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The Movements of Resistance in the Region of Gourara (1893-1962)

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Master Degree in Literature & Civilization

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Abstract

The main purpose of this study is representing the movements of resistance that took place in the region of Gourara (1893-1962), by covering the three different forms of resistance (religious, armed and political) which occurred in the area during the Popular Resistance and the Liberation Revolution. In order to provide a historical research work about Gourara in English, I will try to translate French and Arabic sources to English.

Keywords: movements of resistance, battles, uprisings, mujahideen, martyrs, Gourara, colonization, French authorities, Sahara, Southwest.

Le but principal de cette étude est de représenter les mouvements de résistance qui se sont déroulés dans la région de Gourara (1893-1962), en couvrant les trois différentes formes de résistance (religieuse, armée et politique) qui se sont produites dans la région pendant la résistance populaire. et la révolution de libération. Afin de fournir un travail de recherche historique sur Gourara en anglais, je vais essayer de traduire les sources françaises et arabes en anglais.

الغرض الرئيسي من هذه الدراسة هو تمثيل حركات المقاومة التي حدثت في منطقة قورارة (1893-1962) ، من خلال تغطية ثلاثة أشكال مختلفة من المقاومة (الدينية ، المسلحة والسياسية) التي حدثت في المنطقة خلال المقاومة الشعبية وثورة التحرير. من أجل تقديم بحث تاريخي حول إقليم قورارة باللغة الإنجليزية ، سأحاول ترجمة المصادر الفرنسية والعربية.

Dedication

I dedicate this work to my Family; both Zita and Temmam, for being next to me all the way. For supporting, trusting and believing in me.

I dedicate it to my grandfather’s soul; the Martyr Zita Miloud; who was one of the greatest martyrs of the area who truly taught us the sincere meaning of being nationalist.

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First of all, I would like to thank my father; my soulmate; Zita Hadj Abdelkader, for being the greatest father and man I have ever known. Thank you; for supporting me and believing in me, that's what brought me here today. I also, and endlessly, thank my amazing mother; Temmam Khadidja for being my best supporter ever.

I love you endlessly, and I hope I have made you proud of.

I deeply thank my second mother; Temmam Fatiha for being comprehensive and supportive. Thank you mother; for believing in me.

I would especially thank my supervisor Dr. Abbou Tahar, for guiding, instructing and helping me in every step. I would like to thank him for being patient with me as well.

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Glory to our martyrs!

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General Introduction

Algeria resisted French colonialism in different forms of resistance for more than 130 years. However, resistance started earlier in the North, while in the South, it started till 1893.

While doing some extensive studies and research about the history of the South of Algeria; specifically the region of Gourara during French colonialism, it can be noticed that historical books, documented papers and articles are in French and Arabic only. Naming a few of Arabic and French books and articles, we can highlight the book of *Le Gourara* by Mouloud Maamri and others. As for Arabic books we can mention the book of توسع الاستعمار الفرنسي في الجنوب الجزائري 1881-1912, by Ibrahim Miassi and the book of التوسع الفرنسي في الجنوب الغربي الجزائري by Mohammed Elamine Belghit. As for local authors, we highlight the book of السجل التاريخي لشهداء الثورة التحريرية لولاية أدرار 1954-1962 by Belbachir Ammoura.

Resistance took different forms in the region of Gourara. It started in its religious form in 1893, than in 1900, armed resistance took place, and it was until 1945, when political resistance occurred.

In order to provide a historical research work about Gourara in English, I will try to translate French and Arabic sources to English. This research work will discuss the movements of resistance in Gourara 1893-1962).

1. Chapter One: The Movements of Resistance in Gourara 1893-1954:

1.1. Historical Background:

Gourara is situated in the South of Algeria, known by its many villages. Timimoun; the Red Oasis is considered as the Capital of the region. The region of Gourara is an inseparable part from Touat[1].

When French colonialists occupied Algeria, they started by gathering information about the North. A significant effort was done concerning the Sahara as well. Apparently, primary works that were produced were results of conversations that were done by French soldiers with Saharan people who were -at least- acquainted and familiar with southern areas.[2]

Works set about Gourara were not considerable. In 1860, De Colomb wrote a dissertation about the oasis of the Sahara and roads leading to it. At that time, the area was under an exploratory phase by French Officers. Those soldiers; and after occupying North of Algeria and getting into battles against the union of Aoulad Sid Cheikh in Ksor Mountains, looked forward to expand over the Saharan Atlantic South.

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[1] Touat is an oasis group, west-central Algeria, situated along the Wadi Messaoud (called Wadi Saoura farther north). Touat proper extends about 75 miles (120 km) along the wadi, from the Gourara oasis group on the north to the Tidikelt oasis group on the south and east. It includes the settlements of Adrar, Fenoughil, Zaouiet Kounta, and Reggane. Adrar is the largest oasis and chief settlement.

[2] رشيد بليل، قصور قورارا و أولياؤها الصالحون في المأثور الشفاهي و المناقب و الأخبار المحلية. المصادر الأجنبة. الجزائر: CNRPAH, 2008. ص12.

For example, the story that was told by Lieutenant Colonieu[1] about his trip to Gourara and to Aougrout[2] was back to 1860. Yet it was not published until 1892.[3]

On the other hand, Colonna; in her book *Timimoun a Culture* described the territory by saying that Timimoun is the largest palm grove of the Algerian Sahara. It is an old centre of the fortified Ksor. It is located between the plateau of Tadmait and the great western Erg. Timimoun has a huge geological and human history that weighed the side and left it fingerprinted by monuments, status and living forms of social order. It had been a market through the desert since the 15th century. Timimoun had grown a diverse culture that can be witnessed today through its architectural engineering, poetry and multi-echoed music.[4]

According to the historians, the area's architecture goes back to pre-Islam which was called The Tribal Desert, along with the other areas of Touat.

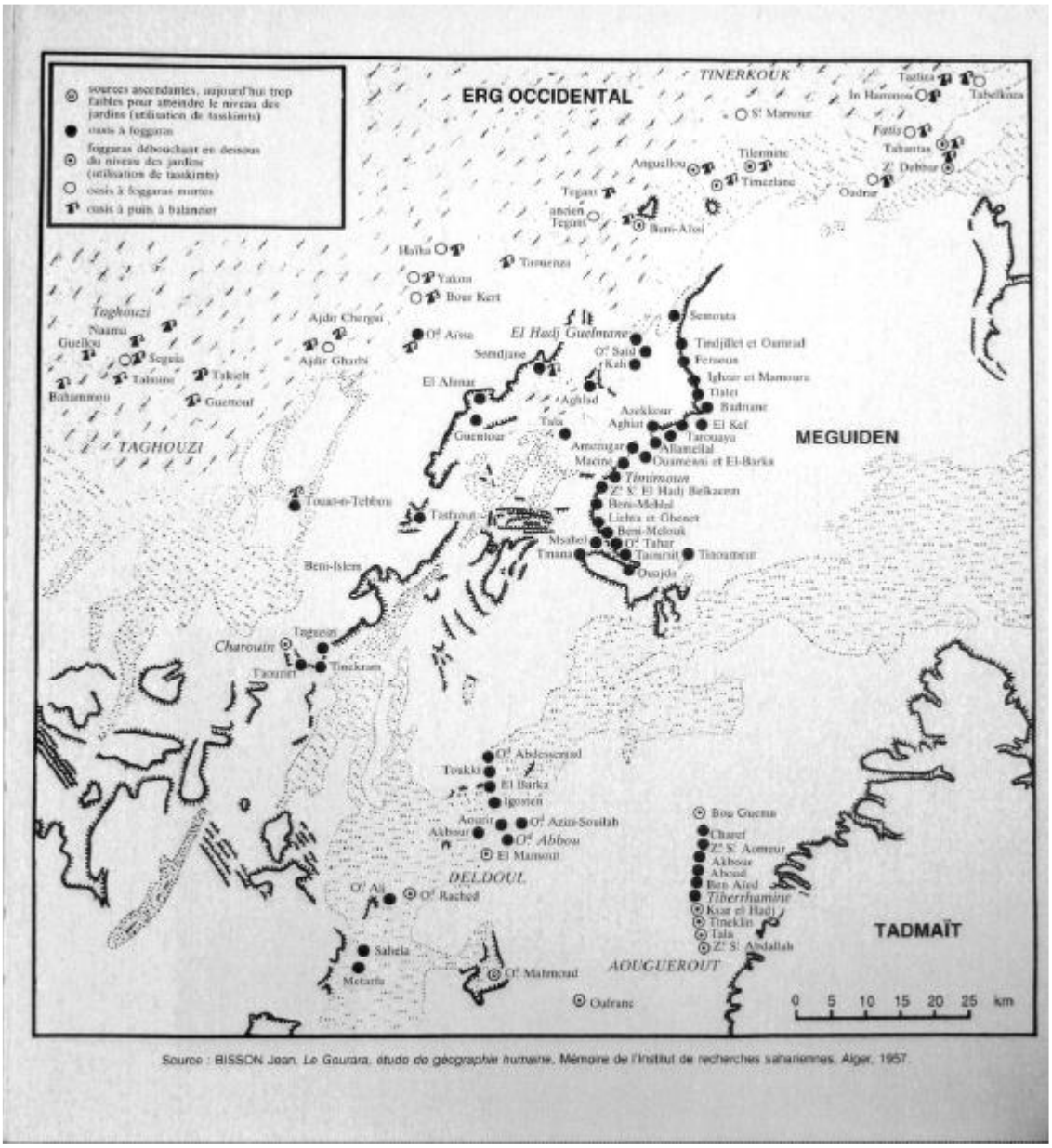
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[1] "General Colonieu, who has just died, was one of our most distinguished soldiers in Africa, born at Orange in 1826, a pupil of the Ecole Polytechnique, and sent to Algeria in 1847." He retired to a native position to learn Arabic and, having gone from genius to infantry, he became captain of one of the first skirmisher companies, after which he was head of an Arab bureau and took part in the Kabylie expedition. He was chief of the battalion when he was commissioned, in 1860, with the commander Burin du Buisson, to go and recognize the oases of the Far-South, he crossed the Gourara and a part of the Touat where, one of the first French, he was able to penetrate and where he nearly perished During the war of 1870, Colonel, then lieutenant-colonel, attended the battle of Reischoffen where he distinguished himself by his bravery.He remained on the battlefield despite a first wound , making the shot like a mere trooper, but a burst of The shell knocked him out of action, and was found in besieged Paris. Colonel after the war, he returned to Mostaganem. He passed general in 1879 and, in 1881, he was charged with repressing the insurrection of Bou Amama to which he cleverly put an end. He passed a divisional in 1887, commanded at Vannes, and when he was reached by the age limit, he returned to settle in Mostaganem, where he died on 17 September."

[2] Aougrout District is a district of Adrar Province, Algeria. The district is further divided into 3 communes: Aougrout, Deldoul, Metarfa.

[3] Ibid, 12 ص.

[4] Fanny Colonna, TIMIMOUN Une Civilisation Citadine (Liège : Les presses De L'Imprimerie Solédie, 1989), P NF.



Source : BISSON Jean, *Le Gourara, étude de géographie humaine*, Mémoire de l'Institut de recherches sahariennes, Alger, 1957.

Figure 1 – Map showing the extension of the region of Gourara.[1]

[1]Ibid, P NF.

The region of Gourara witnessed a cultural and intellectual activity during French colonization. Gourara's most important milestones are the Zaouaya[1], Quranic schools and their leaders. According to official statistics, the region had more than twenty-one Zaouia[2]; including Zaouiat Sidi Elhadj Belkacem, Zaouiat Sidi Elhadj Abou Ahmed Eldjazouli, Zaouiat Badriane and others…. As for the Quranic schools that continued their educational and cultural activity, included: the school of Sidi Boughrara that was established by Cheikh Sidi Mohammed Belkbir[3] in 1948, the school of Beni Mahlal that was established by Cheikh Mohammed Bekari in 1977, and others of schools. None of the Ksor[4] was free of -at least- one school that teaches the Quran, the origins of religion, Sunnah and Islamic poetry and other activities.

Nowadays, the region comprises of a number of Zaouaya, which had emerged since the colonial period.

[1] Zaouaya is the plural of Zaouia.
[2] Zaouia is a religious and academic institution that can accommodate students and travelers.
[3] He was one of the most prominent scientists in the region of Touat. He was nationally and internationally known and famous. He was born in 1911, in Laghmara village, Bouda, that is about 20 Km far from Adrar. He contributed with his famous Zaouia in keeping and protecting the Islamic and national identity of the Algerian community. He resisted the colonial distortion and intellectual invasion, inspite of the threatening of the French colonial authorities against his religious school in the beginning of the fifties. He died in November 15th, 2000.
[4] Ksor is the plural of Ksar.



Figure 2 - Map showing the situation of the Gourara in relation to the Saharan ensemble before the colonial penetration.[1]

[1] Mouloud Mammeri et al., *Le Gourara: Eléments D'Etude Anthropologique*. (Alger : Mémoire de l'institut de recherches sahariennes, 1957), P NF.

1.2. Exploratory Expeditions to the Region:

During 1857, the first exploratory mission to Gourara took place. The expedition was led by two officers; Borin and Colonien. That mission was to map the region.

During November, 1860, the second expedition happened. The mission was led by Pioneer Colonien and Lieutenant Borin who were related to El-Bayadh[1]. The two French officers coordinated their mission with one of the commercial caravans that used to travel from Saida[2] to El-Bayadh and exchange goods with the other caravans in Labyadh Sid Cheikh. The caravan went southward accompanied with French officers which caused a kind of discontent and grumbling between the citizens they passed by. When the caravan entered Timimoun; the commercial market of the region of Gourara, the people of El-Gasba[3] refused to open the city gates for the French officers. They eventually obliged them to leave Timimoun to Taoursit[4] then towards Timmi[5] and Touat.

[1] El-Bayadh is a province (wilaya) in Algeria, named after its capital El Bayadh. The province is divided into 8 districts, which are further divided into 22 communes or municipalities.
[2] Saida is a province (wilaya) of Algeria, named after its capital. The province is divided into 6 districts (daïras), which are further divided into 16 communes or municipalities.
[3] ElGasba is a small village situated about 10 km east Timimoun. It belongs to the region of Gourara.
[4] Taoursit is one of the 32 localities of the commune of Timimoun.
[5] Ouled Ahmed Timmi is a commune in Adrar District, Adrar Province, in south-central Algeria. The commune covers a series of populated oases in the northern part of the Tuat region to the immediate west and south of Adrar.

Moreover, a number of expeditions took place between 1886 and 1900. Some of these missions went along with military campaigns like the mission of Ghendror to Tabelkouza[1], Gourara in 1896.[2]

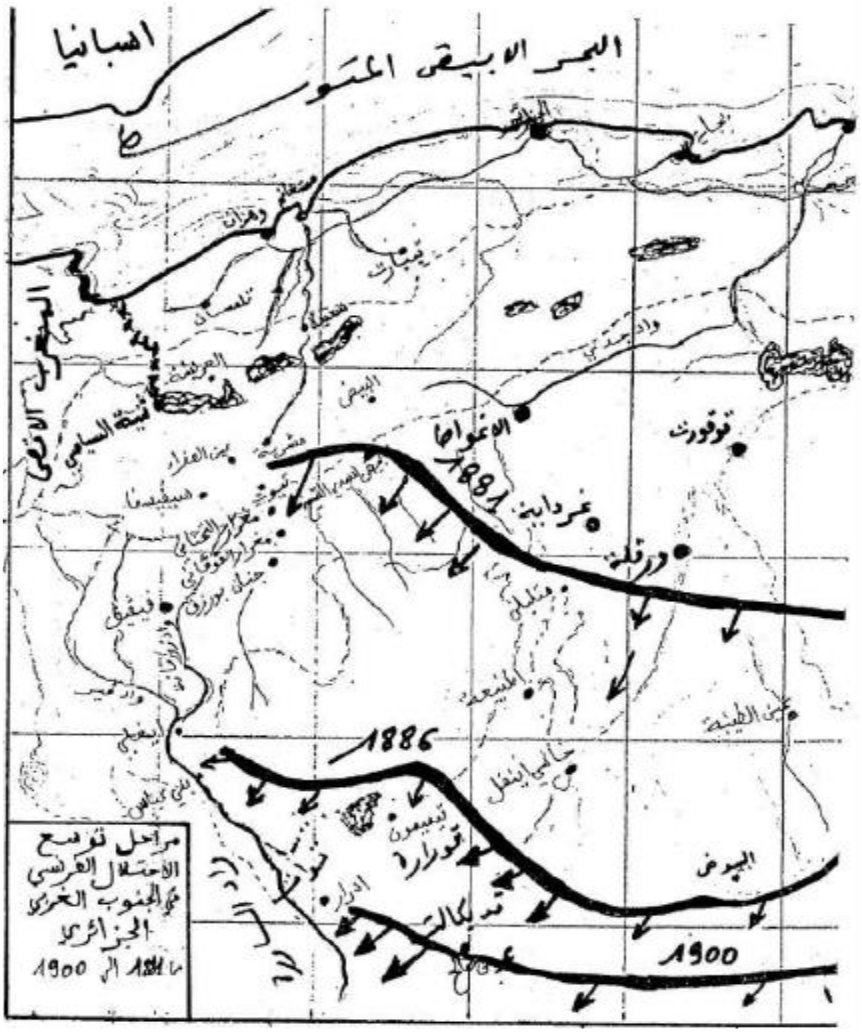


Figure 3 – Map showing the steps of the French expansion in the Algerian southwest (1881-1900)[3]

[1] Tabelkouza is a small village situated in Tinerkouk.

[2] - إبراهيم مياسي، توسع الاستعمار الفرنسي في الجنوب الجزائري 1881-1912، منشورات المتحف الوطني للمجاهد، الجزائر، بدون طبعة، 1996.

[3] Ibid, P NF.

The exploratory expeditions were successfully beneficial for France's colonial project. They enabled the colonial powers to discover and get to know the real nature of the region. Fortresses and centres played a role in ensuring the safety of the military campaigns.

Consequently, Laffriere[1] became General of Algiers. In 1898, France began occupying the region of Gourara.

1.3. Popular Resistance in Gourara (1893-1954):

Resistance is a military or political reaction against foreign colonial intervention. Organized resistance is based on planning, organization and good preparation, while political resistance is based on consultation. This resistance does not use violence in expression but rather seeks to organize demonstrations, manifestations, protest movements, civil disobedience or to submit political demands.

Popular resistance is a political popular movement that has roles, principles and many forms like political, religious, armed resistance… The reaction of Algerians against this occupation led to colonization.

Apparently, and unlike the Northern part of Algeria, popular resistance; in its armed form did not start in the region of Gourara untill 1900. Before this period, there

[1] Edward Lafferriere was assigned as a general governor from 1898 till October 1900.

were exploratory expeditions of the region. However, it did take another form which is religious form.

1.3.1. Religious Resistance:

French authorities realized that the Islamic religion was the main powerful motive that stimulated the Algerian people to defend their land and sacred properties, under the name of Jihad[1].

The sincere adhering of Algerians to their religion was the thing that hardened the mission of eliminating Algerian resistance, and also the thing that led them to seek for another means that could help them get through these difficulties. So, what were the most important steps followed by France to achieve that? And to what extent did France succeed in making people abandon their case?

Léon Roches[2] was guilefully able to issue a –contradictory- Fatwa[3] from the Muslim Scholars. This fake Fatwa called to not hold the arms and weapons and to not resist the French enemy. Furthermore, the second model was also a Fatwa that went

[1] "There are different interpretations of jihad among Islamic scholars. Some scholars are in support of violence to establish a religious rule and state based on Sharia, whereas some are against the violent interpretation of jihad. The definition of jihad varies in different Muslim traditions and schools, i.e. Ahmadiya, Qur'anic, Sufic etc. Here the most appropriate definition of jihad comes from Sufism. The Sufic view classifies "Jihad" into two parts: the "Greater Jihad" and the "Lesser Jihad". Muhammad puts the emphasis on the "Greater Jihad" by saying, "Holy is the warrior who is at war with himself"." (Singh, 5)

[2] Léon Roches was a spy and the person in charge of the project of the annulment of the Fatwa of the duty of Jihad of Algeria's scholars.

[3] Fatwa, in Islam, is a formal ruling or interpretation on a point of Islamic law given by a qualified legal scholar (known as a mufti). Fatwas are usually issued in response to questions from individuals or Islamic courts. Though considered authoritative, fatwas are generally not treated as binding judgments; a requester who finds a fatwa unconvincing is permitted to seek another opinion.

back to 1893. This Fatwa was known by the Fatwa of the people of Gourara. It caused disagreements and conflicts concerning resisting and fighting back the French expansion in the Algerian Sahara.

In order to stifle the movement of resistance in Algeria; specifically the northern part, and to assign proponents in the Algerian Sahara, the colonial authorities practiced horribly violent means of threat and intimidation on Saharan tribes. Moreover, France took advantage of differences between the view of Sufi methods about the French colonialism, and tribal and family affiliations. As a matter of fact, the practices aimed to set up a peaceful phase in Algerian western South, and to full-time implementation for many of France's expansion projects; in Senegal, Mali, Ivory Coast, Congo and Guinea. This document (Fatwa text) came under difficult circumstances which France used to pass through. Some of these circumstances were:

-Revolt expansion of Cheikh Bouamama[1] 1881-1908.

[1] Cheikh Sidi Bouamama Ben Larbi Ben Cheikh Ben Lhorma. His descent goes back to Tadj Ben ABdelkader Ben Mohammed. He was born in 1843, in Beni Ouennif. He studied the Quran in Maghrar, and adopted the method of Cheikh Sidi Abdelkader Ben Mohammed Ben Abderrahmane. His family; that belonged to Bakri's knew a wide holiness and nobility. Many factors contributed in building and developing his character. He had taken many responsibilities that qualified him to tolerate the leading role in the Jihadi movement. He became an elder Cheikh for the Cheikhi method. He stood as a stumbling block in front of the colonial extension and the French exploratory expeditions to the south. He had been supported by all the tribes in the Jihadi movement (the Chaanba, Laamour, Hamyane, Doui Mnii', Aoulad Jrir and people of the Oranian south). Two of the most famous battles he had led were the battle of Mlaq and the battle of Tazina in May 15th, 1881. After his debacle in 1882, Bouamama went to the oasis of Daldoul in Gourara and settled there. Gourara's area was considered as one of the most important oasis that favored and advocated Aoulad Sid Cheikh. He established a Zaouia there; more precisely in Aoulad Abbou inciting and rousing people to Jihad. Subsequently, delegations from the various Gourarian and Touatian districts came to give pledge of allegiance to him. They supported him on Jihad by offering him men and money. Cheikh Bouamama died in 1908, near Oyoun Sidi Mlouk in Ouedjda, Morocco.

-Ambition and Jihad of Cheikh Omar Elfouti[1]; who aimed to establish an Islamic nation in African Sahara.

One of the elders of the Muslim Scholars in western south tried to send a set of juristic queries to Islamic Scholars in Mecca. These questions were sent in order to know the consideration of the Mohammedan Sharia concerning what should be done if the Muslims were able to fight back the enemy. Another questioning was about the possibility to stay under the control of the enemy if this latter did not attack Muslims' cult and belief. Meanwhile, General Resident Jaul Campon was able to issue a Fatwa during Hajj season in 1893. He assigned one of the Algerian pilgrims; provided by gifts and presents to contact the Sunni elders in Mecca to obtain a Fatwa about emigration. According to Roche, Jaul Campon followed General Pugeau's method when he issued the earlier mentioned Fatwa. The General Resident's purpose was to expand the influence of France in Touat's oasis and to confront the movement of emigration that started to appear in various areas in the north.

Before ending this part, it is preferable to point out some notes regarding this Fatwa in the following points:

-The Fatwa came to serve the colonial interests in the area.

[1] Omar Ben Said Ben Othman Ben Mokhtar Elfouti Elkadoui is one of the famous leaders of Jihadi movements in West Africa. He was born in 1797, in Senegal. His method had many followers in Gourara. It also had a number of schools and Zaouaya. He had a book named Errimah, which includes the basics of his method. When he settled in Fouta-Djallon, he established a sprawling Islamic country, led by Islamic law and its mother language was Arabic.

-What can be noticed also was that the Fatwa was limited on a fixed number of muftis who could have been affiliated to France. In addition, the Fatwa's context was contradicted to the answer of Cheikh Tassouli Abdelkader in 1836. This latter encouraged them to Jihad and to fight the disbeliever enemy rather than giving up.

-The Fatwa focused on the importance of giving up to the reality, without taking into consideration the circumstances and situation of Algeria. Even the people who delivered this Fatwa were deeply away of what was really happening in Algeria.

-Ambiguity through its meanings and lack of citing from the Quran and Sunnah; being the main sources concerning these issues.

-Accordingly, it expanded not only in the Algerian Sahara, but through the whole west in 1912, and that was the last episode of the French expansion in North Africa.[1]

[1] Maria Mokhtari, " نص الفتوى قورارة التى زورتها المخابرات الفرنسية يوم 22 جوان 1893 / إقامة النظام الفرنسي و الحضارة في الشمال الغرب", *Over Blog*, November 05th, 2009, http://mokhtari.over-blog.org/article-22-1893-38846275.html.

1.3.2. Armed Reistance:



Figure 10 – Map showing the region of the southwest of Algeria that been attacked by the French occupation (1900-1912)[1]

1.3.2.1. Main Battles in Gourara:[2]

Approximately, about fifteen battles took place in Gourara resisting French colonialism. However, only seven of them will be discussed.

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[1] إبراهيم مياسي، توسع الاستعمار الفرنسي في الجنوب الغربي الجزائري (1881-1912) , رويبة,ANEP , 1996.

[2] Ibid, P 114-117.

Beginning with battle of Timimoun (April 27th, 1900), French advance started from North-East, specifically from El Golea[1]. Although it prepared about eight-hundred soldiers led by Colonel Menestrel[2] equipped with two cannons, this power could not enter the area. The French army faced the resistance of the Ksor people that disabled its move and eventually, the colonial power had to ask for a backup power of 400 soldiers from El-Bayadh. The backup power helped entering Timimoun on May 12th, 1900.

In the battle of Metarfa[3] (August 30th, 1900), the tribes of the Qsar of Metarfa[4] refused to give up to the enemy who was able to captivate the leader of Aoulad Rached tribe, which led to a conflict between the two sides in a big battle among the Ksar[5]. Meanwhile, the enemy retreated to the Ksar of Daldoul[6] waiting for more support.

On September 05th, the cannon arrived led by Pein[7] and Falconet[1] and the battle continued. More mujahedeen joined from the tribes of Chaaneba and Ghanaema of the

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[1] El Golea (Arabic: القلعة) is an oasis town and commune, and capital of El Ménia District, in Ghardaïa Province, Algeria. The official name is El Ménia (Arabic: المنيعة); together in Arabic, the two names mean Impregnable Castle.

[2] He was a Lieutenant-Colonel; leader of the French legion in Elgolea to occupy Gourara.

[3] Metarfa (Arabic: المطارفة) is a town and commune in Aougrout District, Adrar Province, in south-central Algeria.

[4] It is one of the municipalities of the wilaya of Adrar. It includes 6 Ksor; Metarfa, Oufrane, Aoulad Rached, Aoulad Ali, Sahla and Aoulad Mahmoud. It was named Metarfa due to its proximity to Metraf Mountain. According to Ben Khaldoun's tale, the first who settled in it were Metraf. Its name can be related to the tribe of Beni Metraf who came from Tlemcen and settled there. It belonged to the region of Gourara and far of the state of Adrar about 90 Km. It had a population of about 8056 people. It has an area of about 1419 Km²

[5] Ksar is a fortified village of pre-Saharan North Africa, along the wadis, at the mouth of the mountain streams.

[6] Daldoul is a commune in Aougrout District, Adrar Province, in south-central Algeria. It is centered on a set of oases in the south-central Gourara region, southwest of Timimoun, southeast of Charouine, west of Aougrout and northeast of Metarfa.

[7] Louis Théodore Pein was born in 1867. He was first assigned in the Arab offices in Algeria in 1892. In 1907-1908, he became the leader of the mobile group in Berguent. Convinced with utility of new

territory. Due to their hiding beyond the sand dunes, the artillery of the enemy was disabled which caused terrible losses for the French army. Ultimately, the legend of "The French Artillery" fell apart.

After that, battle of Charouine[2] (February 28th, 1901) occurred. The battle of Metarfa had negative repercussions on the French army. It agitated General Commander of Algiers and so he obliged General Servière[3] to lead a legion himself in order to survey Touat area and surround it on February 20th, 1901. Yet the revolutionaries (the tribes of Al-Chaaneba, Al-Ghanaema, Al-Khnafessa and Al-Mharza) attacked the military attaché of Timimoun. And so, General Servière sent Colonel Pein in a scouting patrol. When Colonel Pein arrived to Charouine, exactly to the valley known of Dayat Al-Mudjahid, he was surprised by the rebels who were hiding beyond the sand dunes. By next dawn, the rebels split into two groups; the first one towards Ain-Tabbou, and the other towards Ksabi. A battle took place which obliged the French army to withdraw leaving human and material losses, including the death of Officer Ramélon and Mohammad Ben Taib; the deputy and representative of the "Tareeqa Al-Qaderea" in Ouergla. He was leading the Arabic legion.

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techniques, he organized an exploration to Sahara on motorcycle, with agreement of Flamond and Nieger, but it failed. The Flamond-Pein mission was from 1898 till 1902. He died in Arois in 1915.

[1] He was a military Captain who was assigned by the French colonial authorities on Timimoun.

[2] Charouine (Arabic: شروين) is a town and commune, and capital of Charouine District, in Adrar Province, south-central Algeria.

[3] He was leader of the military division of Algeria. He was also General Governor of Tedekelt, Touat and Gourara.

Later on, the uprising of Ksar Talmine (May 07th, 1901) took place. It was a starting flame for the battle of Talmine. Mohammed Ben AbdAllah fought bravely along with his mates, till 8 of them were captivated and martyred. The enemy then was able to take over the area of Gourara.

The battle of Talmine[1] started on May 08th, 1901 which made it easier for the enemy to expand and takeover the territory of Gourara.

Resistance in the region of Touat did not stop despite the imbalance between the valiant resistance and the superior field enemy.

The beginning of the 20th century, the French were able to occupy Ain Salah[2], Tidikelt[3] and Gourara oases, Touat, Timimoun, Charouine and Talmine from 1900 untill 1903, except that, guerillas and ambushes continued, and the revolution kept moving from Touat towards the Hoggar[4] and Béchar[5].

[1] Talmine is one of the municipalities of the state of Adrar. It includes 16 Ksar. It is related to Charouine. It also belongs to Gourara's region. Its population is about 13000 people. Its area is about 2900 Km².

[2] In Salah or Ain Salah (Arabic: عين صالح) is an oasis town in central Algeria. It was once an important trade link of the trans-Saharan caravan route.

[3] Tidikelt oases group, located in the amazing Great Western Sand Sea (in French: Grand Erg Occidental), have a lot of analogies with the Touat and Gourara group of oases. It contains the oases which are located in the wilaya of Oasis, south of the Plateau du Tademai't. Their palm fields are distributed in 28 oases and irrigated by the foggaras system. The main oases are Aoulef (that contains some settlements as Ouamanat, Takaraft, Djedid, Zaouit Heinoume or "La palmeraie de Tit", 45 km to the east).

[4] The Hoggar Mountains (Arabic: جبال هقار, Berber: idurar n Ahaggar, Tuareg: Idurar Uhaggar), are a highland region in the central Sahara, southern Algeria, along the Tropic of Cancer. The mountains cover an area of approximately 550,000 square km (212,000 square miles).

[5] Béchar (Arabic: بشار) is the capital city of Béchar Province, Algeria. It is also a commune, coextensive with Béchar District, of Béchar Province.

A year later, the battle of Koudia (December 1902) took place. This battle was led by Cheikh Ben Deradji. It was one of the battles that represented the population mobility and their refusal to French presence, which meant that the situation in the region of Gourara was never stable for the colonial leaders.

Later on, the battle of Hassi Ghzal[1] (August, 1903) occurred. The resistance in the region of Gourara did not stop despite the unstable situation between the brave resistance and the enemy's field superiority. Two years after the battle of Talmine, the confrontation was renewed and therefore, a battle in Hassi Ghzal was declared. Two big battles took place in which the colonial powers lost twenty-eight soldiers who were transported to Adrar where they were buried in the first cemetery for Christians in that city.

1.3.3. Political Resistance:[2]

In 1946, the representation of the national parties took place in Adrar and Timimoun. In addition, all of the three regions of Adrar province; Gourara, Touat and Tidikelt were allowed to engage in the national political life. Subsequently, the electoral stations represented a wide range of an unusual national activity in the area. Hence the party of "Harakat Intissar Alhoriyat Adimokratiya"[3] decided to assign a representative

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[1] Ghzal is a Ksar in Timimoun. Hassi Ghzal is a well located in that Ksar.

[2] الشيخ مولاي التهامي بن سيدي محمد غيتاوي، *الفتح الميمون في تاريخ جورارة و علماء تيميمون إقليم توات ـولاية ادرار*، منشورات العالمية للطباعة و الخدمات، الحراش، الجزائر، 2013 ص 277.

[3] Masali returned from his exile in Congo, Barzafil, and entered Algeria and presented his list to participate in the elections of the French National Council in 1946, but he was refused on the grounds

in Timimoun. Thus the regional officials of Béchar were responsible for this mission. Simultaneously, militant Bagui Abdelhafid went to Adrar and contacted a number of moujahideen to whom he assigned the mission of setting up an office for the party in Adrar and Timimoun. After many coordination meetings, the Movement bureau was formed and it included the followung members: Bouzid Cheikh/ Vice-president, Moulay Abdesslam/ Financial Official, Elhadj Touhami, Kada Moulay, Larbi Belkadi and Kalloum Cheikh/ Members

The bureau was located next to Abdelkader Djilani's Mosque. The party was encouraged and supported by the citizens and especially the merchants and the revolutionary youth. Therefore, "Hizb Chaa'b"[1] also covered the Ksor and oasis and a bureau was established for it in Timimoun. The Bureau of "Hizb Chaa'b" was headed by the experienced militant Allal Bitour. The party has a wide activity and a remarkable effect on spreading the liberationist ideas.

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that the People's Party had dissolved in 1939. In November 1946 he founded the "Movement for the Victory of Democratic Freedoms" as a cover for the People's Party. Despite electoral rigging, it has five seats.

[1] The Algerian People's Party is an extension of the North African star dissolved by the PFLP on 26 January 1937 for its independent ideas and its refusal to participate in the Spanish Civil War alongside the Republicans. It was founded by Masali El Hajj on March 11, 1937 in the French city of Nantar. And it remained true to the principles of the star of the abolition of the law of the Andijena and the demand for equal rights and the right of the Algerian people to self-determination through independence. It entered the arena of political struggle with an organized party and structure aimed at the independence of Algeria, and received a great welcome among the working class immigrant and home.

The party office recruited the people of the Ksor of Gourara and was able to recruit their leaders who joined the party ranks. Some of these leaders were: Leader of Lmharza, Leader of Lkhnafssa, Leader of Aougrout and Leader of Sbaa.

Furthermore, the party of "Alitihad Adimokrati Lilbayan Aldjazayri"[1] led by Farhat Abbas also charged a representative in Adrar and Timimoun. In the beginning, Akacem Abdelaziz was responsible for it, then in 1948, the party transformed to "Harakat Intissar Alhoriyat Adimoqratiya" believing in the liberationist ideas.

In addition, the Muslim Scholars Association had a political presentation in Gourara as well. This was due to the connections that were done by Abdelkader Bouhadda and Moulay Zaarour with the association members and the spread of the association's newspapers and its reformist ideas.

The legislative elections took place in the beginning of 1948. This fact motivated the nationalist movement and spirit and encouraged the combatants to double their activity, especially after that the constitution of 1947 allowed, for the first time, the participation of the Saharan areas in the legislative elections. The campaign was competitive and strong. Conversely, the French administration supported its candidates to strongly compete with Mr. Boualam Bagui. This latter activated the campaign by presenting and describing the ideas and the morals of his revolutionary party. He used to

[1] In 1946, following the general amnesty issued by the French Parliament, all political prisoners, including Masali El Hajj and Farhat Abbas, who was arrested during the events of May 08, 1945, participated without him. The latter founded the "Democratic Union of the Algerian Statement" And participated in the elections of 02 June 1946.

go secretly to Adrar and Timimoun and send his messengers to coordinate the work with the combatants of the area.

The French administration tried to block the activity of the national movement, by using force. It was mentioned that militant Kalloum Cheikh, as an example went to Ronzini[1] asking for permission to organize a gathering in city centre, yet he refused. Contrarily, the bureau decided to hold the gathering and give speeches because the activity was part of the campaign's program. The French administration obviously intervened to stop the gathering and arrest its officials. The French authorities used force against the revolutionary party in the area. Thus Lhadj Bakhedda AbdAllah, known as Boukricha was put in Adrar's prison along with Ben Bitour Lhadj Allal, Kada Moulay, Si Touhami Touhami and Kalloum Cheikh.

They were accused of hooliganism. People eventually gathered near the prison denunciating the colonial policy and chanting national anthems.

Timimoun also witnessed similar ambiences preparing for local elections. Allal Bitour, Abdelaziz Akacem and Si Touhami Touhami organized a great festival. They traveled to Tinerkouk, Daldoul and Charouine to motivate people and prepare them for the election. The reactions of the citizens on Election Day were strong against French oppression.

[1] He was the Governor of Adrar that time.

Despite the fact that many of the militants and officials of "Harakat Intissar"[1] members were arrested by the French administration to help its candidates winning the election, the real results were completely the opposite. Ultimately, Boualam Bagui won most votes in Adrar and Gourara. The French administration, as it was expected, intervened to counterfeit the elections, although the governor of Timimoun expressed France's tragedy about the citizens, thinking that they were extremely far away from being nationalists.

Accordingly, the national movement had honourable results since 1948 by penetrating this remote area and recruiting its citizens. The combatants of the area found an outlet of the political affairs to confirm their Algerian nationality, to assure their liberation independence and to confront French policy.

After a long period, the French administration felt that the pressure of the liberationist thoughts was getting wider in the very south. The French policy reached the point of counterfeiting the elections, harassing "Harakat Intissar" and judging its arrested representatives. Thus the national activity entered a secret phase and the control was tightened on Adrar and Timimoun.

In the case of Cheikh Ben Hdjira; one of the sons of Aougrout, he was a revolutionary against the French. He was chased by them yet he disappeared in a

[1] It is an abbreviation for "Harakat Intissar Alhoriyat Adimokratiya".

territory between Oued Souf[1] and Khenchla[2] to go to Tunisia then to Lybia. He was among the first militants who brought weapons to the Aures[3]. When the revolution was declared, he joined it there along with many other revolutionists, like Moustafa Ben Boulaid, Rabah Bitat, Ahmed Ben Bella, Ammar Ben Ouda and AbdAllah Ben Tobal.[4]

Finally, the first period of Gourara's resistance against French presence took three forms of resistance. It began with religious resistance in 1893, moving to armed resistance by 1900. By 1945, Gourara adopted political resistance.

[1] El Oued (Arabic: الوادي, Berber languages: Suf meaning the River), Souf or Oued Souf is a city, and the capital of El Oued Province, in Algeria. El Oued is located 400 miles (640 km) south east of Algiers (the capital city of Algeria), near the Tunisian border.

[2] Khenchela ancient Mascula (Berber: Xencelt or Maskult; Arabic: خنشلة) is the capital city of the administrative Khenchela Province (Wilaya), number 40, in the north east of Algeria. It is situated in the Aures Mountains, 1200 m above sea level. The city is mainly populated by Berber Chaouis.

[3] The Aures Mountains (Berber languages: □□□□□□ □ □□□□□, Latin: Aurasium,[1] Arabic: جِبَال الْأَوْرَاس, romanized: Jibāl al-Awrās) are an eastern prolongation of the Atlas Mountain System that lies to the east of the Saharan Atlas in northeastern Algeria, North Africa. The mountain range gives its name to the mountainous natural and historical region of the Aures.

[4] شهادة قلوم الشيخ ، وشهادة المجاهد مولاي سليمان برادعي جانفي 2001م و شهادته لمجلة غامبو العدد الأول صفحة 27جويلة /اوت 2004 و شهادة بومدين سلكة و شهادة بودواية بودواية المسجلة بتيميمون 23جوان 2004

2. Chapter Two: The Liberation Revolution and its Impact on Gourara 1954-1962

In this chapter, discuss is about the movements of resistance in the region of Gourara during the Liberation Revolution and the impact of the revolution on the area. The important changes will be mentioned.

2.1. The Important Battles in the Region:



Figure 11 – **Map showing the main locations of the battles of the Great Western Erg.**[1]

[1] ع. عبد الكريم، ملحمة معارك العرق الغربي الكبير، منتدى تاريخ الجزائر. 24/02/2013. https://www.kerzaz08.com/vb/showthread.php?t=7907.

2.1.1. The uprising of « Hassi-Saka » (October 15th, 1957):[1]

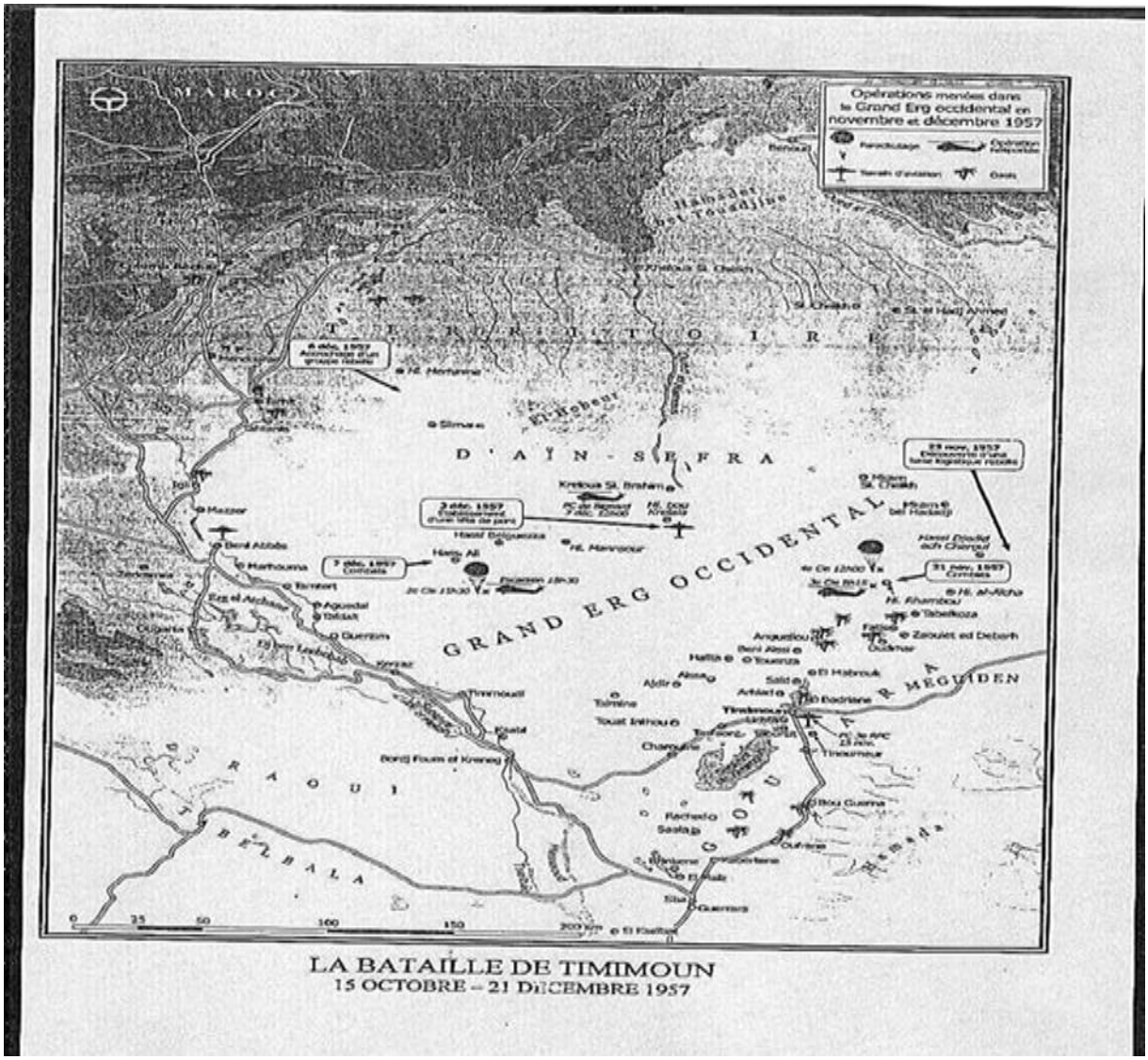


Figure 12 – Map showing the movement of the Uprising of Hassi Saka (called The Battle of Timimoun).

The area of Hassi[2]-Saka is located about 80 km North-East Timimoun facing the old road leading to El-Golea city. It overlooks the south bank of "The Great Erg", features the bushes of Zeita, Demran and Drin.

[1] - علي العياشي (معركة حاسي صاكة) مجلة أول نوفمبر، ع 77، ص 21، سنة 1986.

[2] - The word Hassi means a well. It is a source of groundwater.

Apparently, the intermediate water location enabled the colonial authorities to control any movements outside the main roads. This is one of the missions given to the Meharists' battalion of the Touat region which was considered as the Desert Police. This battalion included 5 platoons; one for leadership and was located in Adrar, the other one in Reggane[1], the third one in the city of Timimoun and the two others transported in 2 US-made Dodge trucks. The annual gathering of the battalion was held at Hassi-Saka. The occupier resorted to recruit local members who were experienced with the area, they had good abilities of tracing signs; meaning Al-Chaaneba, Al-Zwa and Awlad Sid Cheikh descendants of the descent free tribes known for bravery and leadership, they were the fighting tribes that supported the mujahid Bouamama at the end of the 19th century and migrated with him from their original home Metlili[2] and Labyadh Sidi Chikh to Touat.

A number of important actions helped in the awakening of these Algerian soldiers and pushed them to uprise on October 15th, 1957, and group-joined the Liberation Revolution, these actions comprised:

The Show Incident in Paris on July 14th, 1953. Shortly before that date, the colonial administration had already transferred a group of the Meharists' battalion

[1] Reggane (from Berber "Argan"; Arabic: رقان) is a town and commune, and the capital of Reggane District, in Adrar Province, central Algeria. Reggane lies in the Sahara Desert near an oasis.
[2] Metlili (Arabic: متليلي) (also known as Metlili) is a town and commune, and capital of Métlili District, in Ghardaïa Province, Algeria.

members to Paris for the purpose of making a movie and to present them on The French Independence Day. Among them was Si Alhachemy Amhammad who noticed that someone from the audience was throwing stones on the members of the battalion every time they passed during the show.

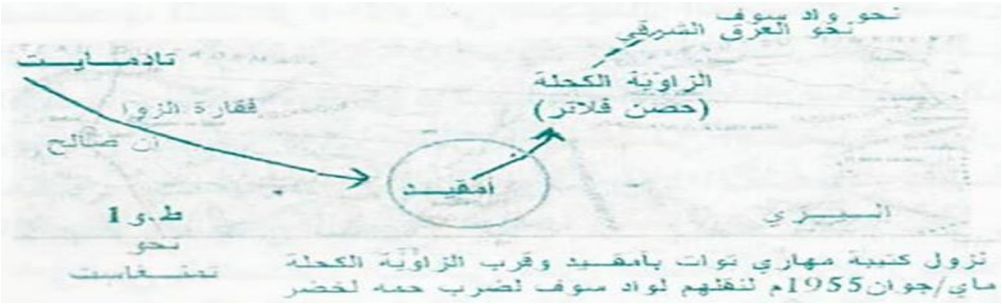


Figure 13 - Map showing the location and position of the Meharists of Touat.

Apparently, the activists of "Harakat Intissar" were doing it on purpose in order to contact the Meharists' battalion and they succeeded and reached them, and when they attracted Si Alhachemy Amhammad, he followed them to one of the alleys, they asked him which country they were from and he said from Algeria, specifically from Touat, and they kept asking and wondering why they did not defend their freedom and how they accepted to be controlled by some colonizers…

In 1955, the Meharists' battalion faced an intense internal conflict that was due to the brotherhood confrontation that the French occupier put them in because France

used them in order to attack the liberation army that was led by Hamma Lakhdar in Oued-Souf.



Figure 14-15 - Picture of a flag that represents the symbol of the Meharists of Touat.[1]

In the beginning of August 1955, Amara Mohammad Al-Akhdar known as Hamma Lakhdar from Arrebaia tribe went to Oued-Souf along with 35 volunteers mujahideen, most of them from Souf and Houz Tbassa, in order to open the Desert Front by agreement with Commander Chihani Bachir after May 1955, after the French

[1] "Compagnie Saharienne du TOUAT'', Insignes & fanions des compagnies méharistes et sahariennes, Last modified NF. http://mehari-if.fr/compagnie-saharienne-du-touat/.

military pressure on the Aures. They planned for the attacks of North Canstantine[1] under the leadership of Zighoud Youssef who succeeded to join the people to the revolution. The battles started in Souf before the middle of August because Hamma Lakhdar and his mates came to the territory on August 08th, and because of treason, and the battle broke out and lasted for three days in Houd Chabka. After that they got out of there, in a two days' march, where Commander Hamma Lakhdar was martyred with most of his mates achieving noticeable victories against the colonial authorities through surprising traps, making his army stronger. His echo went all through the desert. Commander Hamma Lakhdar's forces controlled all over the west bank of El-Arichy erg. The victories of Hamma Lakhdar enhanced the fears and anxieties of the French colonizer that the echo of these victories would go beyond the desert that was characterized, back then, by calm, suspense and anticipation. For this reason, the French colonialism decided to recruit all of its powers including the Meharists batallion to chase Hamma and to stop his proceeding. Before taking-off towards Oued-Souf, Captain Mouri gathered the members of the Meharists' battalion at the Laperrine[2] square in Adrar and he said after describing Hamma and his mates as "Fellagua": "France is a strong "stone", it raised you, and taught you and your grandparents" and

[1] Constantine (Arabic: ولاية قسنطينة) is one of the 48 provinces (wilayas) of Algeria, whose capital is the city of the same name. The province is divided into 6 districts or daïra, which are subdivided into 12 communes or municipalities.

[2] Laperrine is the founder of the Meharist. The Martyrs' Square in Adrar was named after him, during the colonial phase. He was one of the Sahara victims. His aircraft fell because of fuel deficiency. He died in March 05th, 1920.

then he ordered them to walk towards Oued-Souf. According to the colonialistic tales, the Meharists' battalion of Adrar played an important role in the battle near Mokran in Oued-Souf, the one in which a number of martyrs were killed. Seven months later, this battle was followed by the battle of Taghrouti in which Hamma Lakhdar was martyred. The national sources point that the hero martyred on September 10th, 1955 in Swihla, Sidi-Awn town, a section of Mokran the North-East side of Oued-Souf, after the second day, he left the battle of Houd Chabka on September 08th, 1955, he was in his 30s. He was martyred after he shot down a plane in the presence of one of the survivors the Mujahid Alhamel from Houz Tebessa[1].

Most of the Meharist members realized that the colonial policy was based on the savagery of the war and attemt to avoid human losses for the French. This policy concentrated on spreading hatred between the Algerians considering the presence of brotherhood in two opposed sides. The main purpose that was framed by the colonial military command was preventing the extension of the revolution expansion towards the south which would disperse its forces and threaten its economic and military interests. Regarding this context, the major operations that were implemented by the French army in Ammour Mountains and the Ksor of Awlad Nayel –related to the Desert Atlas- since 1955 were inserted along with the alliances done with B'Louniss, the Head of the

[1] Tébessa or Tebessa (Arabic: تبسة Tibissa, Berber: □□□□□, Tbessa or Tibesti), the classical Theveste, is the capital city of Tébessa Province in the Shawi region of Algeria, 20 km (12 mi) west of its Tunisian border. There is a phosphate mine nearby and the city is known for its traditional Algerian carpets.

Missalis. The fact was that the relationship of the Algerian recruits with their French leaders deteriorated since the events of Oued-Souf, in which European officers noticed that the Meharist members were stumbling to do their homework, and they also noticed that the Meharists demanded to be demobilized. When the Meharists reached Amquide in October 1955, their objective was to monitor the southern area of the Great Eastern Erg in order to prevent Hamma from passing the weapons through it or withdrawing from it. When the battalion reached Amkide –area between Ilizi and Ain-Salah-, Captain Mouri decided to march along with them north towards Oued-Souf. The group that was led by First Sergeant Bida Mohammad[1] known by Al-Atchan, and the group that included Slimane Eddine[2] and First Corporal Hmida Belaggoune refused both to go towards Oued-Souf and to renew their contracts within this battalion, and they immediately passed 10 urgent requests to Captain Mouri including payment of wages and claiming a long term vacation. Captain Mouri felt the seriousness and the gravity of these developments, especially the collapse of his trust in the Algerian the

[1] He was born in Aougrout, 1928. He was a good reader and writer. He joined the liberation army in 1957. He was among the ones who instigated the uprising of Hassi Saka. He was ranked Staff Sergant. He died in Mergad Mountain's battle; near Ain Safra, in 1959.

[2] The mujahid Lhadj Eddine Slimane was born in 1934, in Labyadh Sid Cheikh. He was recruited in the French army in 1952. He joined the Liberation Army in 1956, in Tinerkouk's township. He participated in many battles like the one that took place in Beni Smir Mountain, the battle of Rasfat Lamrabet and the battle of Sardj in 1959. He was ranked as an assistant rank. After independence, he took over many tasks and responsibilities. He became vice-head of the organization of Mijahideen in Adrar. In addition to that, he became the head of Sidi Slimane Ben Ali's association for protecting the achievements of the liberation revolution. He died in January 06th, 2006.

Meharists. Meanwhile, Captain Mouri tried to correct his actions when he realized their seriousness in their decision of pulling out.

Captain Mouri sent all of Slimane Ben Abdallah to Slimane Eddine and "Ben Said Mohammad" and Alhachemy Amhammad to Hmida Belaggoune to convince them to retract from their decision but he could not. These three had left the battalion of the Meharists 50 days earlier, careless about the attractive wages that were prevented for them and their families, their papers and documents were dragged off, and they were denied. When the group went back to Adrar during the autumn of 1955, they were put in Al-Bourdj prison with a military fort known as Ibn-Chahra prison and they were subjected to hard work as a punishment along with 10 of their mates. The first group formed from Slimane Eddine, Kouidri Kada Ben Mohammad and Moulay Kada –who didn't join the Liberation Front- was not released only 9 of them on January 1st 1956, while the other group stayed in prison until it was released in October 1956; including Alhachemy Amhammad.

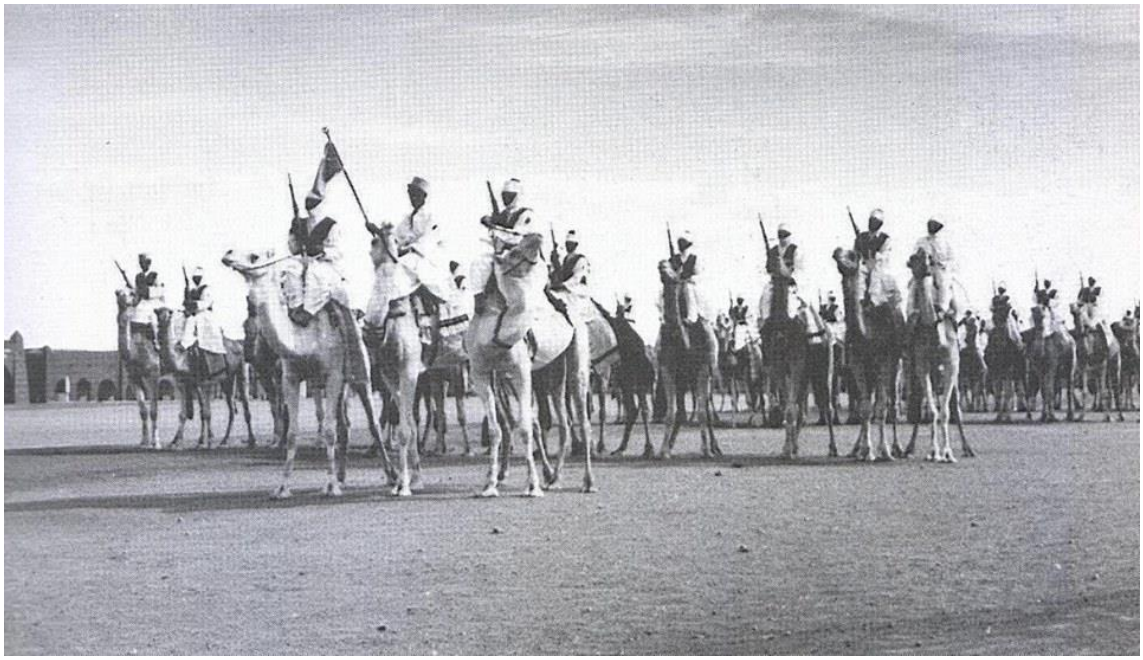


Figure 16 – **The battalion of the Meharists of Touat 1956 (before the uprising of Hassi Saka 1957)**

In Hasi- Farsiqua, the surprise for Captain Mouri was bigger because the region of rebellion became official and made up by Alhachemy Amhammed. In October 1956, about 20 members of the battalion of the Meharists were released. While Captain Mouri thought that it was all his fault that caused all of this, Alhachemy Amhammad and his mates had a national conviction that working within the battalion of the Meharists by the declaration of the revolution would have been treason to the religion and country.

One of the aspects of the lack of trust between the two sides was that a French officer was taking the weapons of the Meharist members at night and chained it. He kept doing it since he moved to the chemical base "B2" in Oued-Annamous, in April 1957. These were instructions from the French army leaders. Actually, the

demobilization of the Meharists members from soldiery was a historical opportunity awaited by Alhachemy Amhammad, Hmida Belaggoune, Zaoui[1] (Moula Lfaraa) and their mates who joined the National Liberation Front since 1956. They kept in contact with the Meharists to collect subscriptions and to incite them to the uprising. Meanwhile, Boussaid Lakhdar Belmir –in Adrar- was in contact with Ben Bitour Alhadj Allal –in Timimoun since he was executed from his hometown Metlili by France for his action in Harakat Intissar-. Lakhdar Belmir said in his testimony that his political activity in Touat had increased by the beginning of 1956, and he had a relation with Jeghaba who used to come from El-Golea across Timimoun. Situations stagnated till 1957, and so Moulay Hammou, son of Moulay Tayeb Biradi who was a governor used to transport the financial donations estimated at a quarter of a million, from Adrar to Ouergla. After the declaration of the battles of the Erg in Hassi-Saka, he got arrested and the situation went back to being stagnant again till the arrival of the southern front in 1960. The activity raised and apparently, Slimane Eddine who turned to trading between Touat and Labyadh Sidi Cheikh succeeded to contact important members from the Liberation Front in Boussamghoune in Labyad Sidi Cheikh, in January 1956. The contacted members included Ahmad Belaggoune known as Ahmad Alaaouar, the

[1] He was born in 1932, in Fatis, Tinerkouk. He joined the liberation Front in 1956. He joined the liberation army by the uprising of Hassi Saka in 1957. He used to be a political official. He died in the battle of Hassi Ghanbou in November 21st, 1957.

representative of the Mujahid Bouchrit in the Ksar of Boussamghoune. This latter was responsible for the township of Labyadh Sidi Cheikh and held up by Tamda Mountain.

Ahmad Belgayed Affoun bought a load of dates for the revolution from Slimane Eddine. This latter who was the only one who accepted to sell him while the other traders refused. This act made Ahmad Laaouar feel more comfortable toward Slimane Eddine. When the caravan returning to Gourara got on the road, Ahmad Laaouar let the caravan proceed and held Slimane Eddine in private. He said "wait a bit; I need to talk to you about a dangerous matter." He introduced him to Bouchrit; who was one of his mates. This latter invited Slimane Eddine to join the organization of Gourara and Touat, and Ahmad Affoun would be the intermediate between the two sides. Slimane Eddine replied: "I left Zaoui gathering the Mujahedeen, and he promised to meet in January 1956, when you get out of prison, keep your business on…"

Chikh Benmabrouk Zaoui[1] had contacted his trusted ones starting with his brothers and leader cousins including one of the Chaanba the leader Hammadi Eddine who asked for his son Hmida for Al-Djihad in public, and he accepted. He also contacted the leaders Mohammad Bounaama in Sammouta and Belaama Alhadj Ali, this latter replied: "Whatever you Zwa do, we are with you, and rely on me in financing the family of Ahmad Marzoug Quoraichi if he went with them because he was his son

[1] Zaoui Cheikh Benmabrouk was the presenter of Zaouiat Aoulad Sid Cheikh in Timimoun and Tinerkouk.

in law. Chikh Benmabrouk Zaoui went to the funeral of Si Ahmad Ben Litim and met his sons including the soldier in the Meharists Ben-Litim Cheikh who was martyred later, and most of them were committed to Jihad. In January 02nd, 1956, he met Slimane Eddine, Alhachemi Cheikh and Kaddouri Kada Ben Kouidar; a former soldier who brought him his friend Ben Sabgag. He also met Beddiaf Kaddour in Timimoun before he joined the Meharists and later the Revolution. He met Boudouaia who accepted immediately; he said: "There are about 70 of France's camels, let's attack them", Zaoui replied: "Not this fast, we must prepare for it first". He went to Adrar, while he was wandering with Alhashemy Amhammad, they went to formerly known as Al-Emam Malek School, and he joined Belaggoune Mohammad and went to Abdelkader Bentaleb and Lmahdi Mennad and called others. When Alhachemi Cheikh went to Zaiouat Cheikh to attend a lesson about Jihad in 1955, he asked Cheikh Mohammad Belkbir: "What is happening in Algeria? Is it "Jihad"? Cheikh Mohammad Belkbir answered him: "Yes, it is the real Jihad".

The contact of Slimane Eddine with Ahmad Belgayed Affoun and Bouchrit, and the return of Alhachemi Cheikh Ben Ahmad from Albayadh to the front were a prelude for the historical meeting. The meeting was held in Tinerkouk in the summer of 1956, in the house of Zaoui Cheikh the representative of Zaouiat Sidi Cheikh of the same town. About 10 men attended this meeting after previous meetings in Fatis and Ain Hammou.

Zaoui Cheikh Benmabrouk opened the meeting saying: "We are heading to Al-Jihad in the name of Allah, and since the area is not suitable for this matter, we are moving to Labyadh Sid-Cheikh towards Tamda Mountain."

According to those who attended the meeting, the sons in law of Zaoui Cheikh (the brothers Alhachemy) had to choose between who would join the revolution and who would stay and take care of the family business. Thus, Alhachemi Cheikh left Fatis leading 7 of his mates towards Tamda mountain through Hassi-Mina and Labyadh Sid-Cheikh, while Alhachemi Amhammad stayed with 3 of his mates; Slimane Eddine, Nouari Nouar[1] known as Ben Haddouch and Cheikh Boubakkar Ahmad Marzoug known as Quoraichy and took the responsibility of the area.

The leadership of the fifth area required the presence of Alhachemi Amhammad through a letter delivered by Slimane Eddine. Alhachemi Amhammad went in the second term of 1957, and met Officer Abdelghani Okba known as Ammar. This latter handed him the national flag and the conclusion of both the National Liberation Front and army. He also designated him officially as a politician and military in charge because of his strong personality. Ammar gave Alhachemi some firearms and weapons, including a fire gun with 16 bullets that was left in Ksar Taghyart with Yahyaoui

[1] He was born in 1923, in Fatis Tinerkouk. He was excellent reader and writer. He joined the Liberation Front in 1956. He died along with his mates in the battle of Hassi Ghanbou in November 21st, 1957.

Mohammad. Alhachemy charged Yahyaoui to form a committee of Lhadj Galman and went to Timimoun to form the five-committee-members himself. When he arrived to Timimoun, he showed them the national flag and he was proudly welcomed by Moulay Lakhdar. Abdelghani Okba asked Alhachemi to participate in the arrangement along with the officers Belaid Ahmad known as Si Farhat who was in Oued Saoura. He gave him a revolutionary name; Abou Nfi. The first contact of Si Farhat with the mujahideen Hannani and Mohammad Bendahmane had been via Alhachemi Mohammad since January 1957, when all the members of the Meharists gathered and secretly decided to declare the uprising exactly a year after that date. They agreed to keep it secret and avoid anything that would be suspicious or would attract the enemy.

However, other sources assured that the Meharist members were ready for the uprising, they even were quickening it. Bida Mohammad sent a letter to Farhat who was in Hassi Dibouni demanding to kill all the French and join him. Yet, Mr. Farhat replied and suggested an ambush and to postpone the operation till it would be well organized with guaranteed success. He explained that would not be possible till the winter of the year after and with a permission of the Liberation Army's command. According to the letter sent by Mr. Farhat as a reply on the demand, it seemed that the revolution command was planning for more than the uprising. The leadership was seeking to guarantee that the Meharist members stay in the Great Erg to form a new committee.

The Revolution Command wanted this committee to be a permanent supply point for the liberation army. The choice for autumn or winter was a great decision since Hassi Saka was a place where the natural circumstances played a principal role.

2.1.2. The Battle in Hassi Djdid (the Eastern):

The scheme of Major Bouchet[1] depended on exterminating the camels and, in fact, anything moving all through the Erg. He concentrated on destroying all the wells in order to prevent the mujahideen from providing this strategic element, leaving the Erg area and to delay and disable their movement. Major Bouchet thought that the mujahideen were going to split into small groups to be able to move towards Bechar Mountains and the northern areas with the caravans passing through the Erg.

The French aviation kept destroying the wells till October 27th, 1957. Its expeditions continued with no hope in finding the rebel Meharists who used to walk by night faster than the colonial army led by Captain Soyer[2].

While the aircraft implemented their operations, the region's security police were practicing different kinds of torture and interrogation in Timimoun and its Ksor. Violent torturing was practiced in order to collect any possible information that could lead them to the Meharists.

[1] He was the first French commanding officer who went to search for the Saharans with small amount of equipment.
[2] He was the commanding officer of the Meharist of Touat battalion.

The mujahideen withdrew towards the east north to Hassi Djdid to mislead the enemy. After they walked for more than 40 kilometres, they settled in Hassi Suinièttе on October 16th, which was a windy rainy day. Elhachemy Emhammed and Mohammed El Atchan and their mates stayed there that day hiding from the enemy aviation hovering on the area. At sundown, everybody continued their walk to Hassi Djdid where they arrived at by early morning of October 17th. They were extremely exhausted.

The mujahideen followed a brilliant method for hiding and camouflage due to the openness of the area. Besides walking by night, they used to dig in the sand in the form of an arc that extended for about 800 meters. They used the sand arc whole to take a defensive position in which they could sniper the enemy in case it got near them. They used to leave their camels in about 1 or 2 kilometers away from them.

The mujahid Aichaoui Cheikh mentioned that one of camouflage methods they made up was pulling packs of Sbat and Drine plants with a thread behind them in order to erase the traces.

Captain Soyer, the Meharists of Touat, Lieutenant Jean Planet and the Forth Saharan Battalion could not catch the hidden meharists. However, the French aviation had obstructed their move and almost caught their traces. Unfortunately, they got caught on October 17th evening in Hassi Djdid.

At 4pm that day, two enemy exploratory aircraft noticed Ali Hannani[1] with three camels. Hence, they took an offensive position. Ferdj Allah Emhammed and Beddiaf Kaddour mentioned that Hannani Ali and his mate Ahmed Chainbi joined the mujahideen's battalion on October 17th afternoon, near Hassi Djdid and Mnouchat. An aircraft followed them and shot the camels. The day after, the mujahideen headed westward to Hassi Lmharzi. Quickly, Ali Hannani divided his unit into three groups; the small one was assigned to watch the camels, and the two other took their strategic positions, especially the snipers.

The French aircraft used their heavy guns to kill the camels as their first goal. They were not able to see the mujahideen who hid between the sand dunes and behind the plants. Sundown prevented the French aviation for seeing clearly. Thus Bida Ahmed; one of the groups' leaders went out to check on the rest of the mujahideen and found them all safe and sound.

In fact, this raid obliged the mujahideen to move to another place, despite their exhaustion. Therefore, they withdrew to Hassi Lmharzi where a supply centre was located, and then they arrived to Mgitla after walking for about 15 kilometers. They

[1] The mujahid Ali Hannani was born in 1923, in Tinerkouk. He belonged to poor family. He joined the revolution ranks early, by playing a big role encouraging the Meharists to join the revolution in 1957. He participated in first Erg battles. He moved to Figig where he was assigned to lead the third region in the Western Great Erg. Then he came back to the Erg and he supervised the liberation army in the area since 1959. He was famous by his bravery and his political experience. He continued fulfilling his tasks till the independence. After independence, he continued his mission and tasks with the Popular National Army; the descendent of the National Liberation Army till 1971. He died in 1983, in Tinerkouk.

took a rest there and reorganized their ranks and chose their hiding positions in the middle of El-Faydja far from the camels' stall.

The mujahideen noticed that the aircraft were following them to the new location. By the next morning, 6 aircraft already arrived there; 4 of them were B26 and 2 were Junkers. The aircraft started to shoot the camels using their guns and used their grenades to bombard the mujahideen's locations. On the other hand, the mujahideen reacted by using their 24/29 machine guns. They hid behind the small plants watching all the ways that could be used by the enemy to reach them overland.

Apparently, Hmida Belaggoun was able to shoot a Junker in the middle of that day. The attacked aircraft was noticed being withdrawing from the battle. The mujahideen's sources also mentioned that one of them was able to shot down a B26 aircraft, at 3pm. This made the other aircrafts fly higher and next withdrew directly to Timimoun.

The mujahideen preferred leaving that place because it became exposed to the enemy. Then, they stored all the supplies in Mgilta, after the extermination of the herd of camels that included about 150 camels. They next headed towards Hassi Ghambou that was a supply centre.

Accordingly, the new orders stated that the mujahideen should go to Hassi Tasselgha; a four days' walk where the whole army was going to gather waiting for new orders.

In November 1957, the 76 mujahideen reached Hassi Tasselgha. They were welcomed by Farhat the leader of Saoura, along with 40 men; who represented the battalion related to the leading centre. The plan stated that everybody stayed in Timimoun in order to surprisingly attack the French forces and take over their weapons. The army was divided into two battalions; one led by Slimane Ben AbdAllah, and the other led by Leader Farhat, while the rest stayed in Tasselgha.

The French aviation transferred the watch-over mission into Hassi Djdid to the French ground forces that arrived there on October 22nd, led by Captain Soyer along with Lieutenant Jean Planet.

The colonial forces found two thrown handheld transceivers used by the Meharists. They also found tens of bulging camels' corpses; 24 of them belonged to the mujahideen and the rest to Ali Hannani and Ali Bkirat.

The most useful discovery was the mujahideen's hiding method, due to the sand holes and the traces left in the field near the plants.

By October 26th, Captain Soyer and Major Bouchet had lost the traces of the mujahideen. They also got tired and exhausted after walking for hundreds of kilometers

across the Great Erg. They eventually went back to Timimoun on the same day, and delivered their outcomes.

Actually, the human and material toll was extremely low comparing to the huge potentials used overland and air. In addition, the main victims were actually the isolated citizens who had no relation with the rebel mujahideen, for example; exterminating the whole family of Kouider Ben Abdelhakim that included his wife and children and also the four children of Ahmed Ben Mabrouk and Hammou ben Ahmed who were killed during the same raid.

The colonial forces implemented extermination operations on camels. Colonel Bigeard[1] had spoken in Bechar about killing 700 camels. Such as Mr. Himouda, he used to own 700 camels for himself only.

The terroristic campaign that had been triggered on Timimoun and their Ksor brought a psychological war that targeted people's determination and the mujahideen's intention. Alaichaoui Cheikh; on behalf of the mujahideen of the area said: "We used to eat Lmarkh[2] and Sabtt[3] and hunt lizards. We were starving and thirsty for days, drinking only our urine after filtering it through white sand. We did not give up or felt desperate, because we believed that we will die as martyrs."

[1] Marcel Maurice Bigeard was born in 1916. He made the 6th Battalion of Colonial Paratroopers and 3rd Colonial Parachute Regiment elite units. He adopted Calonne's word: "If it is possible, it is Done, impossible, it will be done". He died in Juin 18th, 2010.
[2] It is a kind of dry Saharan herbs.
[3] It is another kind of dry Saharan herbs.

France announced that every territory in el Erg was considered as a forbidden area, and everyone from there was called "Fellagua" and got shot. Consequently, a camp was built in Hassi Saka in 1957 and all the families that used to live in el Erg area were crowded in it. All these families' properties were ruined, destroyed or burned down.

Crowded people reached more than 300 families whilst tents number reached 275 tents. On one hand, 90 tents were managed by Boussaid Mohammed Telli; who was assigned by the French authorities, and Dengara Hammou; who was assigned by the FLN. On the other hand, 185 were managed by Elbaroudi Messaoud who was assigned by French authorities, and Larbi Mohammed; who was assigned by the FLN.

Life conditions in that camp were not suitable for humans, which led to high mortality, especially women and children.[1]

1. الشيخ مولاي التهامي بن سيدي محمد غيناوي، *الفتح المبين في تاريخ جورارة و علماء تيميمون إقليم توات -ولاية أدرار*، منشورات العالمية للطباعة و الخدمات، الحراش، الجزائر، 2013 ص 283.

2.1.3. The Battle of Hassi Tasselgha (November 06, 1957)



Figure 17 - Map showing the movement of the mujahideen and the operation of Hassi Tasselgha.[1]

The well of Tasselgha is located 60 km North Timimoun. It is a rocky Reg area that stretches along one km in the middle of the Great Erg. It was known that since October 28th, the French colonial aviation started to drop publications. These publications ordered the nomads to join specific wells in Beni Abbass and Timimoun in no more than 8 days.

What can be understood of those procedures was that French colonial authorities realized that they killed the civilians without even hitting one of the Meharists who were uprising.

[1] Michel Goya, "Retour à Timimoun", *La Voix De L'Epée,* November 24, 2012. https://lavoiedelepee.blogspot.com/2012/11/retour-timimoun.html.

Since October 16th, the colonial authorities declared a forbidden territory along with military barracks in order to watch the territory like the barrack of Hassi Saka. What can be also understood from those publications is that colonial authorities enlarged this territory and barracks.

Meanwhile, the Liberation Army was centered in Hassi Tasselgha since its arrival on November 5th, from Hassi Ghambou. The next day, a number of Land-Rover cars were noticed crossing El-Faidja El-Kahla's slope heading to Hassi Tasselgha.

According to the mujahideen who attacked the trucks and the French queue, Zaoui Nouari Elmiloud Ben Charef came back to Tinerkouk –in order to stay with his family because his brother Slimane was also with the mujahideen-. Zaoui noticed a truck and a Jeep. He went back to his mates and informed them. The mujahideen Fardj Allah Amhammed and Si Hamza encircled the truck that was heading the Jeep. The Algerian prisoner told them that the other 7 cars joined about 04 PM. Thus, they prepared a trap for them till the cars arrived late at about 06 PM.

Lieutenant Farhat decided, along with his mates, to set up an ambush for those cars which contained arms, weapons and military uniforms. He ordered the brigade of Slimane Ben Abdallah -that was formed of 35 mujahideen- to besiege the cars at the slope of El-Faidja El-Kahla. Apparently, the cars were faster. For this, the mujahideen split into 2 regiments; one led by Ali Hannani and the other by Slimane Abdallah. The

regiment of Slimane Ben Abdallah shot from a position of prostration for shortage of time and advancement of cars that prevented them from centralizing and selecting strategic points.

The trap lasted from 3 PM till sundown. It ended up by the surrender of 10 of the workers of Algeria Petrol Company army who seven were killed. 4 Algerians ran away. The ones who were caught with the Europeans were chosen to join the Revolution lines or to be transferred to borders. One of the engineers was captured then transferred through borders to his country later on, because he was a relative with one of the military officials in the colonial government.

The colonial sources mentioned the slaughtering of the captives. However, the mujahideen sources confirmed that killing the prisoners was a mistake that was contradicted by the person in charge of the unit of the mujahideen, let alone slaughtering and representing their dead bodies.

The trap included burning six cars that belonged to the petroleum company and their equipment and material were ruined. They were used to loot the national wealth and contribute with their taxes to support the colonial war effort. The mujahideen gained a large number of arms, weapons and equipment of the petroleum company and its supplies. The truth is that the victory for the Algerian revolution from Tasselgha was the echo of the media in the colonial newspapers published in Algeria and France.

On November 07th, Pioneer Sauvage and the Spanish explorer Lopez arrived to Timimoun after they got the news of the trap. Sauvage ordered Captain Soyer to go to the location of the trap using a Dassault air force in order to survey the area looking for the 10 Europeans who were stuck in the desert who were found alive the next day. When the command of the colonial army knew about the trap of Tasselgha, he realized its impact on the possibility of the retreat of the foreign petroleum companies from investing in the Algerian desert.

Another point was that the revolution started spreading through the Saharan areas and threatening their economic, political and military plans. For this reason, the colonial authorities were afraid that this would require soon the recruitment of thousands of soldiers and the harnessing of weapons and equipment that may be taken from the North. In order to cause the necessary psychological chock and eliminate the Meharists, General Raoul Salan handed responsibility to Colonel Bigeard. Therefore, 2 operations took place in Hassi Tasselgha.[1]

2.1.4. The Battle of Hassi Ghambou (November 21st, 1957):

After the trap of Tasselgha, Colonel Marsselle Bigeard arrived in a hurry to the airport of Timimoun on November 13th, 1957, along with the command of the third legion (paratroopers). He came having all the power and the possibilities to find the

[1] الشيخ مولاي التهامي بن سيدي محمد غيتاوي، *الفتح الميمون في تاريخ جورارة و علماء تيميمون إقليم توات ـولاية أدرار*، منشورات العالمية للطباعة و الخدمات، الحراش، الجزائر، 2013 ص 284.

Liberation Army and eliminate it. After one week, the Red Hats arrived to Timimoun from Algiers; including El-Harki Commandant Chaabane. Colonel Bigeard's soldiers reached about 1570 in the area of Timimoun; including 1000 paratroopers divided into 4 battalions -supported by Captain Soyer and the Meharists of Touat[1]-, 170 men led by Pioneer Bouchet who was assigned to watch Beni Abbass, Karzaz and Adrar, 2 piper patrols and 3 brunet scouting planes. These forces were supported by a group of German Ju 52 helicopters –that could land on Reg and difficult areas like Reg Taentas and Boukhlala-; lead by Captain Brinet, and 3 T6 airplanes for chasing and back up. The petroleum company put its 4X4 cars under the control of El-Harki Chaabane for better results, after he got the green light from General Salan.

Colonel Bigeard distributed his soldiers in a circle of about 70 km around Timimoun. He assigned his officers with different operations. He transferred Captain Pétot from the first battalion to investigation and collecting information and intelligence in Timimoun town and its suburbs. Because, according to Bigeard, it was unbelievable that an armed group would exist in Erg without any support from the administrative and political organization in the town. And so on, Taouenza village was besieged and

[1] The Battalion of the Meharists of Touat was created on August 01st, 1905. It was later dissolved on November 25, 1927, and recreated on June 01st, 1947. The battalion was finally dissolved on December 31, 1957, to become "The Battalion of the Meharists scope of Touat". Garrison of Adrar, Algeria. SOURCE : "Compagnie Saharienne du TOUAT'', Insignes & fanions des compagnies méharistes et sahariennes, Last modified NF. http://mehari-if.fr/compagnie-saharienne-du-touat/.

attacked. Their people were horribly tortured. The French enemy killed men, raped women, stole their properties. They tortured them by putting them inside cisterns full of water in the cold morning. They made them lay on the ground and walked on their full-of-water bellies. They hanged them on palms upside down and whipped them. Haiha's village was also attacked and tortured. The four Algerian men, who ran away from Hassi Tasselgha, were the first who were interrogated and questioned by Captain Pétot.

The first battalion became under the control of lieutenant Subergis. Subergis headed to Aoulad Aissa; about 50 km north-west Timimoun, along with 27 trucks. Then, he went to Tdjanet village for the same purpose where Kaddour Ben Chamkha Ben Salem and Zaoui Miloud Ben Badar and others were prisoned.

Led by Captain Planet, the second battalion was assigned to monitor the axis of Charouine; about 60 km west Timimoun. On the other hand, the third battalion headed to Zaouiat Dabagh; about 70 km east Timimoun, with Captain Llamby and caused human and financial losses. Finally, the forth battalion was set in Timimoun's airport, ready for any emergency. Additionally, Captain Douceur; leader of the forth battalion ordered Lieutenants Grillot and Roher to detect and reveal the political organization of

the revolution in town. Moreover, Douceur demanded Harki[1] Chaabane to enter the Erg using the Landrovers of the petroleum company. Meanwhile, he ordered pioneer Bouchet and Captain Soyer to watch Beni Abbass, Karzaz, Lagussabi and Adrar using the Touat Meharists and the Saharian parachutists' battalion.

Bigeard gave orders to all the units to collect information. The legion would've been noted according to the results. Likewise, the French press started to talk about the arrival of the parachutists to Timimoun, which made the colonial forces break all the rules and the principles.

Since November 13th, Captain Bigeard started an arresting campaign in Timimoun. The campaign targted the group of Abdallah Soussi, Lahbib Selka[2] and Lakbir Mohammed; known as Chinoui. These arrested mujahideen were in contact with the group in Adrar, who was also arrested, including Agoudjil Cheikh and his brothers, Saka Hammou, Kabouya Abdelkader, Kabouya Miloud and Kabouya Abderrahman known as Koraich.

The day after, the parachutists began arresting the workers of the petroleum company who escaped from Tasselgha. The first who was arrested was Cheikh Alayeb,

[1] It mean the person who worked for France during French colonialism. This person used to betray his Algerian mates and friends for France. He was considered as a double agent.
[2] He was born in September 29th, 1929, in Timimoun. He was the person in charge of the second cell.

he was tortured and he mentioned Mennad Mansour[1]. This latter was brutally tortured for 4 days till he lost his mind. Bigeard transferred them from one place to another while torturing them, claiming that they got weapons which he didn't find. When they lost hope in making him confess, Captain Douceur's paratroopers took the mujahid Mennad Mansour towards Timimoun's airport and ordered him to dig a grave and gathered the captives around him. Seven of the paratroopers lined up, holding their guns and shot him. The martyr Mennad Mansour fell dead inside the grave and got buried.

As Mr. Souissi Abdallah mentioned; the captives had been through a wild terroristic campaign, in which the enemy soldiers used various ways of torture, like electric shocking, hanging, starvation and leaving them naked in cold night in prison square that nowadays became Aicha Oum-El-Mouminin's primary school in Timimoun.

One of Douceur's officers stated the evening when Mennad Mansour got executed: "We have come from a remote country, and we are not in a picnic. If you would not talk, we will kill 100 people." He added, using Lahbib Selka as a translator: "And we have already started with one of you today."

By November 20th, the colonial authorities arrested about 96 citizens from Timimoun and Aougrout. This latter was raided and wildly attacked by the

[1] He was born in 1918, in Timimoun. He was married and had one son. He joined the civil organization of the liberation front in 1957, as a doctor. His role was to supply the liberation army with drugs and medications. He was caught by the French colonialism. After big torture, he died in 1957, in Timimoun.

paratroopers. They attacked Sahla village and its Ksor and also attacked Qussar Elhadj by destroying more than 700 palms.

As for Captain Soyer, he kept cutting the palms, destroying the houses and frightening the qussor citizens, similarly, the parachute units that spread all over Timimoun violating all the international principles.

The colonial authorities could not find any trace of the Mujahideen, despite the various terroristic means of interrogations.

The colonial arbitrary aggression along with the repression of the paratroopers allied against the captives and their families. The coldness of the weather at the end of the year, the malnutrition due to camels' extermination and the dwindling of food rations caused the death of a number of captives and families. Captain Bounissé said in his book "….."; "We get as much information as the torture we give. Malnutrition was intense in the South, a kesra[1], some dates and a little amount of water were the daily nutrition. Many people who were innocent victims were wildly tortured and mercilessly killed. Dead people were buried in groups in holes in sand. In late 1957, a lot of holes were dug in Timimoun and its outskirts for burying purpose.[2]

[1] Bread.
[2] Ibid, https://www.kerzaz08.com/vb/showthread.php?t=7907.

2.1.5. The Clash of Laghtab (December 04th, 1957):

Many of the Algerians in general and Algerians of the South in particular knew about the battles of Hassi Ghambou and Hassi Saka, The trap of Tasselgha and the battle of Hassi Ali –that will be discussed next-. However, only few actually consider the fact of the clash of Laghtab (December 04th, 1957).

Laghtab is a small village near Hassi Lamghimim, north Hassi Ouskir; about 120 km North-East Boukhlala. After the battle of Hassi Ghambou, the enemy got the news that a number of mujahideen were still at the great Erg. The colonial army tried to find the mujahideen through air and ground inspection, from November 22nd, till November 30th. Yet no single mujahid was found.

The colonial authorities kept interrogating the people in Timimoun and in its Ksor. For instance, Colonel Bigeard had set a centre in Boukhlala, about 120 km North-west Timimoun. The centre included an aircraft landing runway which was prepared by the petroleum company. Under the operation of lightning “éclair”, Colonel Bigeard transferred all the equipment and the gasoline needed from Bechar and Timimoun to that area. He used the seventeenth battalion for transporting. He aimed to find a bridgehead in the Erg to enable him to move fast against the liberation army powers. Apparently, Boukhlala was not only a starting station, but also an interrogation centre where many Algerians who were suspected to have a relation with the liberation army,

got wildly tortured. Twenty two of the Algerian victims were killed and buried in Boukhlala by the traitor Chaabane and his fellas.

On December 4th, a clash occurred between the forth paratroop battalion members and a group of the Liberation Army; who was in a mission for transporting the French engineer towards the borders. The clash happened when a French helicopter flew over the mujahideen. The French engineer tried to escape and one of the mujahideen shot him which, consequently, caused the interruption of the forth paratrooper battalion members. Eventually, the mujahideen's position was revealed.

Mr. Ben Hammadi Mohammed participated and witnessed since the trap of Tasselgha. He moved with the mujahideen northward towards the Moroccan borders. According to him, he was with Karroum, Rabeh, Ahmed Belkhir, Benali Elkhir, Belhoussine Mohammed and Hammou Kouider. Mr. Karroum was martyred on the second day of the trap. Karroum was shot by an airplane gun in Hassi Belkezakh. These mujahideen's task was to provide water. As Ben Hammadi stated, he was moving on camel for a long distance, for a trip that lasted for more than 9 hours. When they heard the planes' engines, they used to hide quickly. Ben Hammadi, the engineer, Cheikh Oued Saoura and Mr. Mohammed Mharzi walked all day till sundown. He went where the camels were attached, while the others stayed to prepare bread because they were exhausted and starving. When the narrator just arrived to the camels' spot, the airplanes

and helicopters arrived and the paratroopers went down by the morning. The clash occurred between the two parts and ended with the death of Si Mohammed Mharzi, and Cheikh Oued Saoura. He added that the French engineer was killed by Si Mohammed from Algiers. As for Ben Hammadi and Si Rabeh; from Algoulea, they were attacked by the paratroopers' dogs and got transported along with Ahmed Belkhir and Belhoussine by the helicopter to Hassi Boukhlala.

2.1.6. The Battle of Hassi Ali (December 07th, 1957):

Two days later, the battle of Hassi Ali (December 07th, 1957)[1] took place. The well of Hassi Ali is located about 100 km west Hassi Boukhlala and 132 km west Timimoun. The Mujahedeen went to it because of fresh water. When they approached it on December 7th, they found out that the enemy had already occupied the territory and destroyed the well. Despite the camouflage, the enemy exploration camouflage noticed an abnormal phenomenon which was a palm on top of sand dunes. This fact made the airplane pilot approach more. Consequently, the guardian of the Liberation Army had to leave the spot leaving obvious footprints on sand.

In a testimony according to the Mujahid Aichaoui Hmida; known as "Chadi", -who was responsible for the herd of camels "head pasture" related to the Meharits in Karzaz-, he said that he was in contact with Mr. Farhat, and he knew about the secret

[1] الشيخ مولاي التهامي بن سيدي محمد غيتاوي، *الفتح الميمون في تاريخ جورارة و علماء تيميمون إقليم توات ـولاية أدرار*، منشورات العالمية للطباعة و الخدمات، الحراش، الجزائر، 2013 ص 287.

organizations of the uprising of Hassi Saka. He said that he joined the revolution with his family and 3 of his soldier mates on October 1st, 1957. He thus became the third brother in the liberation army ranks. In his opinion, the arrival of the enemy to Hassi Ali was due to a raid prepared by the paratroopers in Ksar Bahamou near Talmine. When they besieged a group of Algerians, Cheikh Ben Abderrahman put his weapon in the face of a paratrooper. Therefore, the paratroopers started shooting and killed all the 7 except Mr. Messaoud Ben Ma'ach who was beaten and tortured. One of the paratroopers was about to slaughter him, except that he told him that his son and nephew were with the Mujahedeen in Hassi Ali.

According to Salah Eddine Mohammed, some kids from Ksar Bahamou went in a hurry to Hassi Ali, and told the Mujahedeen about the developments. Eventually, leaving the place was a must. Therefore, the Mujahedeen had to leave at night because it was not safe anymore.

Contrarily, Mr. Yakoub the leader of the Mujahedeen believed that they should temporize till the night after, so they could bring the camels. He believed that the enemy could not reach them overland. This attitude showed his lack of experience with Sahara affairs. Mr. Yakoub had also no idea that Colonel Bigeard had already found a bridgehead for his powers in El-Faydja El-Kahla; est Boukhlala. Meanwhile, the other colonial authorities immediately transported Mr. Maach on a scouting plane. The plane

flew on a low height in the area of Hassi Ali to a point that Mr. Elhadj Ibrahim Chbir's wife was able to recognise Mr. Ma'ach.

Mr. Aichaoui Hmida confirmed that Boudjemaa Belhadj; the delegate of Mr. Yakoub was the one detected by the plane on December 7th, 1957 when he was getting to set up camouflage around a tree which was a security area. Lieutenant Captain Richard informed Colonel Bigeard who transferred his command centre immediately on helicopters, towards Hassi Belkiza; about 20 km near the Mujahedeen's positions to stop their withdrawal. Meanwhile, the second parachutist battalion flew on Nord 2501 aircrafts; from Timimoun at 1:30 AM, towards Hassi Belkiza. On the other hand, Captain Kales headed to Colonel Bigeard's centre along with a variety of helicopters.

Mr. Yakoub ordered to not shoot or attack the aircraft avoiding the exposure of the Mujahedeen's positions. Despite the fact that everyone was committed to these orders, the enemy scouting was able to track the footprints that ended at the little plants. Specifically since the trap of Hassi Ghambou, Colonel Bigeard had already detected the methods of camouflage that were followed by the Mujahedeen.

Six T6 aircraft arrived immediately to Hassi Ali. One of the aircraft shot Mohammed Bakadir and pointed towards the little plants; where Si Yakoub and Ferdj Allah were hiding. While some Mujahedeen started to withdraw and change their positions, Mohammed Ben Messaoud; called "Joudan", known with his shooting

abilities, kept shooting the moving aircrafts using a 27/24 gun machine. This hero was able to drop off a SEPECAT Jaguar aircraft. This made the other aircraft shot from remote distances.



Figure 18 – Picture showing the captives of Hassi Ali's battle.

At 3 PM, the paratroopers came down from Nord aircraft near the Mujahedeen's positions. The Mujahedeen were ordered to shoot the enemy before getting to the ground. According to Captain Kales' recognition, the Liberation Army squad was able to resist and cause human losses to the colonial authorities coming whether overland or through the air. The Mujahid Bkirat Elmokhtar noticed two damaged aircrafts retreating from the battle field. Accordingly, Colonel Bigeard ordered the second battalion of Captain Platé to come down behind the Liberation Army lines. The Liberation Army

members numbered 16 armed men. At that moment, Mostapha Lkbaili and Bkirat withdrew to different positions. Yet the latter was injured. The sniper Ben Messaoud and Aichaoui who was responsible for refilling the machine gun benefited from changing their positions. Joudan was able to shoot down another plane in a place near Hassi Ali called Kard Si Taib. He also shot down a third plane which was seen retreating towards Hassi Ouin Labas where it fell.

The three Mujahedeen tried to move behind the sand dune, but they confronted the paratroopers who opened fire on them. Consequently, Joudan was shot in his right arm and handed over his machine gun to Aichaoui.

The paratroopers used grenades, bombs and shooting rifles because they did not have enough courage to raid the mujahideen who were short of supply water. Thus Mahmoud Tlemceni destroyed and ruined all the useless weapons. Subsequently, the enemy forces restricted the mujahideen and angrily started to collect their mates' dead bodies, with the presence of Colonel Bigeard.

The paratroopers interrogated Ben Messaoud and then executed him when they thought he belonged to the Meharists of Hassi Saka. They also executed the other captive, Mahmoud Tlemceni, at the same night, without respecting any international law.

Actually, the combatant Liberation Army unit consisted of 16 members only, whereas the task of the rest of the mujahedeen was distributed between maintaining supply and the assurance of the 20 camels that were killed. Fourteen of them were martyred.

Ironically, the enemy stated the killing of forty-five mujahideen and the captive of six mujahideen. The French army lowered the outcome of its victims to only four paratroopers and six injured. The colonial forces declared that the helicopters were damaged due to sand and bad weather. But the source of the liberation revolution reported the martyrdom of 14 mujahideen; including Talbi Ahmed known as "Si Yakoub" who was a political governor in Saoura, Mohammed Ben Messaoud; vice-president of the platoon, the captive of 2 and the withdrawal of the rest at night; including Chbira Ibrahim, Bkirat Kada and Kada Ben Ma'ach towards the valley of Saoura.

Most likely, the large number that was remembered by the enemy leaders was in fact, the captives who were transferred from Hassi Ghambou and killed in Boukhlala. The mujahedeen –victims- were registered as being killed during the clash in order to camouflage the non- humanistic crimes against the captivated mujahedeen.

Miloud Belaggoune and Eddine Slimane went back to Hassi Ghambou in order to investigate about the martyrs of that battle. Belaggoune had parted from them a few

days earlier to collect firewood, while Eddine used to be with another unit. When they arrived there, they found out that the battle of Hassi Ali had already taken place there. Besides, the group of Farhat had left the place before the battle, heading towards Saoura valley, next to Garouz Mountain, then to Figuig where they all met.

2.2. Reorganization of the Revolution in the Southwest (The Erg):

The case of reviving the Erg area had symbolized a fundamental issue among the concerns of the fifth area, especially under French discrimination in the area for 15 months. The French policy for separating the Sahara was revealed. Hence it was important to reset the order among the wide Erg areas and to reactivate its role in the liberation revolution. This had been incredibly embodied through the efforts of the mujahideen and combatants of the area.

2.2.1. Political Impacts and Changes:

The political system was broken off of the Erg areas due to the battles of 1957, for 15 months. In addition, and after the battles of Hassi Ghambou and Hassi Ali, the mujahideen moved to the north areas and joined the fifth area units. Nevertheless, the French authorities reinforced their inspection and encirclement campaigns.

At the end of 1958, the command of the third area for the fifth area decided to revive the revolution in the Erg, and establish a township in Timimoun. The mission

was assigned to Hannani Ali. A number of the mujahideen of the area moved on foot from Figig to Mnounat, towards Tinerkouk which arrived by the beginning of 1959. The mission was not as easy as it seemed. In fact, the groups of mujahideen had walked hundreds of kilometres across the arid desert. France had evacuated the Sahara from its people and filled its wells with sand.

When the army had settled down in the centre of Karn Elgasa'a, it was so difficult to make a contact with the people of Tinerkouk. Hannani Ali worked on establishing the civil committees that were responsible for providing the army with the vital services in the field of supply, connection, packing and support. When he settled in Hassi Theldja, Hannani asked for the mujahideen in Fatis who successfully transported supplies.

Afterwards, Hannani Ali and Dahmani Mohammed went to Mguiden and agreed with Cheikh Laarch Koraich on installing a civil committee for the National Liberation Front. They got nearly caught by the enemy, but they quickly ran away. Henceforth, they became more careful and secure.

The command of the third area was interested in establishing centres of support and supplies in the Erg. Indeed, two networks had been established; one of support and supplies, and the other of supplies and connections to provide the army with supplies and news. Moreover, strategic points had been selected to establish areas for supplies

for the National Liberation Army. The centres extended all along the activity triangle: Timimoun, Labyadh Sidi Cheikh and Beni Abbas. The most important centres were the ones on the connection line between Timimoun and Elgoulea; like Laagaba Mountain,Mguiden, Hassi Sidi Kaddour, Hassi Ali Ben Himouda, and the ones on the connection line between Timimoun and Beni Abbas; like Hassi Ali and Hassi Belgrah.

The Erg, the southwest area of the Algerian Sahara had witnessed a remarkable military activity as an effect of reviving the system. This activity had worried the colonial administration and its military units in the region. Furthermore, the mission of reviving the Revolution had a notable moral and political success, despite the enormous losses for the French colonial authorities. Among these successes and changes, a number of battles and clashes took place in the area, like: Karn Lgassaa March 17th, 1959, The Clash of Hassi Tanouaou, The Battle of Dmagh Laabid 1st , The Clash of Belaaroug, The Battle of Hassi Zirara, The Battle of Hassi Theldja 1st, The Battle of Arbag Ben Hammou, The Clash of Dmagh Laabid, The Clash of Arbag Ajrad, The Clash of Hassi Ali Ben Ahmed; near Hassi Ali Ben Himouda, The Battle of Dafgat Moulay, The Battle of Hassi Sidi Kaddour Ben Yahya, The Battle of Karn Bougrafa Chergi, The Battle of Dmagh Laabid 2nd, The Battle of Hassi Ali Ben Himouda, The Battle of Hassi Theldja 2nd , The Battle of Hassi Izi.[1]

[1] - بلبشير عمورة، السجل التاريخي لشهداء الثورة التحريرية لولاية أدرار 1954-1962، منشورات جمعية مشعل التاريخ 46-49 ص 2014 بأدرار، طبع بالمؤسسة الوطنية للفنون المطبعية وحدة الرغاية، الجزائر، .

2.3.The Important Connection and Supply Centres in the Region:[1]

2.3.1. Centres in Ksar Fatis: this Ksar had five centres. The first centre was established in 1957. A year later, it was discovered and the person in charge of it was imprisoned. In 1959, it was reactivated by Mennad Mohammed Ben Abderrahman and his mates till March 19th, 1961, when they got caught and the centre got destroyed. The members were: Nassery Emhammed Ben Kerroum; the person in charge of the centre, Boussabha Mohammed, Mennad Mohammed Ben Abderrahman, Mennad Mohammed Ben Elhoussin, Mennad Abderrahman Ben Abdelkader, Mennad Bahouss Ben Emhammed, Aichaoui Kouider Ben Miloud.

The second centre was established in 1957, then it was discovered. The person in charge of it was imprisoned along with his mates. Then he was set free in 1958, and the centre was reactivated in 1959, then he we caught again in 1961. The members were: Boulghiti Mohammed Ben Emhammed; the person in charge of the centre, Boulghiti Boulghit Ben Emhammed, Boulghiti Ahmed Ben Abdelkader, Boulghiti Mohammed Ben Elmabrouk, Hekkoumi Slimane Ben Cheikh.

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[1] لمحرزي عبد الرحمان، *الشهيد هاشمي أمحمد بن أحمد –بونافع- وصفحات مشرقة من تاريخ الثورة التحريرة بولاية أدرار*، منشورات 29-30 ص 2014.جمعية مشعل التاريخ بأدرار، طبع بالمؤسسة الوطنية للفنون المطبعية وحدة الرغاية، الجزائر،
- بلبشير عمورة، السجل التاريخي لشهداء الثورة التحريرية لولاية أدرار 1954-1962، منشورات جمعية مشعل التاريخ 105-114 ص 2014 بأدرار، طبع بالمؤسسة الوطنية للفنون المطبعية وحدة الرغاية، الجزائر، .

The third centre was established in 1957, and then it was discovered. The person in charge of it was caught and imprisoned. Their members were: Aichaoui Ahmed Ben Aissa; the person in charge of the centre, Aichaoui Mbarka Bent Mohammed, Aichaoui Emhammed Ben Ahmed, Aichaoui Hammou Ben Aissa, Aichaoui Mohammed Ben Elarbi, Aichaoui Kouider Ben Mohammed, Aichaoui Kouider Ben Elarbi, Aichaoui Emhammed Ben Elmabrouk, Aichaoui Elarbi Ben Elmabrouk, Aichaoui Ali Ben Elmabrouk, Aichaoui Rabiaa Bent Cheikh, Bounaama Boudjemaa, Bassidi Ahmed Ben Laamouri.

The fourth centre was established in 1957. The members were: Hekkoumi Laid Ben Bahous; the person in charge of the centre, Hekkoumi Kouider Ben Bahous, Hekkoumi Ahmed Ben Bahous, Hekkoumi Cheikh Ben Boubakkar, Hekkoumi Salem Ben Slimane, Hekkoumi Kouider Ben Mohammed, Hekkoumi Abderrahmen Ben Mohammed, Hekkoumi Bobakkar Ben Mohammed, Hekkoumi Cheikh Ben Kaddour, Hekkoumi Hemmadi Ben Cheikh, Hekkoumi Mohammed Ben Allal.

The fifth centre was established in 1957. The members were: Nouari Mohammed Ben Bahous; the person in charge of the centre and Ben Miloud, Nouari Emhammed Ben Mansour, Nouari Bouamama Ben Emhammed.

2.3.2. Centre of Ksar Ain Hammou:

It was established in 1957, and then it was discovered and destroyed. In 1959, the centre was reactivated. The Members were: Hachemi Mohammed Ben Ahmed; the person in charge of the centre; Elghanay Emhammed; Beddiaf Ahmed, Klimani Mohammed, Nouari Ahmed Ben Eddine, Nouari Bahous Ben Eddine, Ben Kadi Abderrahman, Aichaoui Messaoud Ben Mohammed, Aichaoui Cheikh Ben Abdelkader.

2.3.3. Centre of Ksar Taentas:

It was established in 1957, then it was discovered and destroyed and the person in charge of it was caught and imprisoned. The centre was reactivated in 1959, by its responsible Litim Ahmed Ben Ahmed. The members were: Litim Ahmed Ben Emhammed; the person in charge of the centre, Aichaoui Keddour Ben Mbarek, Litim Kamla, Litim Taib, Aichaoui Ahmed Ben Messaoud, Aichaoui Belkhir Ben Messaoud, Beddiaf Brik, Aichaoui Cheikh Ben Messaoud, Aichaoui Kada Ben Elhamel.

2.3.4. Centre of Timezlan:

It was established in 1957, then was discovered and reactivated by the same person in charge in 1959. The members were: Zaoui Mohammed Ben Elmabrouk; the person in charge of the centre, Eddine Cheikh Ben Mohammed, Lezgham Sahli Ben Mohammed, Lezgham Bahous Ben Sahli, Eddine Cheikh Ben Djelloul, Eddine Slimane Ben Djelloul, Zaalouk AbdAllah.

2.3.5. Centre of Zaouiet Eddabagh:

It was established in 1957 by Zirari Ahmed, then it was discovered and the person in charge of it was imprisoned. In 1959, the centre was reactivated by Boubat Djelloul and his mates. The members were: Zirari Ahmed Ben Taher; the person in charge of the centre, Boubat Djelloul, Bellaama Ali, Aichaoui Elfaddiya, Aichaoui Mahmoud, Aichaoui Messaoud Ben Lmiloud, Aichaoui Emhammed Ben Lmir.

2.3.6. Centre of Tganet:

It was established in 1957 by Chamkha Mohammed, then it was discovered and the person in charge of it was imprisoned. The centre was reactivated in 1959 by Tahri Taher. The members were: Chamkha Mohammed; the person in charge of the centre, Lemaallem Mohammed, Belbay Ahmed, Lemaallem Ali, Tahri Taher, Tahri Elarbi, Benaissa Moulay Emhammed.

2.3.7. Centre of Sidi Mansour:

It was established in 1957, and then it was discovered. In 1959, the centre was reactivated by the same person in charge. The members were: Mkaddem Mabrouk; the person in charge of the centre, Aoulad Waali Abdelhai, Mkaddem Abdelkrim.

2.3.8. Centre of Taghyart:

It was established in 1957, and then was discovered and the person in charge of it was imprisoned. The members were: Hannani Aissa; the person in charge of the centre, Nouifdi Abdelkader, Yahyaoui Mohammed.

2.3.9. Centre of Lhadj Gelmane:

It had been established in 1957, and then was discovered. The person in charge of it joined the Liberation Army. The members were: Elhachemi Maammar; the responsible of the centre, Sadeki Mohammed Elhamiani, Hachemi Mohammed, Bouchareb Alla.

Note: the centre of Taghyat was joined with the one of Lhadj Gelman after 1957, because all of its members were martyred and it was reactivated by Nouifdi Abdelkader.

2.3.10. Centre of Hiha:

It was established in 1957; it was discovered and transformed along with the one of Adjdir to Centre of Taghyart by Dengara. The members were: Daoudi Ammari; the person in charge of the centre, Yedda Mohammed.

2.3.11. Centre of Elgassba:

Its members were: Nigoussi Ahmed, Berchid Moulay Ahmed, Abidi Dahman, Abidi Saleh, Ben Hammadi Mohammed, Ben Hammadi Mensour, Ben Hammadi Mohammed.

2.3.12. Centre of Hassi Djdid (the Western) and Hassi Tasselgha:

It has established in 1957, then it was discovered and the person responsible on it was Hettassa Mabrouk was caught and got killed.

2.3.13. Centre of Hassi Tamendert:

It was established in 1959, and then it was transformed to Centre of Fatis after it was discovered by the enemy. The members were: Aichaoui Ahmed Ben Aissa, Aichaoui Hammou Ben Aissa, Aichaoui Kouider Ben Mohammed.

2.4. The important centres of torture in the Region:[1]

The primary centre of torture that can be mentioned is the centre of Timimoun "military barracks". This centre was established in 1902, in the centre of Timimoun as a military barracks. It was the first location for the French colonization in the territory. It was about 700 m² and it could hold for 100 people. Captain Goutier and Nikola were responsible for it. After the independence, it was transformed into a primary school which is named Aicha Oum Almouminin.

Secondly, the centre of Timimoun that was related to the military barracks was established in 1945, in the centre of Timimoun next to the Daira nawadays. Surrounded by private residences to the east, and to the west was a post office of about 600 m². This

[1] - بلبشير عمورة، السجل التاريخي لشهداء الثورة التحريرية لولاية أدرار 1954-1962، منشورات جمعية مشعل التاريخ 51-49 ص 2014 بأدرار، طبع بالمؤسسة الوطنية للفنون المطبعية وحدة الرغاية، الجزائر، .

centre was exploited for different torturing methods and inquiries practiced on people whether from the area or outside it. Among the martyrs who died in it; the martyr Dahmani Emhammed. Actually, the centre became an empty space related to the city hall.

Finally, the centre of Elbordj was located in Tinerkouk. This centre had been established in 1958 in a territory outside the urban area to control the revolutionaries' moves in the Erg and to keep an eye on the citizens. It was a helicopter landing site. It had been exploited for torturing and inquiries practiced on people. It could hold for 150 people, while its area was nearly 700 m². The person who was in charge of it was Captain Debien and Fizof.

General Conclusion

After this study of the various movements of resistance in the region of Gourara, it became clearly obvious that this area was one of the most active areas during the French-Algerian war. This study included the main reason of the –southern- Algerians' resistance, which is French cruel existence.

France sent exploratory expeditions to the southern areas; the Algerian Sahara, in order to discover them before it could occupy them. These expeditions started from 1857 and went on. The southern people used a number of different types of resistance starting with the religious Fatwa as a religious type of resistance. They even considered the Fatwa as a strong primary motive to resist and fight back the enemy defending their land and keeping and protecting their properties, honor and dignity. Holding to their religion by building more Quranic schools, like Zawaya to teach the Quran and the biography of the prophet, was also another dimension of religious resistance.

Moreover, the armed type of resistance began from 1900. The region had witnessed about 7 battles declared by the Gourararaian citizens as a way of resisting French colonialism. Unfortunately, Timimoune; the capital of Gourara region was colonized in the same year. However, the battles of resistance continued, yet the region of Gourara was officially colonized.

In 1945, the Gourarian participation in the legislative elections started, as a political type of resistance against the French colonial existence. Subsequently, the revolutionary participation took place including the different battles, uprisings and traps which were strongly active.

Each popular resistance and revolutionary work in the Western South of Algeria is considered as a natural extension of a series of popular resistors and revolutionary in areas of the North.

Finally, and through this humble effort, I would have shed light on what I have found most important; but not yet enough to be mentioned, bringing out this area's imprint and impact on the popular resistance and revolutionary work. Despite the small number of the mujahideen and the difficulty of the area, they were able to bravely refuse the colonizer by sacrificing and fighting whether through the armed, religious or political resistance, without forgetting the effective role played by the area during the Liberation Revolution.

Appendix

1. List of the Martyrs in the Region of Gourara:[1]

1.1. List of the Martyrs of the Liberation Revolution in the Region of Gourara:

Name	Date & Place of Birth	Date of Joining	Date of Martyrdom
Abidi Mohammed	1928 Timimoune	1957	1957
Zaoui Lfaraa	1932 Fatis/Tinerkouk	1957	1957
Belbay Ahmed	1923 Beni Aissa/Ksar Kaddour	1957	December 1957
Belharma Hmida	1932 Taerbine/Talmine	1957	1957
Belaggoun Ali	1939 Fatis/Tinerkouk	15/10/1957	27/11/1957
Ben Hammadi Hammou	1924 Elkaf-3lgasba/Timimoune	1957	1957
Ben Hmida Ali	1930 Tiberghamine/Aougrout	1957	1957
Ben Nanna Derbal	1932 Aoulad Mahmoud	15/10/1957	27/11/1957
Ben Nanna Derbal	1930 Tiberghamine/Aougrout	15/10/1957	27/11/1957

[1] - بلبشير عمورة، *السجل التاريخي لشهداء الثورة التحريرية لولاية أدرار 1954-1962*، منشورات جمعية مشعل التاريخ بأدرار، طبع بالمؤسسة الوطنية للفنون المطبعية وحدة الرغاية، الجزائر، 2014 ص 53-65.

Beddiaf Mohammed	1936 Tinerkouk	1957	1957
Tamri Kada	1928 Lhadj Guelmane/Aoulad Said	1957	1957
Guendouz Larbi	1938 Fatis/Tinerkouk	1957	1957
Kouidri Kaddour	1927 Tinerkouk	Juin 1956	27/11/1957
Kouidri Mohammed	1936 Ain Hammou/Tinerkouk	1957	1957
Litim Cheikh	1915 Taentas/Tinerkouk	1957	1957
Litim Kaddour	1927 Taentas/Tinerkouk	1957	1957
Maammar Kouider	1934 Aoulad Mahmoud	15/10/1956	27/11/1957
Mennad Mhammed	1934 Fatis/Tinerkouk	1957	1957
Nouar Laid	1938 Fatis/Tinerkouk	15/10/1957	27/11/1957
Nouari Miloud	1918 Fatis/Tinerkouk	1957	1957
Nouari Miloud	1930 Tinerkouk	1957	1957
Nouari Nouar	1923 Fatis/Tinerkouk	1957	1957
Hachemi Mhammed	1930 Ain Hammou/Tinerkouk	1957	1957

Hsini Abdelkader	1921 Ksar Kaddour	1957	1957
Hekkoumi Abid	1916 Fatis/Tinerkouk	15/10/1957	27/11/1957
Hekkoumi Kaddour	1928 Fatis/Tinerkouk	1957	1957
Zaoui Allal	1941 Ain Hammou/Tinerkouk	15/10/1957	27/11/1957
Zirari Mohammed	1940 Ain Hammou/Tinerkouk	15/10/1957	27/11/1957
Ataouat Keddour	11/02/1934 Timimoune	1957	November 1957
Aichaoui Hmida	1928 Tinerkouk	1957	1957
Aichaoui Ali	1938 Fatis/Tinerkouk	1957	1957
Aichaoui Mohammed	1928 Tinerkouk	1957	1957
Cheikh Boubakar Merzoug	1930 Zouiet Dabbagh/Tinerkouk	1957	1958
Ben Ferdj Allah Kouider	1940 Tazliza/Tinerkouk	Juin 1957	31/12/1958
Ben Naoui Kouider	1936 Taarabine/Talmine	1957	1958
Romani	1906 Naama/Talmine	1956	1958

Mohammed			
Saed Bahous	1925 Ighzer/Aoulad Said	1956	1958
Eddine Mhammed	1934 Fatis/Tinerkouk	15/10/1957	1959
Lhachemi Maammar	1920 Ain Hammou/Tinerkouk	1957	1959
Ben Hammadi Allal	1925 Timimoune	1957	1959
Ben Hammadi Mohammed Saleh	1929 Lkaf-Lguasba Timimoune	1957	1959
Ben Messaoud Hmida	1940 Tinerkouk	1959	1959
Zoubiri Naimi	1940 Lhadj Guelmane/Aoulad Said	1956	1959
Sebgag Mohammed	1923 Timimoune	1957	1959
Aichaoui Hmida	1940 Aoulad Said/Tinerkouk	1958	1959
Kouidri Kada	1910 Tinerkouk	September 1956	December 1959
Kerroumi Mohammed	1933 Tinerkouk	1957	1959

Hettassa Hammou	1934 Taghouzi/Talmine	1957	1959
Eddine Hmida	1932 Fatis/Tinerkouk	1956	1960
Eddine Bahous	1940 Fatis/Tinerkouk	September 1956	15/12/1960
Ben Hammadi Hammadi	1935 Lguasba/Timimoune	1957	1960
Saidi Kada	1935 Taghouzi/Talmine	1957	1960
Sila Mohammed	1934 Timimoune	1957	1960
Nasri Laid	1933 Fatis/Tinerkouk	1957	1960
Nouari Boudaoud	1937 Tinerkouk	1957	1960
Brik Abdelkader	1935 Tinerkouk	Sptember 1959	September 1961
Bounama Ahmed	1923 Samouta/Aoulad Said	1956	1961
Hekkoumi Mohammed	1923 Tinerkouk	1956	1961
Dahmani Hammadi	1930 Tinerkouk	1956	1961
Chainbi Ahmed	1923 Charouine	1957	1961
Kouidri Hmida	1930 Taentas/Tinerkouk	1956	1961
Nasri Mohammed	1928 Fatis/Tinerkouk	1957	1961
Nouari Hmida	1938 Fatis/Tinerkouk	Juin 1959	September 1961

Nouari Slimane	1935 Fatis/Tinerkouk	1959	1961
Nouari Kouider	1938 Fatis/Tinerkouk	1959	1961
Nouari Mohammed	1910 Fatis/Tinerkouk	1959	1961
Nouari Mohammed	1939 Fatis/Tinerkouk	Juin 1959	September 1961
Arabi Ahmed	1928 Ourir/Daldoul	1957	20/03/1962
Hachemi Hachemi	1914 Ain Hammou/Tinerkouk	1957	1957
Yedda Mohammed	1928 Ksar Lhadj/Aougrout	1957	1958

1.2. List of the Martyrs of the Liberation Revolution in the Region of Gourara (Members of National Liberation Army):

Name	**Date & Place of Birth**	**Date of Joining**	**Date of Martyrdom**
Guerrout Boudjemaa	1926 Timimoune	1956	1956
Belama Abdelkader	1917 Tinerkouk	15/10/1957	27/11/1957
Belaggoun Kouider	1910 Lkaf-	1957	1957

	Lguasba/Timimoune		
Bellama Mohammed	1908 Timimoune	1957	1957
Benhakkoum Mohammed	1900 Timimoune	1956	December 1957
Bouchareb Allal	1901 Lhadj Guelmane/Aoulad Said	1956	1957
Djkaoua Laid	1934 Taghouzi/Talmine	1956	1957
Guenda Bouamama	1902 Tinerkouk	1956	1957
Guenda Mohammed	1935 Anglou/Ksar Kaddour	1957	21/11/1957
Litim Mohammed	1917 Tinerkouk	1956	1957
Mahdjoub Mohammed	1936 Timimoune	1956	November 1957
Mennad Mansour	1918 Timimoune	1957	30/11/1957
Moundo Mohammed	1918 Bahammou/Talmine	1956	12/10/1957
Nigoussi	1912 Timimoune	1956	1957

Mohammed[1]			
Hettassa Mabrouk	1903 Timimoune	January 1957	December 1957
Ouestani Larbi	1910 Timimoune	1956	September 1957
Allan Hadjbrahim	1910 Timimoune	1956	1957
Bellaouar Bachir	1910 Timimoune	1957	1958
Bencheikh Mohammed	1919 Timimoune	1957	1958
Benaissa Sassi	1923 Timimoune	1957	1958
Boussaid Ibrahim	1920 Charouine	1957	1958
Boussaid Messaoud	1924 Charouine	1957	1958
Daoudi Ammari	1912 Haiha/Timimoune	1957	1958
Dahmani Mhammed	1924 Ksar Kaddour	1957	20/01/1958
Chikhaoui Zaid	1905 Gourara/Daldoul	1957	1958
Aichaoui Messaoud	1932 Tinerkouk	1957	1958
Aichaoui Salem	1930 Tinerkouk	1957	1958

[1] Nigoussi Mohammed Ben Maammar was born in 1918, in Timimoune. He had one son. He joined the revolution in 1956. He was the responsible of collecting information in the civil order of the front. He died in 1957, In Lfaydja Lkahla; near Hassi Boukhlala.

Lahssen Ahmed	1907 Timimoune	1957	1958
Moulay Omar Lahssan	1926 Timimoune	1956	1958
Romani Ali	1928 Taghouzi/Talmine	1956	1959
Abdelkrim Moulay	1913 Aougrout	1957	29/01/1959
Hekkoumi Laid	1930 Tinerkouk	1959	1961
Aichaoui Hmada	1934 Tinerkouk	1956	December 1961
Aoulad Waali Mohammed	1906 Tinerkouk	1960	1961
Soudani Boudjamaa	1930 Adjdir Lgharbi/Charouine	1956	1957
Aichaoui Hammou	1919 Zaouiet Dabagh/Tinerkouk	1956	1957
Naoui Ahmed	1913 Talmine	1957	December 1958

2. The Cemeteries of the Martyrs in the Region:[1]

Cemetery	Number of Graves	
Martyrs' Cemetery of Timimoune	84 martyrs	129.3 km²
Martyrs' Cemetery of Tinerkouk	33 martyrs	220 km²

3. The Status of the Revolution in the Region:[2]

Town	**Nature of the Historical Action (Content)**	**Location of the Monument**
Tinerkouk	Martyrs of the area	In the cemetery of Tinerkouk
Timimoune	Martyrs of the area	In the cemetery of Timimoune
Timimoune	The uprising of Hassi Saka	About 50 km from Timimoune towards Elgoléa
Tinerkouk	The 8 French who were killed	Hassi Saka

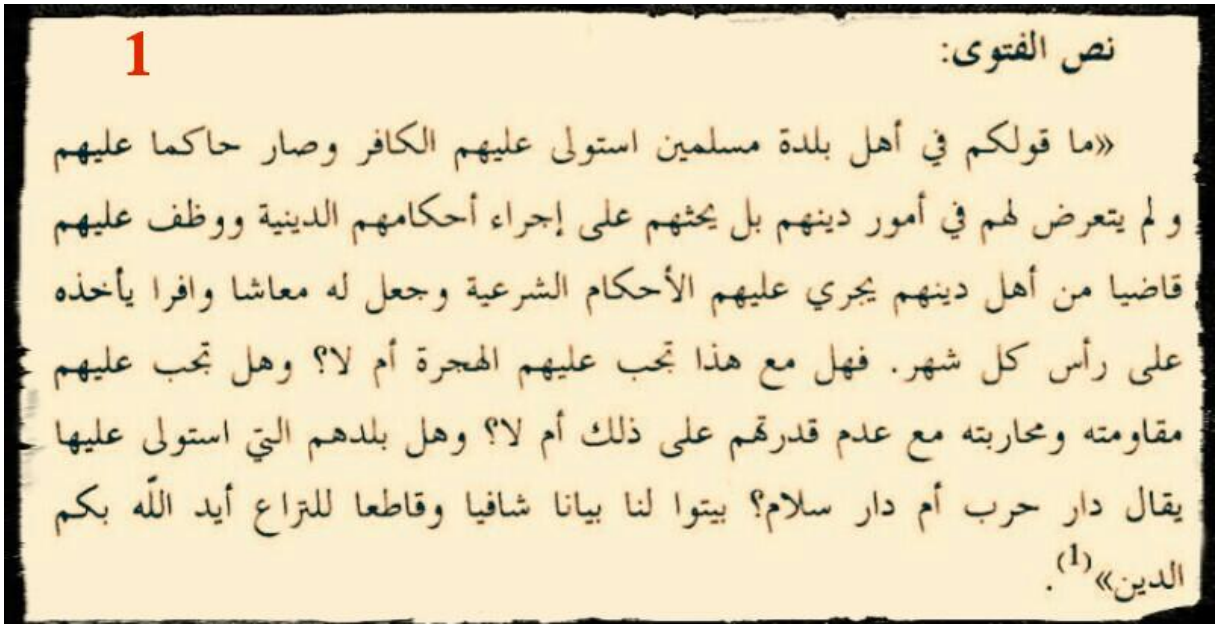
[1] - بلبشير عمورة، السجل التاريخي لشهداء الثورة التحريرية لولاية أدرار 1954-1962، منشورات جمعية مشعل التاريخ بأدرار، طبع بالمؤسسة الوطنية للفنون المطبعية وحدة الرغاية، الجزائر، 2014 ص 135 .

[2] - Ibid ص 136-138

Tinerkouk	The uprising of Hassi Saka	Hassi Saka
Aoulad Aissa – Charouine	-Center of Torture -List of the executed Martyrs	El-Faidja El-Kahla near Hassi Boukhlala in the Great western Erg
Charouine	Martyrs of the area	In front of the city hall
Aoulad Aissa	Martyrs of the area	In front of the city hall
Talmine	Martyrs of the area	In front of the city hall
Daldoul	Martyrs of the area	In front of the city hall
Tinerkouk	Martyrs of the area	In front of the city hall
Ksar Kaddour	Martyrs of the area	In front of the city hall
Tinerkouk	The battle of Tasselgha	Place of Hassi Tasselgha's battle
Tinerkouk	The battle of Hassi Ghambou	The place of Hassi Ghambou's battle
Talmine	The battle of Hassi Ali	Near Hassi Ali
Talmine	Martyrs of the area	In front of Bahammou's Mosque
Aoulad Said	Martyrs of the area	In front of the city hall
Mtarfa	Martyrs of the area	In front of the city hall
Aougrout	Martyrs of the area	Near the city hall

4. The Text of the Fatwa of people of Gourara[1]:

فتوى أهل قورارة سنة 1893:



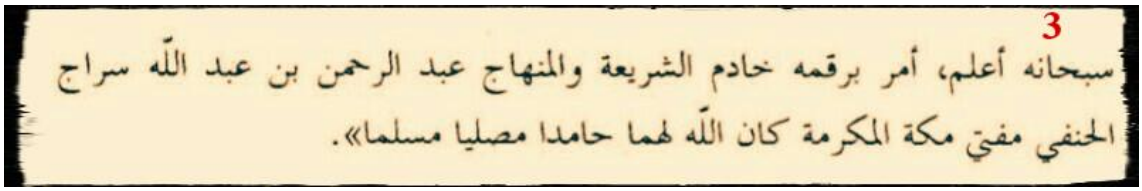
1

نص الفتوى:

«ما قولكم في أهل بلدة مسلمين استولى عليهم الكافر وصار حاكما عليهم ولم يتعرض لهم في أمور دينهم بل يحثهم على إجراء أحكامهم الدينية ووظف عليهم قاضيا من أهل دينهم يجري عليهم الأحكام الشرعية وجعل له معاشا وافرا يأخذه على رأس كل شهر. فهل مع هذا تجب عليهم الهجرة أم لا؟ وهل تجب عليهم مقاومته ومحاربته مع عدم قدرتهم على ذلك أم لا؟ وهل بلدهم التي استولى عليها يقال دار حرب أم دار سلام؟ بينوا لنا بيانا شافيا وقاطعا للنزاع أيد الله بكم الدين»[1].

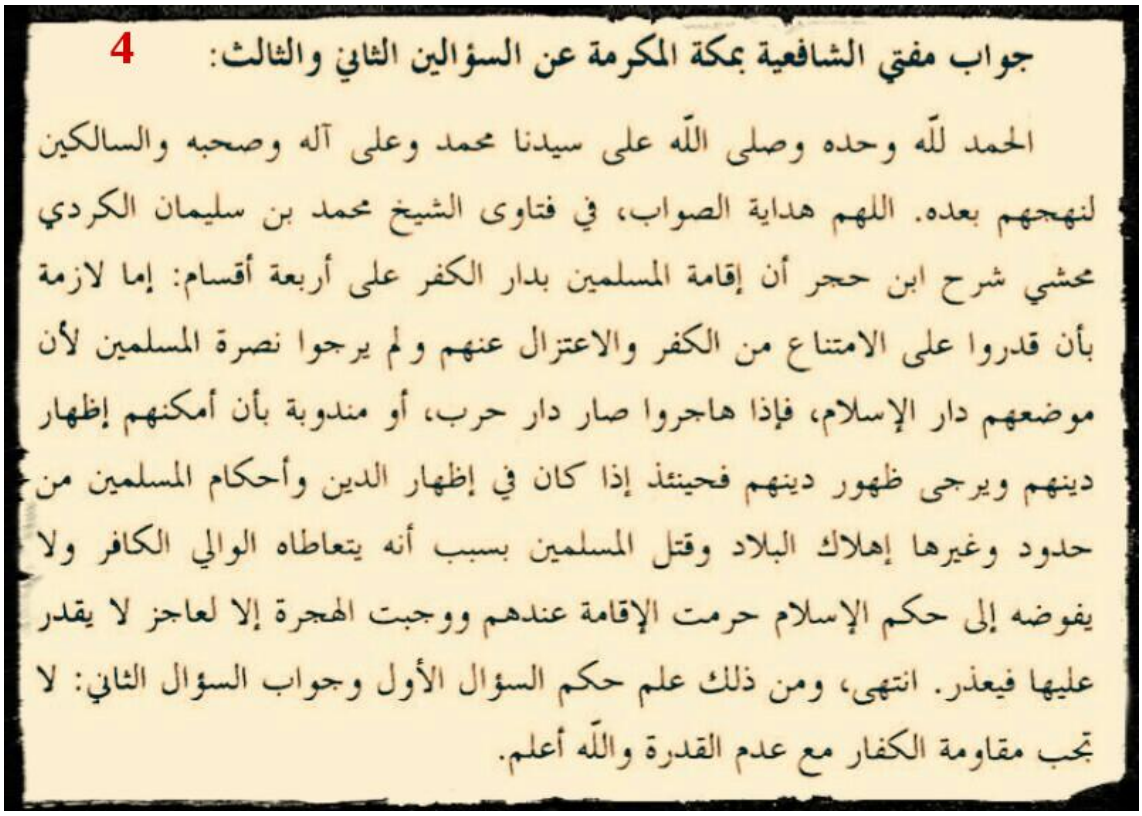
[1] جمال، قنان، نصوص سياسية جزائرية في القرن التاسع عشر 1830-1914 ديوان المطبوعات الجامعية، الجزائر، 1993 ص: 264-262

2 الإجابة: «قال العلامة نحو العلامة رحمه الله في جواب نحو المسول (كذا) عنه: المهاجرة واجبة من موضع لا يتمكن الرجل من إقامة أمور دينه بأي سبب كان ومن لم يقدر على ذلك يجب عليه الهجرة إن قدر عليها بأن كان له مال يكفيه لمئونة الأثقال. فقد قال اللّه سبحانه وتعالى في حق قوم أسلموا و لم يهاجروا مع تمكنهم من ذلك **﴿إنّ الذين توفاهم الملائكة ظالمي أنفسهم، قالوا فيما كنتم، قالوا كنا مستضعفين في الأرض، قالوا ألم تكن أرض اللّه واسعة فتهاجروا فيها﴾**. فلم يعذرهم ربهم مع استضعافهم بتمكنهم من المهاجرة إلى محل آخر إلا من استثنى في آخر الآية قال تعالى **﴿إلا المستضعفين من الرجال والنساء والولدان﴾**. والمعنى أن جهنم مأوى جميع من ترك الهجرة إلا من هو مستضعف من جنس الرجال والنساء والولدان حال كونهم لا يستطيعون حيلة في الخروج لعجزهم وفقرهم ولا يهتدون سبيلا أي لا معرفة لهم بالمسالك فأولئك عسى اللّه أن يغفر عنهم ترك الهجرة كذا قاله علماء التفسير وقال ﷺ: من فر بدينه من أرض إلى أرض وإن كان شبرا من الأرض استوجبت له الجنة وكان رفيق أبيه إبراهيم ونبيه محمد صلوات (كذا) اللّه عليهم أجمعين. وفي معراج الدراية عن المبسوط: البلاد التي في أيدي الكفار بلاد إسلام، لا بلاد حرب لأنهم لم يظهروا حكم الكفر بل القضاة والولاة مسلمون يطيعونهم عن ضرورة أو بدونها وكل مصر فيه وال من جهتهم يجوز له إقامة الجمع والأعياد والحدود فلو (كذا) الولاة كفارا يجوز للمسلمين إقامة الجمع ويصير القاضي قاضيا بتراضي المسلمين ويجب عليهم أن يلتمسوا واليا مسلما. وفي تنوير الأبصار وشرحه الدر المختار: لا تصير دار الإسلام دار حرب إلا بأمور ثلاثة بإجراء أحكام أهل الشرك وباتصالها بدار الحرب وبأن لا يبقى فيها مسلم أو ذمي آمنا بالأمان الأول على نفسه. قال العلامة الطحطاوي في حاشيتة عليه وظاهره أنه لو أجريت أحكام المسلمين وأحكام أهل الشرك لا تكون دار حرب، فعلم مما نقلناه أنه متى وجد قاض من المسلمين ولو بإقامة الكافر له وأجريت أحكام المسلمين على ما وصف أعلاه لا تخرج البلاد على أن تكون دار إسلام. واللّه



3

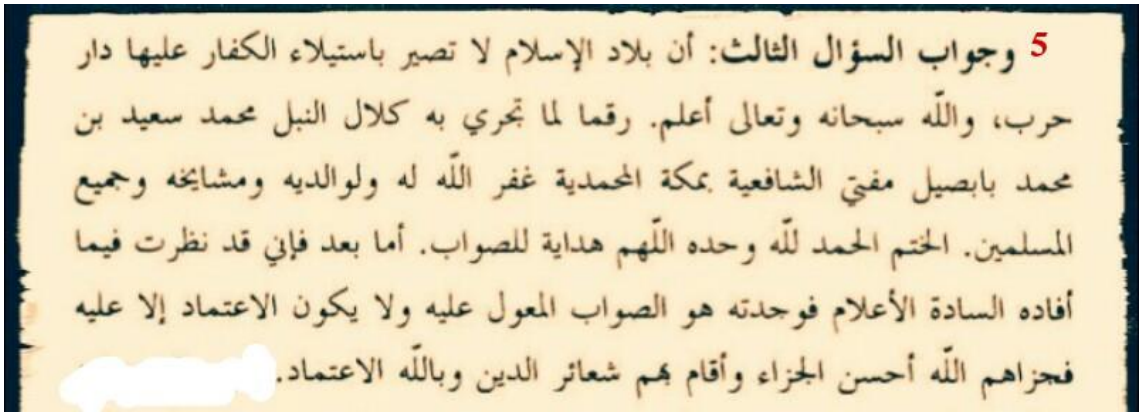
سبحانه أعلم، أمر برقمه خادم الشريعة والمنهاج عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله سراج الحنفي مفتي مكة المكرمة كان الله لهما حامدا مصليا مسلما».



4

جواب مفتي الشافعية بمكة المكرمة عن السؤالين الثاني والثالث:

الحمد لله وحده وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وعلى آله وصحبه والسالكين لنهجهم بعده. اللهم هداية الصواب، في فتاوى الشيخ محمد بن سليمان الكردي محشي شرح ابن حجر أن إقامة المسلمين بدار الكفر على أربعة أقسام: إما لازمة بأن قدروا على الامتناع من الكفر والاعتزال عنهم ولم يرجوا نصرة المسلمين لأن موضعهم دار الإسلام، فإذا هاجروا صار دار حرب، أو مندوبة بأن أمكنهم إظهار دينهم ويرجى ظهور دينهم فحينئذ إذا كان في إظهار الدين وأحكام المسلمين من حدود وغيرها إهلاك البلاد وقتل المسلمين بسبب أنه يتعاطاه الوالي الكافر ولا يفوضه إلى حكم الإسلام حرمت الإقامة عندهم ووجبت الهجرة إلا لعاجز لا يقدر عليها فيعذر. انتهى، ومن ذلك علم حكم السؤال الأول وجواب السؤال الثاني: لا تجب مقاومة الكفار مع عدم القدرة والله أعلم.



5

وجواب السؤال الثالث: أن بلاد الإسلام لا تصير باستيلاء الكفار عليها دار حرب، والله سبحانه وتعالى أعلم. رقما لما تجري به كلال النبل محمد سعيد بن محمد بابصيل مفتي الشافعية بمكة المحمدية غفر الله له ولوالديه ومشايخه وجميع المسلمين. الختم الحمد لله وحده اللهم هداية للصواب. أما بعد فإني قد نظرت فيما أفاده السادة الأعلام فوجدته هو الصواب المعول عليه ولا يكون الاعتماد إلا عليه فجزاهم الله أحسن الجزاء وأقام بهم شعائر الدين وبالله الاعتماد.

5. The battle of Hassi Ali as described by the mujahid Aichaoui Hmida, known as Chadi: [1]

على الساعة السابعة صباحا صعد امحمد باقدر إلى الحراسة أعلى الكثبة المغطاة "بشجر لازال" و كنا لم نستفق للقهوة بعد كان الأطفال قد أخبرونا بما وقع في قصر "باحمو" و طلبنا من المحافظ يعقوب تغييرالمكان ليلاً لكنه رفض ذلك لأنه كان يعتقد بأن فرنسا لا تدخل العرق بينما كانت فرنسا بيجار قد أقامت قاعدة لها في الفايجة الكحلة شرق حاسي بوخلالة و قد كان رأيه أن ننتظر لليلة أخرى حتى تحضر الإبل و يحولوا المكان و السبب بنظري هو جهله بالصحراء لأنه قصوري من تامتارت من وادي الساورة بينما نحن شعانبة نعرف الصحراء.صعد السيد يعقوب و طلب منا البقاء في مكاننا وأمرنا بعدم رمي على الطائرات الهابطة كي لا نضيع الذخيرة و لا نكشف. لكن الطائرة رأت السيد بوجمعة بلحاج نائب يعقوب لما كان أعلى الكثبة بصدد و ضع التموين للحارس.أصابت الطائرة السيد محمد بقادير ثم تأكدت من وجود المجاهدين في المكان. وصلت ستة طائرات صفراء ثلاثة وراءها ثلاثة تحوم حول طائرات الإستطلاع ثم وصلت ستة طائرات t6 التي ترمي بذخيرة 7/27.

كنا في الوسط و السيد يعقوب و معنا واحد مسجون خائن إسمه علال بلقايد أما أخوه مبارك فأخذه فرحات و قتلوه هناك. جلس يعقوب مع فرج الله مع الأسير و قد طلبت منهم تغيير المكان نجو شجرة علندة كبيرة و بعد قليل قام سي يعقوب و قتل الخائن خوفآ من أن يكشفهم و عندما كشفته الطائرة نزلت إليه فقتلت السي يعقوب و فرج الله برشاشاتها فبدأ البقية بالإنسحاب و بقينا في الوسط بالرشاش 24/27قويدري محمد بن مسعود المدعو "الجودان" كان معي وهو القناص و أنا معبآ تمكن إسقاط الطائرة (شهباء جغوار) اخذت الطائرات تبتعد لما رأت الطائرة تسقط.بكيرات و القبايلي مصطفى إنسحبا كل في و جهته و بكيرات المختار جرح و هو حي يعيش في تيميمون .أما نحن فغيرنا المكان نحو شجيرة أخرى "لازال" كشفتنا طائرة أخرى فضربها الجودان و أسقطها في قرد سي الطيب قرب حاسي علي جنوبا أصاب طائرة ثالثة و النيران تشتعل بها انسحبت جهة حاسي وين لاباس و سقطت هناك.وصل طالب محمود و هو المدرب من تلمسان اجتمعنا نحن السبعة و قررنا الإنقسام و سرت أنا مع طالب محمود و الجودان باتجاه إبلنا قرب حاسي علي (طايرة الحجر عرق عرق) مع صعودنا للهضبة التقينا بالمظليين و كانت الساعة الرابعة ونصف أو الخامسة مساء.بقينا نحن الثلاثة و الأخرون ساروا في اتجاه أخر جرحنا نحن الثلاثة بقنابل ترمي بالبنادق حيث كسر ذراع الجودان فاستلمت البندقية الرشاشة إلى اخر طلقة لدينا و قام محمود طالب بتكسير الأسلحة.أسرنا نحن ثلاثة من قبل المظليين و كان الجودان جريحآ ربطنا وأخذوا يجمعون موتاهم و جرحاهم و كان معهم العقيد بيجار و معهم عربي مظلي كانوا ينادونه احمد سوقة.استنطقوا الجودان و سمعته يقول أنني من حاسي صاكة عندها أمر بيجار بإعدامه فورآ حيث أخذه أحدهم إلى مكان قريب و أطلق عليه الرصاص بكل برودة.

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