existence of individual and collective constructions of the conscripts: using images of war and the battlefield to frame a construction of a frail, collective *contingent*, potential victims of the war, yet also lay out a unique individual *appelés* perspective on the war. In the contemporary digital media texts we examined, collective constructions of the *contingent* are rare, and it is the individual *appelé* narrative which is most widely circulated, articulating eyewitness memories and constructions of victimhood.

As the general construction of the Algerian War *appelés* has shifted in this way towards the production of individual memories, the *collective* construction of the *contingent* has progressively destabilised. As we outlined at the beginning of Chapter One, the huge number of conscripts sent to Algeria, coming from a diversity of backgrounds, serving in a variety of settings at differing periods of intensity of the war, mean that it is almost impossible to draw collective conclusions from the constructions of an individual memory. In this way our case studies have qualitatively set out that memory of the *appelés* is highly liminal; that is to say, that it borders on the memory of a number of other groups of the war, particularly the professional military, but also that of the *Pieds-Noirs* and the *Harkis*. However, it is notable that the *appelés* lack some of the memory agency of these other groups. Military service, by definition, was not a choice but a passive act of obedience to the laws of France. This passivity distinguished the mass of the *contingent* out from those who, in part at least, chose their roles in the war, such as reservists who resisted the *rappel*, *engagés*, deserters, *Porteurs de Valises*, OAS

terrorists, or the professional military. The passivity of the *appelés* came through in Chapters Three, Four and Five, when individual *appelé* memories were constructed through the concept of witnessing. This progression towards the individual construction of *appelé* memory and the witness narrative, however was not accompanied by a focussed instrumentalisation of *appelé* memory; the texts we considered spoke to differing social frames, such as anti-colonial theory, anti-racism and immigration, medicalised victimhood, or a ‘*mémoire exemplaire*’. They were therefore as much a reflection on the socio-political context contemporary to their production, as they were a recollection of the *appelés*’ experiences in Algeria. While the forms and media of *appelé* cultural memories were often novel, they were also reactionary, influenced by events, polemics and social movements out with the memory agents’ control. Hence, while the digital memory texts we examined in Chapter Five framed their construction of *appelé* memory through exceptionalised narratives, they were easily hijacked by other memory templates, which drew on the liminal and reactionary nature of *appelé* witnessing. The *appelés* remain therefore, in the contemporary phase of Algerian War memory, constructed in the interstices between more dominant memory frameworks. They are frequently called upon as passive witnesses, but rarely considers as agents of memory in their own right.

Reflections on media and memory

In a similar manner to the way in which the historiographic structure of this thesis allowed us to draw conclusions around the evolving constructions of the *appelés* in French cultural memory: the intermedia approach, considering one medium in each of our case studies, has borne some productive insights into the relationship between media and memory of the *appelés*. In Chapter One we drew on the work of Halbwachs, Assmann and Kansteiner to define cultural memory as individuals’ lived experiences, which had been catalogued according to a set of social frameworks and crystallized into cultural artefacts. These artefacts could then occur in the mode of actuality when they were actively being received or in the mode of potentiality when stored. In a number of ways however, while not always explicitly argued, this thesis has shown the medium of the cultural artefact to be as important (and in some cases perhaps more important) in the formation of a

cultural memory of the *appelés* than the social frameworks surrounding the artefact's production.

In our discussion of *Cinq colonnes à la une* we argued that the medium of television acted as an envelope for the memory of the *appelés*. While the programme's narrative portrayals were not revolutionary, the televisual medium operated as a destabilising force, whereby television, as a symbol of modernisation, came into contact and friction with the images it broadcast of the *appelés* on the colonial battlefield. Similarly the prose texts, developed hybrid narrative strategies as a means of reformulating individualised multidirectional memories of the *appelés*. These strategies then enabled the texts to analogise individual *appelé* memories against a collective *contingent* through the frames of the Second World War. Garanger's photography, mobilised the possibilities of the photographic medium to connect the receptive audience with the photographer and subject. This allowed for the viewer to see the war as if through the eyes of an *appelé*. And lastly, the digital media memory texts were massively influenced by the temporal paradoxes of the online environment and the contemporaneous nature of production, reception and commentary mediated online. This facet of digital media enabled the hijack of *appelé* memory, with their memories reversioned through the memory templates of other groups. This strong influence of the medium on the construction of memory, in each of our case studies, highlights and justifies the important place it took in our construction of a mediated phasing of the memory of the Algerian War *appelés*.

Future directions

The ambitions of the project which evolved into this thesis were indeed greater than a doctorate could presume to encompass. This was reflected in the introductory chapter, which sketched out a terrain vast enough to fill an academic career. However, the process of research inevitably entails the closing off of more avenues than are eventually explored. So in guise of an ending, we will examine some of the fruitful areas this project uncovered, which could inspire future research.

A notable omission in this thesis was the medium of cinema. As we suggested in Chapter 1, this lacuna was the result of a conscious decision to prioritise less mined texts and media; and because any approach to the cinema of the *appelés* deserving of the refined critical toolkit developed in the field of film studies would have required another thesis entirely. Nevertheless, the influence of the cinematic medium on memory of the Algerian War and of the *appelés* is not to be understated. Films such as Bertrand Tavernier's *La Guerre sans nom* and René Vautier's *Avoir Vingt ans dans les Aurès* deserve a place in the cannon of *appelé* cultural history, and while authoritative articles have been written on them, they are works where the intermedia and/or cultural memory studies approach taken in this thesis could offer pertinent new insights.⁵

Marc Garanger's photography is beginning to receive the attention that its influence deserves, but out with his contribution to the cultural heritage of the Algerian War, his photography of other groups—most notably the Shamans of the Siberia—has yet to be critically addressed.⁶ Furthermore, while Marie Chominot has written a definitive thesis on the ways in which the French and Algerian militaries used photography during the war, this thesis' chapter on Garanger has highlighted the multiform afterlives of Algerian War photography.⁷ This approach could be extended to some of the other major Algerian War photographers. In particular, the waxing and waning influence of René Bail's photography, which appears in recent years to have been channelled through the memory templates of the *Pieds-Noirs*, would make for a particularly interesting map of the cultural historiography of the Algerian War and the French military.

The work undertaken in Chapter 5 on digital memory of the *appelés* is only a footnote to the vast spectrum of Algerian War memory produced, received and reversioned online. It seems clear that this is an area of French (and global) culture which will continue to develop at an increasingly rapid pace, and the analytical tools used in this thesis could be readily appropriated to examine other mediated memories online. In the realm of Algerian War memory, a comparison of the varied ways in which the various groups of actors in the war approach the

⁵ For more detail on film studies of the Algerian War see: Chapter 1, notes 96-7.

⁶ Marc Garanger and Robert N. Hamayoun, *Taïga : terre des chamans* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale éditions, 1997).

⁷ Marie Chominot, 'Les photographies de la guerre d'Algérie' (unpublished PhD thesis, Université de Paris VIII, 2008).

mediation of their memory online would prove fertile ground. The dominant digital memory templates of groups such as the *Pieds-Noirs* are constructed in a radically different manner to those of the *appelés*; and the ways in which younger generations use (and abuse) Algerian War memory online is at odds with the slower, quieter approach of those who voice eyewitness, living memories of the war.

Digital media memory is of bearing in perhaps the most significant area for future research highlighted by this thesis. Given the increasingly fragmented ways in which memory is mediated online, the long held notions of a socially constructed memory, *à la* Halbwachs, are showing signs of fissure. The increasing importance of digital medium in the construction of individual, group, national and global memory, only serves to reinforce the importance of understanding and conceptualising the processes of the digital mediation of memory.

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APPENDIX

Table of primary material used in Chapter 1

TELEVISION PROGRAMMES

INA DB	Reference Number	Episode Title	Programme Title (if applicable)	Channel	Date Broadcast	Length
imago	AFE03006115	MONSIEUR ALBERT SARRAULT FAIT UN APPEL EN FAVEUR DES SOLDATS D'ALGERIE		F	01/01/1956	00:00:35
imago	AFE85006666	ARRIVEE DE RENFORTS EN ALGERIE		F	21/03/1956	00:00:20
imago	CAF91020384	EMBARQUEMENT DE TROUPE A BORD DU PAQUEBOT : VILLE D'ALGER		1	30/03/1956	00:01:06
imago	CAF94073025	Retour de rappelés à Marseille		1	22/10/1956	00:01:48
imago	AFE85007119	Départ de rappelés libérés d'Algérie a bord du paquebot "Ville de Tunis"		F	26/12/1956	00:00:48
imago	CPF86654586	Trente six chandelles :émission du 7 janvier 1957		1	07/01/1957	01:46:49
imago	CAF94073090	ALGER - LE JOUR DE L'AN AVEC LES FORCES DE PACIFICATION		1	03/01/1958	00:04:20
imago	AFE01000565	Embarquement des troupes pour l'Algérie au port de Marseille		F	29/05/1958	00:02:23
imago	CAF89005275	ARRIVEE DE TROUPES EN ALGERIE		1	29/05/1958	00:01:13
imago	CAF91008118	ARRIVEE DE JEUNES A ALGER		1	12/08/1958	00:01:00
imago	CAF89001859	Compagnie opérationnelle d'Algérie : Sergent Robert		1	09/01/1959	00:15:55
imago	CAF92042818	CHUTES DU VOYAGE DE MICHEL DEBRE EN ALGERIE		1	26/03/1959	00:06:59
imago	CAF89053495	L'Algérie des combats		1	02/10/1959	00:13:50
imago	CAF94037491	Déclaration de Michel Debré à l'Assemblée nationale		1	13/10/1959	00:15:46
imago	CAF90002764	5 colonnes en Algérie		1	01/07/1960	00:14:28
imago	CAF91063023	Voyage étudiants en Algérie		1	31/08/1960	00:01:45
imago	CAF88033222	Qu'en pense Alger ?		1	02/12/1960	00:15:00
imago	CAF91063643	ETRENNES POUR LES SOLDATS DU SAHARA		1	01/01/1961	00:05:50
imago	CAF89046888	Special Algérie		1	05/05/1961	00:18:12
imago	CAF90006841	De nos envoyés spéciaux dans le bled		1	05/05/1961	00:15:48
imago	CAF94073237	FILM SUR LES DEUX SOLDATS RAPATRIES		1	31/12/1961	00:01:25
imago	CAF94073238	RETOUR FRANCAIS LIBERES PAR LE FLN		1	02/01/1962	00:01:35
imago	CAF89044411	ARRIVEE DES TROUPES D'ALGERIE A MARSEILLE		1	21/02/1962	00:00:50
imago	CAF90030994	FAMILLES DE SOLDATS FRANCAIS DU MANS ET DE MOSELLE		1	27/04/1962	00:01:14
imago	CAF94073775	SEQUENCE ALGERIE		1	17/10/1963	00:00:00
imago	CAF90031764	Les Max...anciens d'Algérie		1	02/02/1968	00:26:02
imago	CPB81051998	L'arme au bleu		2	05/09/1981	01:41:49
imago	CAA8200508501	Membre contingent		1	18/03/1982	00:02:50
imago	CAA8200302301	Algérie no 1		1	20/03/1982	00:29:06
imago	CPB82051753	Déchirements et fidélités		2	21/11/1982	01:10:00
imago	CPB83051950	Passez les frontières		2	22/04/1983	01:13:58
imago	CPC85105467	Traité de paix		3	05/12/1985	01:34:20
imago	CPB89002416	ETRE UN SOLDAT HIER ET AUJOURD'HUI		2	21/02/1989	00:59:09
imago	CPB89002983	Histoires occultées : l'Algérie		2	06/03/1989	00:57:36

INA DB	Reference Number	Episode Title	Programme Title (if applicable)	Channel	Date Broadcast	Length
imago	CPB89003225	L'Algérie histoire commune		2	13/03/1989	01:00:23
imago	CAC90048270	Les vétérans		3	09/09/1990	00:05:40
dltv	1321288.001	Les années algériennes	Les grands documents	Antenne 2	23/09/1991	00:52:00
imago	CPB91012090	D'AMOUR ET DE HAINE		2	23/09/1991	01:03:40
imago	CAB91047787	LES ANNEES ALGERIENNES		2	23/09/1991	00:01:54
imago	CPB91012344	LES TRICHEURS		2	30/09/1991	01:07:00
imago	CPB91012502	Je ne regrette rien		2	07/10/1991	01:01:25
imago	CPB91012508	Et pourtant, la guerre est finie		2	08/10/1991	00:52:15
imago	CAC92014191	INVITE BERTRAND TAVERNIER "La guerre sans nom"		3	11/02/1992	00:00:48
imago	CPC92001325	La guerre des sans-noms : Les appelés d'Algérie		3	12/02/1992	01:44:07
imago	CAB92009977	TAVERNIER BERLIN		2	16/02/1992	00:01:32
imago	CPA92005056	RECITS D'ALGERIE		1	24/06/1992	00:51:21
imago	CAB92039373	Lettres d'Algérie		2	02/07/1992	00:41:07
imago	CPB93005263	C'était la guerre		2	19/04/1993	03:00:22
imago	CAA94041850	Anciens combattants		1	06/04/1994	00:01:39
imago	4.47604E+11	[Rappel Guerre Algérie]		1	11/11/1996	00:01:26
dltv	504369.001.012	Service militaire/Hommes politiques	TF1 13 heures : [émission du 27 Janvier 1997]	TF1	27/01/1997	00:01:32
dltv	661586.004.012	[Paris : flamme souvenir, guerre d'Algérie]	F2 le journal 20Hoo : [émission du 03 Septembre 1997]	France 2	03/09/1997	00:00:42
imago	CAB97126071	Off flamme Algérie		2	03/09/1997	00:00:00
imago	9.7762E+11	[Daniel Cohn-Bendit]		1	16/11/1998	00:01:42
dltv	1024971.001	Tortionnaire	Lignes de vie	France 2	17/01/1999	00:52:38
dltv	1311673.028	Je ne regrette rien		La Cinquième	22/01/2000	01:01:09
dltv	1319758.007	Et pourtant la guerre est finie		La Cinquième	29/01/2000	00:52:07
dltv	1560790.002	M le Président, je vous fais une lettre = Sie weigerten sich in diesen krieg zu	Thema. Nous n'irons pas la faire	ARTE	09/11/2000	01:01:54
imago	CAB00060094	[Torture pendant la guerre d'Algérie : réactions des généraux]		2	23/11/2000	00:02:49
dltv	1602394.003.006	Rencontre [Récit et témoignage d'un appelé de l'Ourasenis]	Le journal des journaux : [émission du 29 Décembre 2000]	France 3	29/12/2000	00:02:10
dltv	1618650.001	La France et l'Algérie : un passé qui torture		France 3	17/01/2001	02:01:18
dltv	1706750.005.014	[Jospin, Algérie]	20 heures le journal : [émission du 16 Mai 2001]	France 2	16/05/2001	00:00:57
dltv	1712394.001	[Spéciale guerre d'Algérie]		France 2	21/05/2001	01:41:41
dltv	1714170.006	Le journal de l'histoire : [émission du 24 mai 2001]		La Cinquième	24/05/2001	00:41:47
dltv	1714817.013	Droit d'auteurs : [émission du 27 Mai 2001]		La Cinquième	27/05/2001	00:52:00
dltv	1757741.001	Torture en Algérie : ces aveux qui dérangent		France 3	27/06/2001	01:31:31
imago	1.86787E+12	[Témoignages anciens combattants]		2	22/11/2001	00:02:16
dltv	1961490.001	Pacification		France 3	04/03/2002	00:50:12
dltv	1962268.001	Engrenages		France 3	05/03/2002	00:52:12
dltv	1967125.001	Algérie paroles de tortionnaires		France 5	18/03/2002	00:51:59
imago	1.96963E+12	Factuel cérémonies		3	19/03/2002	00:01:26
dltv	2028786.001	Permission moisson		France 3	01/06/2002	01:29:08
dltv	2060212.001	1956, une sale histoire		France 2	04/07/2002	00:46:54
dltv	2076247.001.036	[Irradiés du Sahara]	20 heures le journal : [émission du 1er Août 2002]	France 2	01/08/2002	00:03:07
imago	2.17265E+12	Monument guerre d'Algérie		2	04/12/2002	00:02:55
dltv	2226074.001	Le sale boulot	Les mercredis de l'Histoire = Geschichte am Mittwoch	ARTE	12/02/2003	01:02:41

INA DB	Reference Number	Episode Title	Programme Title (if applicable)	Channel	Date Broadcast	Length
dltv	2229303.001	La politique du mensonge	Les mercredis de l'Histoire = Geschichte am Mittwoch	ARTE	19/02/2003	01:02:28
dltv	2285334.001	L'adieu : zone interdite : ière partie		France 2	28/04/2003	01:35:21
dltv	2592250.001.016	[L'usage de la torture]	Edition nationale : [émission du 21 juin 2004]	France 3	21/06/2004	00:04:17
dltv	2607475.001	De 1962 à 1964		France 5	18/07/2004	01:25:01
dltv	2669824.001.014	[Justice : appel général Schmitt]	Edition nationale : [émission du 15 octobre 2004]	France 3	15/10/2004	00:02:15
imago	1962268001	Engrenages		3	01/11/2004	00:51:01
dltv	2718915.001.026	[Les appelés du contingent envoyés en Algérie]	TF1 20 heures : [émission du 5 Décembre 2004]	TF1	05/12/2004	00:02:09
dltv	2844769.001.003	[Les irradiés de la république]	Edition nationale : [émission du 07 juin 2005]	France 3	07/06/2005	00:01:53
imago	2.84484E+12	André Mézière recevra une pension pour avoir été irradié dans le désert algérien		3	07/06/2005	00:01:57
dltv	2859983.001.009	Le dossier : les traumatismes émotionnels : témoignage d'un soldat de la guerre	Le magazine de la santé au quotidien : [émission du 17 Juin 2005]	France 5	17/06/2005	00:02:43
dltv	3305159.001	Vive la bombe		ARTE	16/03/2007	01:26:25
imago	1962268001	Engrenages		3	09/09/2007	00:51:01
dlreg	511.014.006	Les appelés de Midi-Pyrénées pendant la guerre d'Algérie	Edition Midi Pyrénées : [émission du 18 mars 2008]	France 3 Midi Pyrénées	18/03/2008	00:02:54
dltv	3648006.001.026	[Les anciens appelés d'Algérie aident des villages kabyles]	TF1 20 heures : [émission du 16 Juin 2008]	TF1	16/06/2008	00:01:44
dltv	3785667.001.007	Algérie : la guerre sans héros	Prêts à mourir pour la France	France 3	03/12/2008	00:15:04
dltv	3843676.001.002	François Pinault n'a pas le temps	François Pinault n'a pas le temps	France 5	20/02/2009	00:51:52
dlreg	23394.006.004	Mémoires de la guerre d'Algérie de Pierre Brana	Edition Bordeaux Métropole : [émission du 18 mars 2009]	France 3 Aquitaine	18/03/2009	00:02:10
dltv	4127423.001.018	[Essais nucléaires en Algérie]	Le JT de Canal + : [émission du 16 février 2010]	Canal +	16/02/2010	00:01:22

RADIO PROGRAMMES

INA Database	Reference Number	Episode Title	Programme Title (if applicable)	Channel	Date broadcast	Length
sonp	PHD99101785	Archives politiques : guerre d' Algérie 1956		France 3 Nationale	01/01/1956	01:12:05
sonp	PHD98204291	MAGAZINE DE L'ARMEE DU 16 MARS 1956		Chaîne Parisienne	16/03/1956	00:12:20
sonp	PHD98204381	Arrivée à Alger d'un contingent de soldats		Paris Inter	30/03/1956	00:03:12
sonp	PHD98204387	Guy Mollet s'adresse aux soldats en Algérie		Chaîne Nationale	31/03/1956	00:01:33
sonp	PHD98047449	Rappel du contingent en Algérie et mesures en faveur des Musulmans		Chaîne Nationale	03/04/1956	00:09:30
sonp	PHD98204825	LA FORMATION PROFESSIONNELLE PENDANT LE SERVICE MILITAIRE		Chaîne Parisienne	03/08/1956	00:13:10
sonp	PHD98201550	Situation en Algérie		Paris Inter	18/10/1956	00:02:30
sonp	PHD98201573	Départ des premiers rappelés		Chaîne Parisienne	20/10/1956	00:04:15
sonp	PHD98206101	Interview radio télévisée de Guy Mollet		Chaîne Nationale	15/04/1957	00:21:39
sonp	PHZ08008382	Relation détaillée d'un combat avec les fellaghas			26/03/1958	00:10:00
sonp	PHD94021780	Suspension de libération du contingent en Algérie		France 1 Paris-Inter	23/04/1958	00:03:36
sonp	PHD94000196	Le service militaire en Algérie est porté à 27 mois		France 1 Paris-Inter	17/05/1958	00:01:12
sonp	PHD99101429	Archives politiques le 28 Juin 1958			28/06/1958	01:54:15
sonp	PHD98208275	CONFERENCE DE PRESSE DE MR MICHEL DEBRE		France 1 Paris-Inter	18/07/1958	00:00:00
sonp	PHD94001799	PACIFICATION DANS LA REGION DE CONSTANTINE			21/06/1960	00:00:00
sonp	PHD98209524	LES SOLDATS INSTITUTEURS EN ALGERIE		France 2 Régionale	21/10/1960	00:10:00
sonp	PHD94021436	REBELLION D'ALGER, PUTSCH DES GENERAUX			23/04/1961	00:00:00
sonp	PHD94018019	L'ALGERIE			11/05/1962	00:00:00
sonp	PHD94035063	Messages de soldats d'ALGERIE			03/05/1963	00:04:00
sonp	PHD97010366	Le 20ème anniversaire des accords d'EVIAN		France Inter	19/03/1982	00:00:35
sonp	PHD98042697	La guerre d'Algérie, vingt cinq ans après ; 2 : La Toussaint 54 : 1954-1955		France Culture	11/08/1987	01:00:00
sonp	PHD99011750	La guerre anonyme : 1ère émission		France Culture	30/10/1990	01:19:57
sonp	515167	La guerre anonyme ; 2 : Algérie 1957-1958		France Culture	31/10/1990	01:18:00
sonp	515190	La guerre anonyme ; 3 : Algérie 1958-1959		France Culture	01/11/1990	01:18:00
sonp	159032	L'histoire immédiate : La guerre d'Algérie, vingt cinq ans après : la Toussaint		France Culture	13/08/1996	01:00:00
dlr	159032	La guerre d'Algérie, vingt cinq ans après : la Toussaint 1954-1955		France Culture	13/08/1996	01:00:00
dlr	208171	Jean Pierre Chevènement	Inter matin. En compagnie de Patricia Martin	France Inter	27/01/1997	00:09:00
dlr	716858	La guerre d'Algérie : 2ème partie		France Inter	14/01/1998	00:54:00
dlr	716988	La guerre d'Algérie : 3ème partie		France Inter	15/01/1998	00:54:00
dlr	717117	La guerre d'Algérie : 4ème partie		France Inter	16/01/1998	00:54:00
dlr	745851	La guerre d'Algérie : 5ème partie		France Inter	19/01/1998	00:54:00
dlr	776892	La guerre d'Algérie : réactions		France Inter	30/01/1998	00:54:00
sonp	927662	Jean Tulard ; 3		France Culture	29/07/1998	00:26:00
dlr	965242	Quoi qu'il en soit du 04 décembre 1998		France Inter	04/12/1998	00:51:00

INA Database	Reference Number	Episode Title	Programme Title (if applicable)	Channel	Date broadcast	Length
dlr	974940	Là bas, si j'y suis du 05 janvier 1999		France Inter	05/01/1999	00:54:00
dlr	1016719	Claude Sales		Radio Bleue	17/05/1999	01:00:00
dlr	1043505	Avoir 20 ans dans les Aurès		France Inter	21/08/1999	00:50:00
dlr	1117147	Daniel Zimmermann : 2ème partie	Le plus tôt sera le mieux	France Culture	29/02/2000	00:35:00
sonp	1132936	Le silence des appelés d'Algérie		France Culture	24/04/2000	02:25:00
dlr	1160137	Pot au feu du 14 juillet 2000		France Culture	14/07/2000	01:07:00
dlr	1283765	Témoignage d'un ancien appelé d'Algérie	Inter matin. En compagnie de Stéphane Paoli	France Inter	29/01/2001	00:05:00
dlr	1228851	Jean-Pierre Crépin et Mohamed Harbi	Inter matin. En compagnie de Stéphane Paoli	France Inter	29/01/2001	00:38:52
dlr	1228896	Algérie, de la torture au terrorisme		France Inter	29/01/2001	00:44:00
dlr	1265011	Algérie : J'écris ton nom		France Culture	24/04/2001	02:25:00
dlr	1289855	A toute allure du 26 juin 2001		France Inter	26/06/2001	01:20:00
dlr	1294820	La guerre anonyme : Algérie 1954-1956	Les nuits de France Culture	France Culture	09/07/2001	01:20:00
sonp	1294864	La guerre anonyme : Algérie 1957-1958	Les nuits de France Culture	France Culture	10/07/2001	01:20:00
dlr	1294908	La guerre anonyme : Algérie 1958-1959	Les nuits de France Culture	France Culture	11/07/2001	01:20:00
dlr	1294975	Guerre d'Algérie, retour sur témoins : Benoist Rey		France Culture	12/07/2001	00:28:00
sonp	1366972	Jean Claude Baudot : 2ème émission		France Inter	20/12/2001	00:30:00
dlr	1417582	40 ans après les accords d'Evian : la fin d'une longue amnésie collective ?		Radio France Internationale	18/03/2002	00:15:00
dlr	1404558	La fabrique de l'histoire du 18 mars 2002		France Culture	18/03/2002	02:25:00
dlr	1404105.017	Traumatismes de la guerre d'Algérie	Inter soir 19Hoo du 19 mars 2002	France Inter	19/03/2002	00:01:23
dlr	1430100	Jean-Pierre Bardery : 1ère émission		France Inter	18/04/2002	00:30:00
dlr	1435406	Marc Garanger		Radio France Internationale	25/04/2002	00:20:00
dlr	1581735.01	Sous les étoiles exactement : Bertrand Tavernier, Patrick Rotman	Sous les étoiles exactement : émission du 21 novembre 2002	France Inter	21/11/2002	00:56:50
dlr	1795979	Alger Alger	Perspectives contemporaines	France Culture	16/09/2003	01:00:00
dlr	1928485	Benjamin Stora, Laurent Gervereau, Marc Garanger		France Inter	26/02/2004	00:52:00
dlr	2021810	Jean-Louis Trintignant : 3ème émission		France Culture	07/07/2004	00:25:00
dlr	2036331	Nos hommes politiques et la guerre d'Algérie : 1ère partie		France Culture	31/07/2004	03:00:00
dlr	2079504	Jean Luc Einaudi, Marie Monique Robin		France Inter	28/09/2004	00:13:00
dlr	2107606	La retraite d'un appelé		France Culture	04/11/2004	00:25:00
dlr	2162205	Ils eurent 20 ans dans les Aurès		France Inter	24/11/2004	00:52:00
dlr	2150251	Les photographies de Marc Garanger		Radio France Internationale	16/01/2005	00:20:00
dlr	2457517	Les matins de France Culture : émission du 30 juin 2005	Les matins de France Culture	France Culture	30/06/2005	02:10:00
dlr	2469563	Cabu		France Inter	17/07/2005	00:39:00
dlr	2616161	Claude Sales, Philippe Faucon		Radio France Internationale	25/01/2006	00:50:00
dlr	2876782	Javier Cercas		France Inter	20/09/2006	00:49:00
dlr	2981613	François Bizot		France Culture	07/01/2007	00:58:00
sonp	3129503	Pierre Joxe : 2ème partie	Les humanités	France Culture	29/05/2007	00:28:00
dlr	3129677	Sur les chemins du pacifisme à la française : Objection pour la paix		France Culture	30/05/2007	00:54:30
dlr	3251824	L'ennemi intime.	Le 7/10	France Inter	03/10/2007	00:20:00
dlr	3251839	Les appelés dans la guerre d'Algérie		France Inter	03/10/2007	00:28:00

INA Database	Reference Number	Episode Title	Programme Title (if applicable)	Channel	Date broadcast	Length
dlr	3376634	Roms en Europe - Mémoire et réflexion : un parcours de vie		France Inter	21/02/2008	01:45:00
dlr	3496584	De Henri Crolla au Service Militaire		France Inter	05/07/2008	00:53:00
dlr	3581656	Jérôme Monod	Les matins de France Culture	France Culture	22/09/2008	01:47:00
dlr	3969580	Laurent Mauvignier		RTL	04/10/2009	00:08:10

PUBLISHED BOOKS

Author	Title	City	Publisher	Year
Bellat, Paul	Légionnaires	Oran	Self-published	1956
Anselme, Daniel	La permission	Paris	Julliard	1957
Bigéard, Marcel & Flament, Marc	Piste Sans Fin	Paris	Pensée Moderne	1957
Fournier, Christiane	Nous avons encore des héros	Paris	Plon	1957
Alleg, Henri	La question	Paris	Éditions de Minuit	1958
Bigéard, Marcel & Flament, Marc	Sans fin...	Alger	Baconnier	1958
Castelbajac, Bertrand de	La gloire est leur salaire	Paris	Éditions Française Internationales	1958
Planchais, Jean	Le malaise de l'armée	Paris	Plon	1958
Bigéard, Marcel & Flament, Marc	Aucune bete au monde	Paris	Pensée Moderne	1959
Cotte, Jean-Louis	La longue piste	Paris	Albin Michel	1959
Favrelière, Noel	Le désert à l'aube	Paris	Éditions de Minuit	1960
Gay, Michel	Deux ans au jus pour les grandes permes...	Paris	Éditions du Scorpion	1960
Grendel, Frédéric	Le traité de paix	Paris	Julliard	1960
Hurst, Jean-Louis	Le déserteur (de Maurienne)	Paris	Éditions de Minuit	1960
Lartéguy, Jean & Flament, Marc	Les Dieux meurent en Algérie. Text de J. Lartéguy. Photos de Marc Flament.	Paris	Pensée Moderne	1960
Malori, Jean	Une traversée gratuite	Paris	Gallimard	1960
Manevy, Alain	L'Algérie à vingt ans	Paris	Grasset	1960
Maschino, Maurice	Le refus	Paris	Maspero	1960
Boudot, Pierre	L'Algérie mal enchainée	Paris	Gallimard	1961
Delarue, Louis	Avec les paras du 1er R.E.P. et du 2e R.P.I. Ma	Paris	Nouvelles Éditions Latines	1961
Delbo, Charlotte	Les belles lettres	Paris	Éditions de Minuit	1961
Deligny, Henri	H-S (Hors Service)	Lausanne	La Cité	1961
Gaucher, Roland	Les complices d'Impéria	Paris	Albin Michel	1961
Maintigneux, Pierre	Les enfants de la patrie	Paris	Éditions de la Pensée Moderne	1961
Maschino, Maurice	L'engagement	Paris	Maspero	1961
Mus, Paul	Guerre sans visage. Lettres du sous-lieutenant Emile Mus	Paris	Éditions du Seuil	1961
Ollier, Claude	Le maintien de l'ordre	Paris	Gallimard	1961
Rey, Benoist	Les Egorgeurs	Paris	Éditions de Minuit	1961
Saint Benoit, Claude	Le petit soldat	Paris	Julliard	1961
Bois, Pierre	La brèche	Paris	Denoel	1962
Bonnaud, Robert	Itinéraire	Paris	Éditions de Minuit	1962
Bosshard, Jean	La rive d'en face	Paris	Denoel	1962
Bourgoin, Daniel R.	Les marches de Saint-Germain	Paris	Gallimard	1962
Cesbron, Gilbert	Entre chien et loups	Paris	R. Laffont	1962
Denoyer, Francois	Quatre ans de guerre en Algérie. Lettres d'un jeune officier.	Paris	Flammarion	1962
Favrel, Charles	Ci-devant légionnaire	Paris	Presses de la cité	1962
Flament, Marc	Les hommes peints	Paris	Éditions La Pensée Moderne	1962
Grall, Xavier	La génération du djebel	Paris	Le Cerf	1962
Perot, Gérard	Deuxième classe en Algérie	Paris	Flammarion	1962
Blanc, Daniel	Après les armes, citoyens	Arras	Société d'édition du Pas de Calais	1963
Castelbajac, Bertrand de	L'officier perdu	Paris	La Table ronde	1963
Gascar, Pierre	Les moutons de feu	Paris	Gallimard	1963
Raissac, Guy	Un soldat dans la tourmente	Paris	Albin Michel	1963
Amila, Jean	Pitié pour les rats	Paris	Gallimard	1964
Edelman, Maurice	Les Fratricides	Paris	Presses de la cité	1964
Flament, Marc & Lecornec, Michel	Appelés en Algérie	Paris	Éditions La Pensée Moderne	1964
Gilbert, Oscar-Paul	Les hommes perdus	Paris	Plon	1964
Mercier, Jacques	J'étais un capitaine	Paris	Éditions du Scorpion	1964
Moinet, Bernard	Journal d'une agonie		Éditions Saint Just	1965
Boissel, Pierre	Les hussards perdus	Paris	Éditions St. Just	1966
Gohier, Jacques	Instructeur en Algérie			1966
Castelbajac, Bertrand de	Sans vergogne	Paris	Plon	1967
Dedet, Christian	L'exil	Paris	Seuil	1967
Fyot, Pierre	Le Vent de la Toussaint	Paris	Nouvelles Éditions Latines	1967
Guyotat, Pierre	Tombeau pour 50000 soldats : Sept Chants	Paris	Gallimard	1967
Labro, Phillipe	Les Feux mal éteints	Paris	Seuil	1967
Groussard, Serge	L'armée et ses drames	Paris	La Table ronde	1968
Bois, Pierre	Le Défilé	Paris	Denoel	1969
Moinet, Bernard	A genoux les hommes	Paris	Éditions France-Empire	1969
Lantenac, Pierre	Le temps des otages	Paris	Presses de la cité	1970
Laurini, Robert	Djebel	Guéret	Imprimerie Lecante	1970

Author	Title	City	Publisher	Year
Massu, Jacques	La vraie bataille d'Alger	Paris	Plon	1971
Van Parys, Agnès	Les déserteurs	Paris	Balland	1971
Bartoli, Roger	Le grand Beas	Paris	La Pensée Universelle	1972
Groussard, Serge	L'Algérie des adieux	Paris	Plon	1972
Kay, Jean	L'arme au coeur	Paris	Denoeel	1972
Lantenac, Pierre	Chaque homme est un drapeau	Paris	Presses de la cité	1972
Laurini, Robert	Le fossé	Paris	Debresse	1972
Massu, Jacques	Du 13 Mai aux Barricades. Le torrent et la digue	Paris	Plon	1972
Roy, Jules	J'accuse le général Massu	Paris	Éditions du Seuil	1972
Bezias, Gilette	Un linceul se tissait	Paris	La Pensée Universelle	1973
Droit, Michel	Le Temps des hommes. 3. La ville blanche	Paris	Julliard	1973
Favrelière, Noel	Le déserteur	Paris	Jean-Claude Lattès	1973
Gardel, Louis	L'été fracassé	Paris	Éditions du Seuil	1973
Kay, Jean	Les fous de guerre	Paris	Éditions de la Pensée Moderne	1973
Marle, Louis	De la bourgogne à la Bataille d'Alger	Paris	La Pensée Universelle	1973
Astoux, André	L'oubli (De Gaulle, 1946-1958)	Paris	Jean-Claude Lattès	1974
Aymard, Alain	Le rond-point des poivriers	Paris	Éditions France-Empire	1974
Banocre, Tristan	Des jours moissonnés	Paris	La Pensée Universelle	1974
Bastien-Thiry, Jean	Vie, écrits, témoignages	Paris	Édition Albatros	1974
Clavel, Bernard	Le silence des armes	Paris	R. Laffont	1974
Flament, Marc	Les beaux arts de la guerre	Paris	Éditions La Pensée Moderne	1974
Giacomoni, Pierre Dominique	J'ai tué pour rien	Paris	Fayard	1974
Groussard, Serge	La guerre oubliée	Paris	Plon	1974
Kerruel, Yves	Le soldat nu	Paris	Julliard	1974
Bellay, Guy	Restez, je m'en vais	Paris	Éditions Saint-Germain-des-Prés	1975
Bigéard, Marcel	Pour une parcelle de gloire	Paris	Plon	1975
Buis, Georges	Les fanfares perdues. Entretiens avec Jean Lacouture.	Paris	Éditions du Seuil	1975
Clavel, Bernard	Lettre à un Kepi blanc	Paris	R. Laffont	1975
Croussy, Guy	Ne pleure pas, la guerre est bonne	Paris	Julliard	1975
Esnault, Michel	L'Algérie d'un appelé	Mamers	Self-published	1975
Gardel, Louis	Couteau de chateur	Paris	Éditions du Seuil	1976
Grandjean, Claude	L'oppidum	Paris	La Pensée Universelle	1976
Schoendoerffer, Pierre	Le crabe-tambour	Paris	Éditions Grasset	1976
Bigéard, Marcel	Pour une parcelle de gloire, tome 2 : la dernière des guerres	Paris	Press-pocket	1977
Bonjean, Claude	Lucien Chez les Barbares	Paris	Éditions Calmann-Lévy	1977
Guedj, Max	Le voyage en Barbarie	Paris	Albin Michel	1977
Humbert, Marcel	Le chant de l'alouette	Paris	La Pensée Universelle	1977
Vittori, Jean-Pierre	Nous, les appelés d'Algérie	Paris	Stock	1977
Zeller, André	Soldats perdus	Paris	Perrin	1977
Bacri, Roland	Le beau temps perdu: Bab-el-Oued retrouvé	Paris	J. Lanzmann & Seghers	1978
Dedet, Christian	Le soleil pour la soif	Paris	Julliard	1978
Germain-Thomas, Olivier	Les rats capitaines	Paris	Éditions Libres Hallier	1978
Machin, René	Djebel 56		Lettres du Monde	1978
Still, André	Trois pas dans une guerre	Paris	B. Grasset	1978
Bail, René & Mabire, Jean	Commando de chasse	Paris	France Loisirs	1979
Corbel, Maurice	Les éclats du Djebel	Lyon	Fédérop	1979
Cotte, Jean-Louis	Ces traces que rien n'efface	Paris	Albin Michel	1979
Davidenko, Dimitri	Chouff! : [ils ont laissé leurs 20 ans en Algérie ; aujourd' hui ils parlent]	Paris	Éditions Encre	1979
Germain-Thomas, Olivier	Soleils de cendres	Paris	Albin Michel	1979
Kopp, Georges	Un rayon de soleil perdu	Versailles	L'Atlantrophe	1979
Landais, Yves	Les olives rouges ! : La guerre d'Algérie : récit	Vannes	FNACA de Morbihan	1979
Moine, André	Ma guerre d'Algérie	Paris	Éditions Sociales	1979
Arlet, Claude	L'obstacle	Lyon	Éditions des Remparts	1980
Bergot, Erwan	La Guerre des appelés en Algérie 1956-1962	Paris	Presses de la cité	1980
Bonnet, André	Souvenirs Sahariens et Nord-Africains	Paris	La Pensée Universelle	1980
Gori, Marcel	L'Algérie illustrée	Saint-Raphael	Self-published	1980
Liscia, Richard	Le conscrit et le général	Paris	Édition La Table ronde	1980
Moinet, Bernard	Ahmed ? Connais Pas	Paris	Lettres du Monde	1980
Vittori, Jean-Pierre	Les confessions d'un professionnel de la torture	Paris	Ramsay	1980
Barone, Pierre	De Kabylie en foret d'Othe	Paris	La Pensée Universelle	1981
Ducros, Henri	La triche	Besancon	L'Amitié Par Le Livre	1981
Enria, Roger	Mon poste en Kabylie	Rillieux-la-Pape	Self-published	1981

Author	Title	City	Publisher	Year
Frédéfon, Luc	Le Grand Guignol ou la Vie quotidienne d'un appelé en Algérie : Récits	Mérignac	Eddibor	1981
Guillaume, Roger	La guerre était notre lot. Récit d'un soldat	Nice	Self-published	1981
Pitton, G.	Onze mois hes les Bérêts noirs, le contingent en Algérie	Aix Les Bains	G. Pitton	1981
Arlet, Claude	Le croissant de la lune	Lyon	Éditions des Remparts	1982
Cotte, Jean-Louis	Les chemins de Méditerranée	Paris	Albin Michel	1982
Ferdi, Saïd	Un enfant dans la guerre	Paris	Éditions du Seuil	1982
Flament, Marc	Les hélicos du Djebel. Algérie: 1955-1962	Paris	Presses de la cité	1982
Frémont, Armand	Algérie, El Djezair. Les carnets de guerre et de terrain d'un géographe	Paris	Maspero	1982
Garanger, Marc	Femmes Algériennes, 1960	Paris	Contrejour	1982
Guillaume, Roger	La petite guerre des guérillas	Nice	Self-published	1982
Klotz, Claude	Les appelés	Paris	Jean-Claude Lattès	1982
Lamarque, Pierre	Tombeau pour quelques soldats : chroniques algériennes	Paris	Éditions France-Empire	1982
Macias, Enrico & Demarny, Jacques	Non, je n'ai pas oublié	Paris	Éditions Robert Laffont	1982
Marciano, Marcelle	Journal Intime	Paris	Éditions Quantics	1982
Servan-Schreiber, Jean-Jacques	Lieutenant en Algérie	Paris	Éditions noi et Paris-Match	1982
Bail, René	Hélicoptères et commandos - marines en Algérie : 1954-1962	Paris / Limoges	Charles Lavauzelle	1983
Barroso, Jean M.	Les Oiseaux Noirs	Paris	Éditions Olivier Orban	1983
Bourgeade, Pierre	Les Serpents	Paris	Gallimard	1983
Gandy, Alain	L'escadron	Paris	Presses de la cité	1983
Le Carvenec, Antoine	La mémoire chacale	Paris	Éditions Hachette	1983
Marinier, Gérard	Ils ont fait la guerre d'Algérie, quarante personnalités racontent	Macon	Éditions MI (FNACA)	1983
Mathieu, Marcel	Une vie exaltante	Annecy	Gardet	1983
Bardery, Jean-Pierre	La longue mémoire : roman	Paris	Édition La Table ronde	1984
Boussinot, Roger	Le feu au paradis	Paris	Denoeel	1984
Dreyer, Pierre	J'étais appelé dans les Aurès	Paris	La Pensée Universelle	1984
Flament, Marc	Et le baroud vint du ciel	Paris	Grancher	1984
Garanger, Marc	La Guerre D'Algérie vue par un appelé du contingent	Paris	Éditions du Seuil	1984
Martinez, Henri	Dernières nouvelles de l'enfer	Paris	R. Laffont	1984
Barroso, Jean M.	La Loca	Paris	Éditions Olivier Orban	1985
Castelbajac, Bertrand de	La Légion	Paris	Graphiques Lafayette	1985
Derey, Jean-Claude	Piton bleu	Paris	Denoeel	1985
Gandy, Alain	La dernière rafale	Paris	Presses de la cité	1985
Landais, Yves	Les cris du désespoir - L'Algérie, séquelle de guerre	Vannes	FNACA de Morbihan	1985
Lousteau, Henry-Jean	Guerre en Kabylie : 1956-1961	Paris	Albin Michel	1985
Corand, René	Poèmes d'exil	Paris	Saint-Germain-des-Prés	1986
Forestier, Jean	Chronique d'un appelé en Algérie : 1957-1959 : 10e Bataillon de chasseurs parachutistes, 18e Régiment de chasseurs parachutistes	Vert-Saint-Denis	J. Forestier	1986
Gardel, Louis	Notre homme	Paris	Éditions du Seuil	1986
Gaule, Charles De	Lettres, notes et carnets, janvier 1961 - Décembre 1963	Paris	Plon	1986
Guillaume, Roger	Les larmes du Bois d'Arsoit. Récit d'une bataille	Nice	Self-published	1986
Hutin, Jean-Pierre	Profession, j'aime pas la guerre	Paris	Lettres du Monde	1986
Bail, René	L'Oranie : 1954-1962	Bayeux	Éditions Heimdal	1987
Cabiro, Bernard	Sous le béret vert	Paris	Plon	1987
Delval, Jacques	Le train d'El Kantara	Paris	Flammarion	1987
Forestier, Jean	Une gueule cassée en Algérie: témoignage d'un appelé	Paris	Saurat: Diffusion Stendhal	1987
Lousteau, Henry-Jean	Les deux bataillons	Paris	Albin Michel	1987
Martinez, Henri	Le feu dévorant	Paris	R. Laffont	1987
Alibert, Michel	Ballade pour un soldat perdu	Paris	Albin Michel	1988
Bertrand, Jean-F.	La guerre, toujours la guerre	Paris	Saurat Pierre	1988
Brami, Laurent	Un Morceau de terre	Paris-Nimes	Le Méridien éditions	1988
Buis, Georges	La grotte	Paris	Éditions Points Seuil	1988
Guillaume, Roger	Ainsi passèrent leurs vies. Mémoires d'une famille de soldats	Nice	Self-published	1988
Maspero, Francois	Le figuier	Paris	Éditions du Seuil	1988
Murray, Simon	Légionnaire, 22 février 1960-12 février 1965	Paris	Pygmalion	1988
Alibert, Michel	L'escadron	Paris	Albin Michel	1989

Author	Title	City	Publisher	Year
Carrière, Jean Claude	La paix des braves	Paris	Éditions Le Pré aux Clercs	1989
Cloulas, Ivan	Sur la trace des dieux	Paris	Albin Michel	1989
Doumenc, Philippe	Les comptoirs du Sud	Paris	Seuil	1989
Drevet, Patrick	Une chambre dans les bois	Paris	Gallimard	1989
Luxen, Denis	La guerre d'Algérie	Louvain-la-Neuve	Ciaco	1989
Sigg, W. Bernard	Le silence et la honte. Névroses de la guerre d'Algérie	Messidor	Éditions Sociales	1989
Anglade, Jean & Arnaud, Georges	Juste avant l'aube	Paris	Presses de la cité	1990
Bignon, Alain & Vidal, Guy	Une éducation Algérienne	Paris	Dargaud	1990
Borg, Charles	Par les chemins du destin	Paris	Éditions La Bruyère	1990
Brami, Claude	Parfum des étés perdus	Paris	Gallimard	1990
Cara, Mauro	Une vie de légionnaire	Paris	Éditions Calmann-Lévy	1990
Gandy, Alain	Salan	Paris	Perrin	1990
Garanger, Marc & Sebbar, Leila	Femmes Des Hauts Plateaux	Paris	La Boite à documents	1990
Joly, François	L'homme au mégot	Paris	Gallimard	1990
Maillard de la Morandais, Alain	L'honneur est sauf. Pretre, officier en Algérie	Paris	Éditions du Seuil	1990
Bergot, Erwan	Algérie, les appelés au combat	Paris	Presses de la cité	1991
Bourgeat, François	Djurdjura	Paris	Théâtre Ouvert	1991
Deleuse, Robert	Retour de femme	Paris	Denoel	1991
Delteil, Gérard	N'oubliez pas l'artiste	Paris	Gallimard	1991
Ducros, Henri	Les fleurs de Malte	Besancon	L'Amitié Par Le Livre	1991
Servan-Schreiber, Jean-Jacques	Passions	Paris	Fixot	1991
Bergot, Erwan	Les appelés en Algérie: la bataille des frontières	Paris	France Loisirs	1992
Bernadac, Christian	Djebel Tour	Paris	Albin Michel	1992
Coll, Bernard & Titraoui, Taouès	Le livre des Harkis	Bièvres	Éditions Jeune Pied-Noir	1992
Debernard, Jean	Feuille de route	Paris	Éditions Climats	1992
Enria, Roger	Les chasseurs de l'Akfadou	Rillieux-la-Pape	Self-published	1992
Gaildraud, Jean-Pierre	Il était une fois, les années algériennes	Saint-Ouen-en-Brie	La Lucarne Ovale	1992
Gandy, Alain	La légion en Algérie: 1954-62)	Paris	Presses de la cité	1992
Hogue de la, Jeanine	Mémoire écrite de l'Algérie depuis 1950: Les auteurs et leurs oeuvres	Paris	Maison neuve et Larose	1992
Lemalet, Martine	Lettres d'Algérie : 1954-1962. La mémoire des appelés d'une génération	Paris	Jean-Claude Lattès	1992
Mayor, Edouard	1956, Lettres d'un rappelé	Paris	La Pensée Universelle	1992
Rotman, Patrick & Tavernier, Bertrand	La guerre sans nom	Paris	Éditions du Seuil	1992
Zimmermann, Daniel (ed)	Trente ans après, nouvelles de la guerre d'Algérie	Paris	Éditions Le Monde	1992
Fleury, Georges	La guerre en Algérie	Paris	Plon	1993
Grenetier, Georges	Yasmina	Paris	Critérian	1993
La Ligue de l'enseignement & L'IMA	Mémoire et enseignement de la guerre d'Algérie	Copédith	Éditions IMA et la ligue	1993
Alibert, Michel	Sacré Mozart	Paris	Lettres du Monde	1995
Bigard, Marcel	Ma guerre d'Algérie	Paris	Hachette Carrère	1995
Davy, Michel	L'écho du Djebel	Paris	Pensée Universelle	1995
Laurini, Robert	Ceux du contingent: 1954-1962	Guéret	FNACA Creuze	1995
Paulian, Pierre	Un appelé dans les djebels	Paris	Jacques Granchet	1995
Debernard, Jean	Edmond Caumat, deuxième classe	Paris	Éditions Climats	1996
Bail, René	Actions de choc et commandos en Algérie	Paris	Trésor du patrimoine	1998
Bail, René & Muelle, Raymond	Missions et actions secrètes en Algérie	Paris	Trésor du patrimoine	1999
Jauffret, Jean-Charles	Soldats en Algérie 1954-1962. Expériences contrastées des hommes du contingent	Paris	Autrement	2000
Pauthé, Serge	Lettres aux parents: Correspondance d'un appelé en Algérie	Paris	Éditions L'Harmattan	2000
Vittori, Jean-Pierre	On a torturé en Algérie	Paris	Ramsay	2000
Aussaresses, Paul	Services spéciaux, Algérie 1955-1957	Paris	Perrin	2001
Bail, René	La Guerre D'Algérie, 1954-1962	Paris	Trésor du patrimoine	2001
Beauvallet, Régis	Tribulations d'appelés en Algérie	Paris	Édition des Écrivains	2001
Bigard, Marcel	J'ai mal à la France	Paris	Polygone	2001
Debernard, Jean	Simple Soldats	Arles	Actes sud	2001
Delpard, Raphaël	20 ans pendant la guerre d'Algérie: Générations sacrifiées	Paris	Michel Lafon	2001
Fortu, Paul	Un appelé en Kabylie	Paris	Grancher	2001
Iannuci, Ugo	Soldat dans les gorges de Palestro	Lyon	Aléas Éditions	2001

Author	Title	City	Publisher	Year
Leibel, Michel	Les Djebels de l'illusion : Récit d'un appelé de la Guerre D'Algérie (Mémoire de notre temps)	Montpellier	Artistes en Languedoc	2001
Vittori, Jean-Pierre	La vraie histoire des appelés d'Algérie	Paris	Ramsay	2001
Bigéard, Marcel	Crier ma vérité	Paris	Rocher	2002
Joly, François	La rage	Paris	Gallimard	2002
Verdier, Michel	Bande de Breles - les Appelés en Algérie - Quand Violence et Torture Deviennent Banalité	Louge-sur-Maire	Humusaire	2002
Vittori, Jean-Pierre	Le choix des larmes: Algérie, 1954 - 1962	Paris	Félin	2002
Zimmermann, Daniel	Nouvelles de la zone interdite	Paris	Le Cherche-Midi	2002
Bail, René	Souvenirs d'Oranie	Paris	Éditions du Layeur	2003
Ducloz, Albert	Citadelles d'orgueil	Le Puy-en-Velay	Jeanne D'arc	2003
Ducloz, Albert	Lettres d'Algérie à mes parents. Témoignage d'un appelé sur sa guerre en Algérie, 1960-1962	Le Puy-en-Velay	Jeanne D'arc	2003
Gerland, Bernard	Ma Guerre d'Algérie	[Unknown]	Édition Golias	2003
Ilare, Daniel	Narrations et Méditations Poétiques d'un Appelé en Algérie de 1958 à 1960	Paris	Éditions des Écrivains	2003
Lambert, Serge	Piton 1064 : Un sous-lieutenant appelé en Algérie, 1960-1962	Lyon	Éditions Bellier	2003
Aurières, Claude	37 ans de réflexions, la guerre : Témoignage d'un appelé en Algérie, 1958-1959	Paris	Claude Aurières	2004
Bail, René & Muelle, Raymond	Appelés en Algérie	Paris	Trésor du patrimoine	2004
Fortu, Paul	Un enseignant en Kabylie	Paris	Éditions L'Harmattan	2004
Maignen, Etienne	Treillis au djebel - Les Piliers de Tiahmaïne	Saint uUliac	éd. Yellow Concept	2004
Duranteau, Claude	Au royaume des enfants de Tagdoura : Carnet et photos d'un instituteur vendéen appelé en Algérie (1958-1959)	La Roche-sur-Yon	Centre Vendéen de Recherches Historiques	2005
Guyotat, Pierre	Carnets de bord : Volume 1, 1962 - 1969	Paris	Lignes-Manifeste	2005
Bigéard, Marcel	Adieu ma France	Paris	Rocher	2006
Froidure, Michel	Où était Dieu? : Lettres de révolte et d'indignation d'un appelé en Algérie (1956-1958)	Paris	Mettis	2006
Grouille, Dominique	Séjour en Algérie : histoire d'un appelé pendant la guerre d'Algérie	Neuvic-Entier	Édition de la Veytizou	2006
Bail, René	DBFM Demi-Brigade des Fusiliers-Marins	Rennes	Marines Éditions	2007
Garanger, Marc & Cypel, Sylvain	Marc Garanger, Retour en Algérie	Biarritz	Atlanica	2007
Gardel, Louis	La baie d'Alger	Paris	Éditions du Seuil	2007
Bail, René	Algérie : Les combattants des djebels	Rennes	Marines Éditions	2008
Bail, René & Garidel, Gilles	Algérie : Nos vingt ans	Rennes	Marines Éditions	2008
Brana, Pierre	Mémoires d'un appelé en Algérie	Bordeaux	Éditions Sud Ouest	2008
Delval, Jacques	Déliverance !	Nantes	Gulf Stream Editeur	2008
Froidure, Michel	Viellir avec la Bible : Quarant-cinq ans de vérification évangélique	Paris	Cerf	2008
Gouiran, Mauriec	Les Vrais Durs Meurent Aussi	Paris	Éditions Jigal	2008
Martel, Jean-Pierre	La section : journal d'un appelé en Algérie, 1959-1961	[Unknown]	Les Éditions de Paris-Max Chaleil	2009
Mauvignier, Laurent	Des Hommes	Paris	Minuit	2009

FILMS

Title	Director	Distributor	Year
58 2/B	Guy Chalon	Group Jean Vico	1959
Secteur Postal 89 098	Philippe Durand	[Unknown]	1959
Cléo de 5 à 7	Agnès Varda	Georges de Beauregard	1961
Demain l'amour	Paul Carpita	Film et Son	1962
Le Petit Soldat	Jean-Luc Godard	Georges de Beauregard	1963
Muriel, ou le temps d'un retour	Alain Resnais	Argos Films	1963
Tu ne tuera point (L'objecteur)	Claude Autan-Lara	Claude Autan-Lara	1963
La Belle Vie	Robert Enrico	SODIREG	1964
Les Parapluies de Cherbourg	Jacques Demy	[Unknown]	1964
Lost Command	Mark Robson	Red Lion	1966
Adieu l'Ami	Jean Herman	Greenwich Village	1968
Le Pistonné	Claude Berri	[Unknown]	1970
Avoir Vingt Ans Dans Les Aurès	René Vautier	UPCB	1972
La Guerre d'Algérie	Yves Courrière and P. Monnier	Reggane Films	1972
Français si vous saviez	André Harris, Alain de Séduy	Vincent Malle	1972
RAS	Yves Boisset	Transinter / Tana	1973
Le Crabe Tambour	Pierre Schoendoerffer	Georges de Beauregard	1977
L'arme au bleu	Maurice Frydland	[Unknown]	1981
L'honneur d'un capitaine	Pierre Schoendoerffer	TF1	1982
Demain il fera beau	Guy Mousset	INA	1983
Souvenirs, Souvenirs	Ariel Zeitoun	Canal +	1984
Cher Frangin	Gérard Mordillat	Stéphan Films	1988
La Guerre Sans Nom	Bertrand Tavernier	Canal +	1991
C'était la guerre	Maurice Failevic et Ahmed Rachedi	FR2	1993
Des Feux Mals Étients	Serge Moati	FR2	1994
Les Roseaux sauvages	André Téchiné	Alain Sarde	1994
Le Fusil de bois	Pierre Delerive	Alizés Films	1995
L'Adieu	François Luciani	TV5	2003
La Trahison	Philippe Faucon	Kinok Films	2005
Michou d'Auber	Thomas Gilou	Europa Corp.	2007
L'ennemi Intime	Florent-Emilio Siri	6M Video	2007
Djinns	Hugues and Sandra Martin	Delante Films	2010