

**EC-ARAB WORLD RELATIONS: POLITICAL DIMENSION**

Royal Institute of International Affairs  
Castelgandolfo (Roma), 18-20/VI/1993

- a. Conference schedule, speakers, participants
  - 1. "Political Islam in Algeria"/ Anwar N. Haddam
  - 2. "Bosnia: the unwanted European Muslim majority state"/ Anwar N. Haddam

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n° Inv. 13146 21 GIU. 1993
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THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY  
AND THE ARAB WORLD  
الجماعة الأوروبية والعالم العربي



ARABIC SERVICE

## EC-ARAB WORLD RELATIONS: POLITICAL DIMENSION

I.A.F.E., Castelgandolfo, 18-20 June, 1993

### SCHEDULE

#### FRIDAY 18 JUNE

16.00-17.30 Session one: Regionalism v. Sub-Regionalism in EC-Arab World Relations

Speaker: Alejandro Lorca

17.30-17.45 Refreshments

17.15-18.45 Session two: One Foreign Policy or Twelve? Prospects for Political  
Cooperation in the EC

Speaker: Susie Symes

7.30  
20.00 Dinner

#### SATURDAY 19 JUNE

9.00-10.30 Session three: Political Reform and Conditionality in EC-Arab World Relations

Speaker: Timothy Niblock

10.30-10.45 Refreshments

10.45-12.15 Session four: Legitimate intervention: Parameters and extent of EC Involvement  
in neighbouring affairs

Speaker: Marwan Bishara

12.45-13.45  
12.15-13.15 Lunch

13.15-14.45 Session five: Case-study 1: Arab-Israeli-Palestinian conflict

16

Speaker: Karma Nabulsi

14.45-15.00 Refreshments

15.00-16.30 Session six: Case-study 2: Bosnia

Speaker: Anwar Haddam

## SUNDAY 20 JUNE

9.00-10.30 Session seven: Case-study 3: Democratisation and Human Rights

Speaker: Ali Oumlil

10.30-10.45 Refreshments

10.45-12.15 Session eight: Case-study 4: Muslim Minorities in Europe

u. 20

Speaker: Saad Djebbar

Symposium Close

12.45

## SPEAKERS

### **Saad Djebbar**

Saad Djebbar is an international lawyer presently living in London. He is a commentator and writer on Maghreb affairs focusing especially on Algeria and Libya. He was educated at the Faculty of Law, Constantine University in Algeria and completed his post graduate studies at the University of London and the University of Cambridge, UK.

### **Anwar Haddam**

Mr Haddam is currently Head of the Parliamentary Delegation of the Islamic Salvation Front to Europe and the USA. He studied Theoretical Physics at the University of Algiers and Nuclear Physics at Iowa State University, USA. Mr Haddam was on the staff of the Physics Department at the University of Science and Technology, Algiers from 1986 until the military coup d'etat in Algeria on January 11, 1992. He was elected to Parliament in the Algerian elections of December 26, 1991.

### **Alejandro V. Lorca Corrons**

Professor Lorca is currently Deputy Director in the Department of International Relations, Faculty of Economics, Universidad Autonoma de Madrid. He has also taught at the Universities of Barcelona, Valencia, Marmara (Turkey), Maharainiya (Baghdad, Iraq) and Harvard. He works amongst other things on the economics of the Maghreb states and the European Community. His publications include: Insuficiencia Alimentaria en el Magreb, Obstáculos Desarrollo en el Orient Medio, En Prensa: La Economía del Magreb, The EC and the Global Peripheral Policy (paper), Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary: Trade with the EC.

### **Karma Nabulsi**

Karma Nabulsi is a researcher at Balliol College, University of Oxford, UK, currently working on the Laws of War. She is an advisory member of the Palestinian Delegation to the Bilateral Middle East Peace Negotiations. Between 1985 and 1990 she was Deputy Representative with the PLO Delegation to the UK. From 1982 to 1985 Ms Nabulsi was with the European Affairs Bureau of the PLO Chairman's office in Tunis and with the PLO mission to the United Nations before moving to the Chairman's Office, PLO, Beirut in 1978.

### **Timothy C. Niblock**

Dr Niblock is currently Senior Lecturer in Politics and Director of the Graduate School of Political and Administrative Studies at the University of Exeter, UK. From 1969 to 1977 he taught at the University of Khartoum, reaching the position of Associate Professor, followed by a year at the University of Reading in the UK. Dr Niblock was Deputy Director of the Centre for Arab Gulf Studies at the University of Exeter for three years. His publications

include Social and Economic Development in the Arab Gulf (ed.), State, Society and Economy in Saudi Arabia (ed.), Iraq: the Contemporary State (ed.), Class and Power in Sudan and Economic and Political Liberalisation in the Middle East (ed.) In October 1993 Dr Niblock will take up a position as Professor of Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Durham, UK.

### **Ali Oumlil**

Dr Oumlil was educated at Cairo University, Mohammed Vth University, Morocco, and the Sorbonne. He is currently Secretary General of the Arab Thought Forum based in Amman. He was President of the Euro-Arab Social Research Group (EASRG), 1986-1988 and President of the Moroccan Association of Human Rights, 1979-1986. Dr Oumlil's activities include: member of the Arab Council for Childhood and Development and the Arab Philosophical Society. He is also an Executive Committee member of the Arab Institute for Human Rights, Tunisia and a member of the General Secretariat of the Arab Organisation for Human Rights, Egypt. His published works include: Arab Reformism and the Nation State and The Notion of Divergence in Arab Thought.

### **Susie Symes**

Susie Symes is Director of the European Programme at The Royal Institute of International Affairs in London. She previously worked at the European Commission in Brussels, most recently responsible for the environmental aspects of Community regional policy in DG XVI. Prior to that she worked on trade policy in DGI. She has held a number of posts in the UK Treasury, London, including Treasury Co-ordinator of the Single Market Programme with responsibility for briefing the Chancellor of the Exchequer and other Ministers for meetings of the EC Finance Ministers (ECOFIN). An economist by training, she studied at the City University of London, St Antony's College Oxford and the London School of Economics.

## **EC-ARAB WORLD RELATIONS: POLITICAL DIMENSION**

**I.A.F.E., Castelgandolfo, 18-20 June, 1993**

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n° inv. 13146  
21 GIU. 1993

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*In The Name of God The Most Gracious The Most Merciful*

## **Political Islam in Algeria.<sup>1</sup>**

**Anwar N. Haddam.<sup>2</sup>**

Rome, Italy

June 19, 1993.

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1- Paper presented at the International Symposium on EC - Arab World Relations: Political Dimension, organized by the Royal Institute of International Affairs in Rome, at Castelgandolfo on June 18 - 20, 1993.

2- Head of the Parliamentary Delegation of Front of Islamic Salvation (F. I. S.) to Europe and U.S. A.

## Introduction

At the end of the last third of this century, with the collapse of colonial empires and the demise of the communist block, the world is experiencing profound and comprehensive changes eventually leading to a New International Order.

International security, commitment to stable peace, respect of human rights and cultural plurality, and economic prosperity are no more local or regional phenomena. They are rather global issues that impact on the entire globe.

The world has only recently reached a near consensus on how to address the above issues. Political pluralism as a way for peoples to govern themselves is being recognized by most nations of the world as the way to achieve these aims. Indeed, it is an efficient and self - safeguarding path against tyranny, despotism, and dictatorship. In order to reach the exercise of a mature and responsible political pluralism, people in different parts of the world had to go through various self - improving stages.

Algeria's struggle to rid itself of French colonialism in the 1950s has been an inspirational example to many colonized peoples around the world. Today, in the 1990s, Algerians set a different example by successfully completing local governmental and the first round of parliamentary elections; the most democratic elections ever held in North Africa.

The Islamic Front for Salvation (F. I. S.), a political party which emerged from the people of Algeria as an expression of their identity and aspirations, and whose mission is political, economic, social, cultural, and civilizational, is however being unfairly denied its victory at the ballot boxes, based on the false assumption that Political Islam is a threat to the "Western World".

Unfortunately Political Islam is internationally being negatively perceived - Perhaps because it represents a social change and a challenge to the status quo - to the extent where in Algeria " human rights violations arising in the context of the state of emergency, in force since February 9th, 1992, are becoming increasingly institutionalized ..."[1]

A high ranking official of the US State Department stated that "Those who are prepared to take specific steps toward free elections, creating independent judiciaries, promoting the rule of law, reducing restrictions on the press, respecting the rights of minorities, and guaranteeing individual rights, will find us ready to recognize and support their efforts."[2] Few weeks before the coup d' etat in January 1992, the US president declared before the U. N. general assembly: "People everywhere seek governments of, and by, the people. And they want to enjoy the inalienable right to freedom ... The United States support those rights globally."

The F. I. S. recognizes and adheres to the above principles of global security, respect of human rights and economic prosperity through free enterprise dynamism in non - strategic sectors. Indeed, the F. I. S. has come to existence in a part of the world where people have gone through different frustrating experiences at all levels of human life. It intends, once in power, to implement these concepts and build its relations with other nations on the basis of these principles.

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[1] April 1992 Amnesty International Report on Algeria.

[2] Mr. Edward P. Gerejian, U.S. assistant secretary of state, January 4, 1992 at the Meridian House.

Why should Algeria be excluded from this "global" support for the inalienable rights to freedom? Is it because of the overwhelming Algerian claim for Political Islam?

This paper will be devoted to Political Islam in Algeria as a case study of the implementation of a democratization process in a Muslim country. It also dwells on some implications of this process on the future relations between the European Community and the Arab World and the Muslim World at large.

### **Political Islam and the West misperception**

The secularization attempt of Muslim societies in general and of Algeria in particular occurred during the ages of Western imperialism which attempted to deestablish Islam, destroy public institutions and replace Islamic law with colonialist laws. Political Islam in Algeria aims at reestablishing Islam as a comprehensive way of life through the institutionalization of a stable governing system which ought to be representative of Algerian society in its plurality. A system that has no resemblance with the theocratic system experienced in the West for centuries.

The West foreign policy has been, perhaps, too much focused on authoritarian governments. This trend was based on short - term considerations of order and stability. It is high time, may be, for the West to consider long term interests by expanding the concepts of freedom and basic human rights to encompass concepts such as the concept of respect of cultural pluralism.

Political Islam is inevitable. The political experience of the Algerian Islamic movement shows that in order to be able to avoid Political Islam, one has to avoid the ballot boxes.

## The Political Parcours of Algeria: Oct. 88 - Dec. 91

The political parcours of Algeria, since the tragic events of October 1988 till the historical date of December 26, 1991, could be summarized as follows.

The Algerian people realized that no real transformation of society could occur without changing the constitution and amending it. Indeed, a crucial memorandum was signed and submitted, to President Chadli, by Sheikh A. Sahnoun, head of Rabitat Ad-Dawaa Al Islamiyah (the Islamic League of Dawaa), on behalf of the Algerian Islamic Movement. That memorandum was intended to diffuse the multidimensional crisis facing Algeria, through the promotion of the rule of Law, the separation between the Executive, Legislative and Judiciary bodies, the encouragement of free enterprise, authorization of freedom of press, freedom of forming political parties, and organization of free elections at all levels. Indeed under this pressure of the Algerian society, the constitution was amended in February of 1989. The new constitution guarantees the freedom to form political associations. The freedom of press was also a major breakthrough whose consequences are and will remain highly beneficial to the transformation process. It was also realized that state controlled economy is an obstacle on the path of economic prosperity. There was a desperate need for a better management, as well as a restructuring of the institutions. The weak existing infrastructure, alienated for decades, was in need of a reconstruction.

The reconstruction of a society to a more ethical and productive one is of such an importance that no other reform in any sector of life can succeed without it.

Most of these attempts were unsuccessful since the Algerian people were lacking legitimately elected representative bodies. In June 12, 1990 and December 26, 1991, the people of Algeria spoke up for themselves and chose their local government officers, and their representatives in the parliament, respectively. These were the first free elections that the country had ever held since its independence in 1962. It was an overwhelming victory for the F.I.S through the ballot box. This illustrates the political experiment of the Algerian Islamic Movement, and its leadership into bringing the rest of the Muslim World to a harmonious coexistence within a New World Order.

President Richard Nixon said in his last book *Seize the moment: 'Fundamentalists can fill the streets in the Muslim world with vocal demonstrations, but they cannot yet take power through the pools'* (published in September 1991). The Algerian experience has however proven that it was possible for an Islamic movement to take power through the pools, and hence to be capable of establishing a strong and stable state. The question now is whether the West is ready to accept this reality: **Islam, at the state level, is back.** Indeed the Algerian experiment is a decisive test to the West: Will it honor its principles of human rights and freedom of choice for all the Peoples, and hence pave the way for the Muslim World to follow the Algerian example, or will it ignore the aspirations of the Muslim masses to recover their identities, and hence build a new Iron Curtain between the two civilizations? Certainly, the continuous support and condonement of dictatorial regimes will all but help establishing a World of justice and peace.

## The F.I.S and the Political Struggle for Positive Change

-The F.I.S program outline:

The Islamic Front for Salvation is presenting global and comprehensive solutions to the ideological, political, economical, social and cultural problems that plague Algeria.

The ideological frame presented by the F.I.S is base on the fact that Algeria is part of the Islamic Nation. It takes into consideration the political culture of the Algerian society as a whole. Considering the mosques as the heart of the society, which not only gathers the people to worship, but also offers them a forum to express their concerns on *all* aspects of their daily life is part of that culture. At the same time the F.I.S does not intend and will not attempt to build a theocratic system, at the image of the system experienced by the West for centuries. This was clearly stated by the leader of the Algerian Islamic Movement, the late Sheikh Abdelhamid Ibn Badis, in January 1938 in a paper titled '*Basis of Governship in Islam*'.

No one has the right to manage the affairs of the People without their consent. It is encombent on the People to delegate power or to take it away.

He also said in the same paper, promoting the rule of Law:

The People will not be governed except by the Law that they chose and knew the benefits for themselves. Therefore they obey the Law because it is their own Law, not because it is imposed on them by any other authority, be it of an individual or of a group.

He continued by promoting multiparty system:

The People reserve the right to discuss their matters with those in position and hold them accountable for their actions and make sure they follow the choice of the society, not their own.

So, by establishing a political party, namely the F.I.S, the Algerian Islamic Movement chooses a honest competition through People's choice. The F.I.S has advocated the principle of the respect of the will of the Algerian people, as expressed through the ballot box.

The political program of the F.I.S aims at institutionalizing a stable governing system. A system which has to be representative of the Algerian society in its plurality. The means to achieve this is through political pluralism, that fully guarantees, implements and preserves minority rights. Sheikh Abassi Madani, the president and the spokesman of the F.I.S , repeatedly stated that one cannot conceive a strong and stable state without guaranteeing a free political opposition.

The Economical program is based on the principle of economic growth. The world has recognized that economy has passed the stage of centralization and state central monopoly. But it should also realize that a totally Free Market Economy is not in accordance with the preservation of strategic interest of sovereign nations. Therefore the attraction of capital to revitalize the economy is seen as a necessary measure since the F.I.S foresees the participation in global economy as a building bloc of any country's economy nowadays. However, at the same time, the relations between countries and between institutions are to be built on a partnership basis to avoid over exploitation, and guarantees proper and sound management of human as well as material resources. The F.I.S will honore payment of all debts which

have been truly used for economical growth. However, one should not notice that any future F.I.S led government will nor recognize any debt received by the junta who seized power through the military coup d'etat of January 11, 1992.

The F.I.S bases its social program on the principle that Man is the main axis of the Universe, and the author of civilizations. The F.I.S aims at building the balanced society where the right of life, the right to health and welfare benefits, the right to education at all levels for all components of the society are guaranteed. The F.I.S has envisioned its program based upon the fact that the Algerian society is family oriented, and on the principle that men and women are to be granted the same status. The separation into classes is to be avoided, and abolished by all ways and means. The late Malek Bennabi, another great leader, and thinker of the Algerian Islamic Movement stated in his book '*Conditions for the Renaissance*':

The problem is neither a problem of men, or of women, but rather a problem of the society as a whole.

To sum up, the F.I.S is addressing all social problems in a comprehensive, scientific, and genuine approach.

The cultural program put forward by the F.I.S relies on the concept of coexistence of civilizations. It aims at the preservation of the cultural and historical traditions of the Algerian society, as this constitutes essential elements of its identity. The rehabilitation of science is of paramount importance, for a society without a decent Educational and Scientific system cannot aim to any effective prosperity.

With regard to International relations and Diplomacy, the F.I.S bases its approach on moderation and equity in addressing World problems. The F.I.S unequivocally supports all oppressed people and puts the issue of Human Rights, collective as well as individual, as a guiding principle for foreign relations. Honoring treaties with regional and international bodies (concluded prior to the January 1992 coup d'etat), which respect the strategic and national interests of the Algerian People is seen by the F.I.S as a necessity, since complex geopolitical and economic ties require involvement on the world scene.

The above was a brief summary of the program the Algerian Islamic Movement proposed, through its political expression: the F.I.S, to the Algerian People. This program was nothing but the fruits of a hard and in-depth work done by the Movement for more than six decades, far from the spot light.

#### —Local Government Experiment:

Fully confident in its Islamic ideals, the F.I.S bases its policy on ideological challenges and peaceful convincing rather than forceful imposition of ideas. These ideals have been the practiced policy of the F.I.S. Since the overwhelming victory of the F.I.S in the municipal elections (local governments) of June 1990, in which a large number of highly educated F.I.S militants were elected to office, it demonstrated ability to earnestly strive to improve the living conditions of the population. These efforts were tentatively hampered by the central government, by depriving the local government from many of their previous prerogatives, and cutting their budget, in an effort to undermine their popularity. In contrast, the population enthusiastically supported the local governments tasks with voluntary human assistance and additional taxes.

It is this restoration of confidence and trust between the local governments and their constituencies that won the F.I.S the full support of the majority of Algerians, as shown by the landslide victory of December 26, 1992 parliamentary first round elections.



#### —Parliamentary Elections:

After several delays of the parliamentary elections, which, under public pressure, were scheduled to be held in June 1991, the rulers in Algeria decreed a new electoral law designed to give the ruling party (F.L.N) an edge over all other parties. This law was judged unfair, and thus challenged by all major parties.

After the failure of all political means, the F.I.S called for a political strike and peaceful demonstrations at the end of May 1991, to enforce a change in the unjust electoral law. Despite the constitutional legality of such protests, the regime responded with repressive means. President Chadli dissolved the government and declared State of Emergency. Sheikh Abassi Madani, F.I.S president, and his deputy Sheikh Ali Benhadj, along with five other F.I.S leaders were arrested. The regime also carried out a broad based campaign of arrest aiming at decapitating the F.I.S from its solid and broad popular support. According to the Algerian league for the defense of Human Rights, three hundred people were killed and eight thousands were arrested. Furthermore twelve thousands F.I.S sympathisers were fired from their jobs.

Despite the conspiracy, and the open hostilities from the regime, and deprived from its top leaders, the F.I.S' response was yet strikingly mature and responsible. A communique co-signed by Sheikh Mouhamed Said, a leading member of the Algerian Islamic movement and spokesman of the Islamic League of Dawaa headed by Sheikh Ahmed Sahnoun, and by Br. Abdelkader Hachani, member of F.I.S Consultative Council, on July 2, 1992, says;

Once more the Algerian government rediscovered its usual apathy to political opposition in general and to the Islamic movement in particular. A movement which represents the aspirations of the Algerian People. This movement embarked on a project aimed at the implementation of Islam as a global answer to societal problems...

The response of the government to the ideals and demands of the Algerian People was a brutal repression, materialized in the killing, detention, property damage, destruction of the Houses of worship, terrorizing the civilian population and the systematic destruction of the F.I.S party organs and its Headquarters...

In the line with the political status and agenda of the F.I.S as a genuine representative of the aspirations and ideals of the Algerian People, and which strives to harness and mobilize committed and sincere human resources for the sake of fulfilling the Islamic project in accordance with the political rules, we stress the following:

1- In the last meeting with Sheikh Abassi Madani, prior to his arrest, he insisted on preserving the F.I.S as a political party endorsing a global Islamic solution, and whose vindication will be put forward openly and in the context of the Law....

To conclude with we call upon people to hold steadfast and be patient...

Darkness no matter how long it lasts, will give way to the dawn of justice, and that is the rule of God in Creation.

Sheikh Mouhamed Said was arrested, in his quality of the new interim F.I.S spokesman, a week later in the midst of a press conference with national and international news media.

After more than five months of emergency law, and detention of the F.I.S leadership, the government decided to revise the unfair electoral law, and reschedule the two-round parliamentary elections. Moreover the Ghazali led government repeatedly promised fair and transparent elections, and that it will abide by the polls results, regardless of the participation rate.

On December 26, 1991 the Algerian voters went to the ballot boxes to choose their parliamentary representatives. Of the 430 seats contested by some 50 political parties, and a number of independent candidates, 207 were decided in the first round. The F.I.S obtained 188, F.F.S received 25, the ruling F.L.N got 16 seats and 3 seats went to the independent candidates.

On January 11, 1992 the military seized power and announced the cancellation of the second round of the elections, which were to take place five days later. Algerians were denied their inalienable right to elect freely their legitimate government, merely because they preferred an Islamic State, a state of truth and justice, over dictatorship and puppet regimes.

In a move to contain the popular anger, Mouhamed Boudiaf, the so-called historical father of the freedom struggle against the French colonialism, is called to head the 'High Council of State' after a self-imposed exile of 27 years in Morocco. In a dramatic move, the HCS declared a year long state of emergency, banned the F.I.S, arrested its interim president, Abdelkader Hacliani, and curtailed the freedom of press. Concentration camps were erected throughout the Sahara desert to detain many of the F.I.S militants and sympathisers. More than 30,000 people were detained without trial, and more than 200 people dead are the toll of a repressive and unpopular junta.

The arrival of Mouhamed Boudiaf to head the HCS was praised and advertised by political analysts as a symbol of honesty and perhaps the only person who would bring back justice and harmony to Algeria. But it became apparent that his assault on certain segments of the society was politically motivated and a certain recipe for a disaster. On June 29, 1992, Boudiaf was killed by his own body guard.

The army again hand picked Col. Ali Kafi to head the HCS and Belaid Abdessalem to form a new government. Both of them being 'barons' of the regime since 1962, these nominations were a clear sign of the return to the dark era of the one party rule, and despotic regime.

## **The Aftermath**

Eighteen months after the military coup d' etat of January 1992, allegedly done for the sake of saving Democracy, the country's economy is in a free fall, and does not produce the vital minimum for its survival.

The agricultural sector is still unable to generate enough to meet people's demands. Oil revenues are directed towards the refunding of foreign debts accumulated during the recent years of corrupted governments, and towards financing the import of products for immediate consumption. The country is still far from having a real monetary policy, the only solution to the huge amount of Algerian currency distributed without a real economic counterpart value, and practiced by the regime since 1962; which is leading Algeria towards dramatic hyperinflation in the "Russian way". Limiting itself to injecting, every now and then, liquidities in the economic field without the slightest precaution, has not but hastened the unprecedented catastrophe to which the country is heading to.

In attempting to wipe out its latest defeat, the illegitimate regime launches itself in a new adventure planning foolishly to discredit the F. I. S. in the eyes of the world public opinion. After having orchestrated the tragic bombing of Algiers, where many Algerian civilians were killed, the regime in power imputed it to the current leaders of the F. I. S., Sheikh Mohammed Said, Abderezak Rajjame, and Yakhlef Cherrati, using uncivilized means and in flagrant violation of the penal code procedure as well as the informational code. Resorting to "televised confessions", at the image of Stalin's era, of one of the elected members of parliament, who has been tortured to near death, can never be a behavior of a "State of law".

This orchestrated tragic bombing is being used by the regime as a pretext to persecute some F. I. S. representatives or supporters who are currently outside the Algerian territory such as Mr. Rabah Kebir and the sons of the

imprisoned F. I. S. leader Abbasi Madani. These representatives have been sent abroad by the F. I. S. leadership entrusted with the mission to inform the Western world about the Algerian case. We hope that the West receives the people who have been persecuted in their homeland because of defending the freedom of political choice as guests and treats them consequently with all due honour and respect so that they can fulfill their mission and let the world know about the sufferings and the aspirations of the Algerian peoples. How is it that the persecutors of the Algerian peoples and those who usurped the free choice of the Algerian peoples are allowed to freely move around the globe while the legitimate representatives of the free choice of the Algerian peoples are not?

Being extremely divided by the stretched hand of the F. I. S. to a serious and responsible dialogue, the regime is hiding itself behind a State Violence. In the meanwhile, despite the hardship and the renewed and escalated despotism, the Algerian people continue to stand by its faith and principles, and behind its beloved party demands, namely the restoration of the constitutional institutions and the resumption of the electoral process

## **Conclusion**

The F. I. S. puts the freedom to express views, the freedom to form political parties, and the freedom to hold elections as prerequisites to the achievements of its unique and genuine solution to the multidimensional crisis that Algeria is agonizing in.

We would like to bring the following points to the attention of the Western World and to the European Community in particular:

- Islam is the foundation of the Algerian society, and the F. I. S. is its expression.
- The F. I. S. success is a mere expression of the wish of the people to recover their historical and cultural identity through a real transformation of the society.
- The Algerians are not to be depicted as a symbol against Western interests.
- Historically, Western nations have had better relations with freely elected rulers than with imposed military dictatorships. Indeed, stability of government, reconstruction of the economy, and transformation of society cannot have viable solutions if the free choice of the people is ignored.
- The New World Order, proposed by the West after the collapse of the communist block, cannot be credible if it ignores any people's identity.

The Algerian odyssey will undoubtedly have very strategic repercussions on the upsurging Muslim world. The positive nature of future relations between the Muslim world and the West proposed New World Order is very much tied to the success of the F. I. S. enterprise and the positive attitude of the Western world towards it.

God says in the Qur'an:

*"Say: O People of the Scriptures, come to a common word between ourselves and yourselves".*

Local governments elections of June 12, 1990 in figures.

- 1 -

Résultats des élections aux APC.

Inscrits: 12.841.769 \*

Suffrages exprimés: 7.984.788

Bulletins blancs ou nuls: 381.972

Taux de participation: 65,2%

LISTE	VOIX	APC	SIEGES D'APC
FIS	4.331.472 (54,2%)	856 ** (55,5%)	5.987 *** (45,7%)
FLN	2.245.798 (28,1%)	486 (31,6%)	4.799 *** (36,6%)
Indépendants	931.278 (11,7%)	106 (6,9%)	1.427 (10,9%)
RCD	166.104 (2,1%)	87 (5,7%)	623 (4,7%)
PNSD	131.100 (1,6%)	2 (0,1%)	134 (1,0%)
PSD	84.029 (1,1%)	2 (0,1%)	65 (0,5%)
PRA	65.450 (0,8%)	2 (0,1%)	61 (0,5%)
PAGS	24.190 (0,3%)	0	10 (0,1%)
Divers ****	5.367	0	7

\* Tous les chiffres du vote populaire au niveau national ont été donnés par le ministère de l'Intérieur, le 20 juin 1990. La ventilation du vote populaire au niveau de la commune et de la wilaya n'a jamais été rendue publique.

\*\* Y compris deux communes dans les wilayas de Khenchela et Tipaza où les élections ont eu lieu en juillet.

\*\*\* Sans les deux communes précitées.

\*\*\*\* PSL, PUAID, PAHC, APUA.

Répartition des APC en fonction du nombre des habitants des communes

POPULATION	FLN	FIS	DIVERS
plus de 50.000 *	2 (3,2%)	59 (93,6%)	2 (3,2%)
30.000-49.999 **	4 (5,5%)	64 (89,0%)	4 (5,5%)
20.000-29.999	12 (10,0%)	91 (75,8%)	17 (14,2%)
10.000-19.999	101 (23,0%)	280 (63,6%)	59 (13,4%)
moins de 10.000	367 (43,4%)	362 (42,8%)	117 (13,8%)

\* Dix-sept de ces communes sont localisées dans la ville d'Alger, deux dans la ville d'Annaba.

\*\* Sept de ces communes sont localisées dans la ville d'Alger.

## Répartition des sièges des APC dans les 30 plus grandes communes

COMMUNE	Population *	FLN	FIS	DIVERS
Oran	599.000	9	24	0
Constantine	450.000	9	24	0
Annaba	228.000	12	21	0
Séif	186.000	6	17	0
Batna	185.000	6	17	0
Sidi Bel Abbès	155.000	8	15	0
Blida	132.000	5	18	0
Biskra	130.000	6	17	0
Skikda	129.000	10	13	0
Bejaïa	119.000	12	3	8
Mostaganem	116.000	7	16	0
Tebessa	112.000	10	13	0
Tlemcen	109.000	5	16	2
Béchar	108.000	0 **	14	9
Alger Centre	107.000	6 *	14	3
Bachdjarah (Alger)	106.000	3	20	0
Sidi M'hammed (Alger)	106.000	5	16	2
Tiaret	106.000	5	18	0
Bab El Oued (Alger)	106.000	4	19	0
Chlef	104.000	5	18	0
Tizi Ouzou	94.000	2	3	10
Djelfa	89.000	0 ***	12	3
El Bouni (Annaba)	89.000	4	11	0
Bordj Bou Arreridj	87.000	4	9	2
Kouba (Alger)	87.000	3	12	0
Bourouba (Alger)	87.000	2	13	0
Souk Ahras	86.000	7	8	0
Guelma	85.000	6	9	0
Saïda	85.000	6	9	0
Médéa	85.000	1	14	0 **

\* Toutes les statistiques de population sont tirées du recensement national de 1987. Les chiffres ont été arrondis au millièbre supérieur.

\*\* N'a pas présenté de liste

\*\*\* Liste rejetée pour violation technique de la loi électorale.



*Répartition des APC par wilaya.\**

WILAYA	FLN	FIS	RCD	PNSD	PSD	PRA	Indép.
Alger	25	2					1
Chlef	3	31					1
Laghouat	16	6					2
Oum El Bouaghi	9	16					4
Batna	24	35	1				1
Bejaia	17	1	31				3
Biskra	19	11					3
Béchar	19	2					
Blida		29					
Bouira	10	25	6				4
Tamanrasset	9						1
Tebessa	16	5					7
Tlemcen	7	46					
Tiaret	22	17					3
Tizi Ouzou	17	2	44				4
Alger		33					
Djella	16	14					6
Jijel		28					
Sétif	13	38	4				5
Saida	7	9					
Skikda	7	27		1			3
Sidi Bel Abbès	11	38					3
Annaba	3	8					1
Guelma	17	13		1			3
Constantine		12					
Médéa	14	46				1	3
Mostaganem	3	28					1
M'sila	18	22					7
Mascara	8	36					3
Ouargla	17	4					
Oran		24				1	1
El-Bayadh	14	2					6
Illizi	6						
Bordj Bou Arreridj	17	15	1				1
Boumerdès	1	37					
El Tarf	16	8					
Tindouf							2
Tissensilt	7	15					
El Oued	13	11			2		4
Khenchela	13	6					2
Souk Ahras	17	4					5
Tipaza	10	29					3
Mila	1	30					1
Ain Defla	3	30					3
Naâma	5	4					3
Ain Temouchent	8	19					1
Ghardaïa	8						5
Relizane		38					

\* Basé sur le tableau publié dans le journal Horizons du 17 juin 1990, avec des modifications légères et des corrections.

Les résultats des élections aux APW montrent:

FLN majorité absolue .....	6 *
FLN majorité relative .....	4 **
FLN/FIS égalité .....	1 ***
FIS majorité absolue .....	33
FIS majorité relative .....	1 +
Indépendants majorité absolue .....	1 ++
Indépendants majorité relative .....	1 +++

\*Adrar, Tamanrasset, Ouargla, El Bayadh, Illizi, El Tarf.

\*\*Bejaïa, Tebessa, Khenchela, Souk Ahras.

\*\*\*Laghouat.

+Bechar

++Ghardaïa.

+++Tindouf.

Répartition des sièges des APW par wilaya

WILAYA	FLN	FIS	RCD	PNSD	PSD	PRA	PSL	PAGS	Indép.
Adrar	23	9							3
Chlef	12	31							
Laghouat	17	17							1
Oum El Bouaghi	11	25		2		1			
Batna	12	30		1					1
Bejaïa	19	2	18						4
Biskra	15	22							2
Béchar	10	15							10
Bida	7	36							
Bouira	13	20	5						1
Tamanrasset	25	2							8
Tebessa	17	13							8
Tlemcen	12	30							1
Tiaret	17	22							
Tizi Ouzou	14	3	26						
Alger	12	42	1						
Djelfa	9	28	1						1
Jijel	8	30		1					
Sétif	11	32	2	1					1
Saïda	15	18							2
Skikda	14	24		1					
Sidi Bel Abbès	14	25							
Annaba	14	25							
Guelma	18	19		1	1				
Constantine	11	32							
Médéa	11	31				1			
Mostaganem	13	24			1				1
M'sila	13	24							2
Mascara	10	28							1
Ouargla	20	15		1			2		1
Oran	12	31							
El Bayadh	19	12			1				3
Illizi	24	8							3
Bordj Bou Arreridj	14	23	1						1
Boumerdès	10	29							
El Tarf	20	19							
Tindouf	14	4							17
Tissemsilt	12	21							2
El Oued	18	19							1
Khenchela	13	11						1	
Souk Ahras	19	18				1			
Tipaza	10	26	1						2
Mila	10	29							
Aïn Defla	11	27							1
Naâma	14	18			2	1			
Aïn Temouchent	11	25							3
Ghardaïa	11	6							18
Relizane	8	31							

**CONSEIL CONSTITUTIONNEL**

«»

**PROCLAMATION DES RESULTATS OFFICIELS DES ELECTIONS LEGISLATIVES**

**Premier tour : 26 décembre 1991**

**Proclamation du 30 décembre 1991 portant résultats officiels des élections législatives du 26 décembre 1991 (Premier tour).**

Vu la Constitution, notamment son article 153 ;

Vu la loi électorale et le règlement intérieur du Conseil Constitutionnel ;

Vu l'ensemble des procès-verbaux reçus des commissions électorales, ainsi que les observations qui y sont portées et la mise au point des chiffres inscrits ;

Après délibération, le Conseil Constitutionnel proclame les résultats du premier tour des élections législatives du 26 décembre 1991 et ouvre la phase des recours à compter de la date de ladite proclamation conformément aux dispositions de la loi électorale :

- nombre d'électeurs inscrits : 13.258.554 ;
- nombre d'électeurs votants : 7.822.625 soit 59 % des inscrits ;
- nombre d'électeurs qui se sont abstenus : 5.435.929 soit 41 % des inscrits ;
- nombre de voix exprimées : 6.897.719 soit 88,18 % des votants ;
- nombre de bulletins nuls : 924.906 soit 11,82 % des votants ;
- nombre de sièges obtenus au premier tour : 232, répartis par ordre comme suit :

1. Front Islamique du Salut : 188 sièges.

Nombre de voix obtenues : 3.260.222 voix ;

2. Front des Forces Socialistes : 25 sièges.

Nombre de voix obtenues : 510.661 voix.

3. Front de Libération Nationale : 16 sièges.

Nombre de voix obtenues : 1.612.947 voix.

4. Candidats Indépendants : 03 sièges.

Fait à Alger au siège du Conseil Constitutionnel, le lundi 23 djoumada. 2<sup>ème</sup>, l'an 1412 H correspondant au 30 décembre 1991.

*Le Président du Conseil Constitutionnel*

**Abdelmalek BENHABYLES.**

## ANNEXE II

ELECTIONS LEGISLATIVES DU 26 DECEMBRE 1991 (1<sup>er</sup> Tour)

## ETAT DES RESULTATS PAR APPARTENANCE POLITIQUE

APPARTENANCE POLITIQUE	VOIX OBTENUES	POURCENTAGE DES VOIX EXPRIMEES	NOMBRE DE SIEGES OBTENUS	POURCENTAGE DES SIEGES OBTENUS
FIS	3260222	24,59	188	43,72
FPS	510661	3,85	25	5,81
FLN	1612947	12,17	16	3,72
INDEP	309264	2,33	3	0,70
UDL	9298	0,07	0	0,00
UFP	4184	0,03	0	0,00
UFD	8853	0,07	0	0,00
EL	5558	0,04	0	0,00
RCD	200267	1,51	0	0,00
RABI	9037	0,07	0	0,00
RJNA	928	0,01	0	0,00
RAI	10824	0,08	0	0,00
AJL	9898	0,07	0	0,00
RNF	111	0,00	0	0,00
BNA	2045	0,02	0	0,00
ANDI	6867	0,05	0	0,00
RUN	932	0,01	0	0,00
FGI	3860	0,03	0	0,00
FAAD	3600	0,03	0	0,00
FSN	6575	0,05	0	0,00
GD	6726	0,05	0	0,00
APUA	6455	0,05	0	0,00
STP	1067	0,01	0	0,00
PUAID	7283	0,05	0	0,00
MSA	1225	0,01	0	0,00
PST	6464	0,05	0	0,00
PSL	9272	0,07	0	0,00
PSD	28638	0,22	0	0,00
PRA	67828	0,51	0	0,00
PPD	2380	0,02	0	0,00
PR	3668	0,03	0	0,00
PAHC	2698	0,02	0	0,00
PRP	4672	0,04	0	0,00
PAJP	1222	0,01	0	0,00
PDU	3899	0,03	0	0,00
HEH	1476	0,01	0	0,00
MDRA	10934	0,08	0	0,00
MDA	125882	1,02	0	0,00
MHU	188	0,00	0	0,00
MJD	8902	0,07	0	0,00
PJS	1186	0,01	0	0,00
ALP	2934	0,02	0	0,00
MINI	150093	1,13	0	0,00
FNSD	48208	0,36	0	0,00
FNA	816	0,01	0	0,00
PUP	7731	0,06	0	0,00
FAMAS	368697	2,78	0	0,00
AHD 54	2490	0,02	0	0,00
CFMB	930	0,01	0	0,00
MAJD	27623	0,21	0	0,00

## Chronological account of the betrayal of democracy in Algeria: Facts.

13 Dec. 1991: FIS leader confirms democratic approach

Excerpt from an interview given to Algiers Radio in Arabic by Cheikh Mohamed Said, member of FIS national consultative council: "When the FIS was formed as a political party, it chose honest competition through the people's choice. For this reason, how could the FIS take power by force with all the blood, tears, and suffering that would incur? FIS wants change, a comprehensive and gradual change through the ballot box and through the free choice of the Algerian people without any guardianship or alienation of its will. [BBC MONITORING - SWB 16 Dec. 1991]

18 Dec. 1991: Government sets up Human Rights body

Algerian Council of Ministers sets up human rights body to follow up and evaluate at all times the measures which the authorities will take to promote collective and individual human rights. (Algiers TV in Arabic 18 Dec. 1991 - BBC SWB 20 Dec. 91)

19 Dec. 1991: Political leader Opposes Islamic State

Hachemi Cherif, PAFS coordinator, called today for boycotting the legislative elections and for banning obscurantist parties, a reference to the Islamic parties. PAFS leader focused on the danger posed by anyone who is calling for the building of an Islamic state. (Algiers radio in Arabic 19 Dec. 91 - BBC SWB 21 Dec. 91)

27 Dec. 91: Election held

Preliminary Election results have been announced. Prime minister hints at irregularities in the process while FIS leaders express satisfaction. (Antenne-2 TV, Paris and Algiers TV in Arabic 27, 29 Dec. 1991 - BBC SWB 30 Dec. 1991)

29 Dec. 91 - FIS provisional leader calls for national unity

Abdelkader Hachani, chairman of the provisional bureau of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), said in a news conference on 29th Dec. reported by Algerian TV and radio: "We stress the need for cooperation and solidarity between all the sons of this Muslim people, in a climate of brotherhood, a climate of love, in order to take the country out of its various crises in the framework of Islamic principles." Hachani also stated that if there were firm guarantees that parliament and the government would not be stripped of their powers and could implement their programme, then the FIS consultative council could re-examine the question of calling for early presidential elections. On the question of a possible confrontation with the army, Hachani said the army's constitutional task was to protect "the people's option". "And we say that if we take power through elections, the army will be required to respect the people's option and to defend it." At another point Hachani promised to respect the international agreements signed by Algeria, "pointing out that Algeria could not live isolated from the world."

30 Dec. 1991 - Official results of first round of elections announced

The following official figures for the first round of voting, supplied by the Constitutional Council, were broadcast on 30th December 1991 by Algiers Radio:

No. of registered electors:	13,258,554
No. of voters:	7,822,625 (59% of those registered)
nonvoters	5,435,929
valid votes	6,897,719 (88% of votes cast)
invalid votes	924,906

Total no. of seats allocated	231
Islamic Salvation Front (FIS)	188 [voters: 3,260,222]
Socialist Forces Front (FFS)	25 [voters: 510,661]
National Liberation Front (FLN)	15 [voters: 1,612,947]
independent candidates	3

The radio noted that 199 constituencies would be contested in the second round (on 16 January) [BBC SWB - 1 Jan 1992]

3 Jan 92: Political leader criticises reactions to election results

Nahdah leader Cheikh Djaballah appeals to the vital forces of society, the organizations and personalities to join a rally to defend the people's will and safeguard its choice. In a statement, the Nahdah movement says it is surprised by an unexpected wave of reactions threatening the security of the society and denying the people's will. Nahdah appeals to the President of the Republic to assume his responsibility, to protect this popular will and to be loyal to his commitments. (Radiodiffusion-Television Algerienne, Algiers, in French 1800 gmt 3 Jan 92)

5 Jan 92: Prime minister comments on election results

Speaking to journalists on 5th Jan, in an interview broadcast that day by Algerian TV (Algiers), Prime Minister Sid Ahmed Ghazali said that the first round of the general elections had taken place "generally in an atmosphere of calm and reassurance", but that more than one million people - "close to 42% of the registered voters" - had abstained from voting, and that it had become apparent that "what has taken place was not of the standard to which we, the government and the people, aspired." Ghazali remarked that Algeria faced a "painful paradox", and the government and the majority of the people feared that the electoral process "could become merely a tool with which to eliminate democracy". He also said that the results of the first round of voting had indicated that there was a "demand for radical change". The Algerian Prime Minister also defended the government's record on management of the economy and in solving social problems. [BBC - SWB 7 Jan 92]

5 Jan. 92: FIS urges army to "protect" the people's electoral choice

Rabah Kebir, a leader of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), had called on the army, "the vital force of the nation", to "protect" the choice made by the Algerian people during the 26th December elections, Republic of Algeria Radio (Algiers) reported on 5th January. In remarks broadcast by Algerian television, Kebir had also urged the army not to yield to those elements which, he said, wanted to shed Algerian blood, the radio said. [BBC SWB - 7 Jan. 92]

6 Jan. 92: Presidency denies that Bendjedid received FIS leader

"Sources at the Presidency of the Republic have denied reports published by the local press to the effect that President Chadli Bendjedid has received the FIS provisional chairman, Cheikh Abdelkader Hachani, or any other FIS member. (Algiers radio in Arabic 2200 gmt 6 Jan 92)

8 Jan. 92: Eight parties & independents to contest elections' second round

Radiodiffusion-Television Algerienne in French announced on 8 Jan 92 that eight parties would contest the second round of elections on 16 Jan namely: FIS, FFS (Socialist Forces Front), FLN, Hamas, RCD (Rally for Culture and Democracy), PRA (Party for Algerian Renewal), Nahdah, PSD (Social Democratic Party) in addition to independents. 199 constituencies had not yet elected their deputies. FIS would be fighting for 187 constituencies and was represented in 46 wilayas; FLN was also represented in 46 wilayas and was fighting for 172 constituencies. FFS was represented in seven wilayas with 17 constituencies; the RCD and HAMAS five; Nahdah two; the PSD and PRA one constituency each. A total of 231 seats had been won since the first round. (BBC - SWB 9 Jan 92)

8 Jan 92: FIS leader says army has taken up positions throughout Algeria:

The Chairman of the Islamic Salvation Front's (FIS) Provisional Executive Bureau, Abdelkader Hachani, said on 8th January that "a large number of troops" had taken up positions throughout Algeria in the previous 24 hours, France Inter (Paris) reported that day. Hachani made his remarks at a news conference in Algiers. At the same news conference, according to Radiodiffusion-Television Algerienne, Hachani said that he was "amazed" by the government's reaction to the election results and questioned its neutrality, citing comments made by the Algerian Prime Minister to French television. He called on the Constitutional Council and the President to "preserve the choice of the people."

8 Jan. 92: Prime Minister Announces Cabinet resignation after elections:

The prime minister announced that his government would resign after the general election. (Radiodiffusion- Television Algerienne, Algiers, in French 2200 gmt 8 Jan 92)

10 Jan 92: Nahdah issues statement about national coalition

In a statement issued yesterday, the National Bureau of the National movement pointed out that six parties have joined the National Coalition for Defending the People's Choice, for the formation of which Cheikh Abdallah Djaballah had called. The parties which responded to the call were: FIS ; the National Salvation Front ; the Islamic National Rally; the Algerian People's Union Party; the Islamic Faith Party (listed as Islamic Amane- Arabic al- Iman al-Islami which means Islamic Faith); and the Social Movement for Authenticity. (Republic of Algeria Radio, Algiers, in Arabic 0700 gmt 10 jan 92).

11 Jan 92: Algerian President resigns

President Chadli Bendjedid's resignation on 11th January was accepted and confirmed that day by the Constitutional Council, Algerian TV reported. Handing his resignation to the Chairman and members of the Constitutional Council, Chadli Bendjedid said that he had decided to resign



following reflection on the current situation in Algeria and in view of recent developments , and in order not to constitute an obstacle to any ideas which can preserve the unity of the country . He added that he had dissolved the National People's Assembly, and thus the only official institution which remains after the president of the republic is the Constitutional Council.

11 Jan 92: Prime Minister Ghazali Instructs army to preserve order:

Later on the 11th in an address to the nation which was relayed by Republic of Algeria Radio and Algerian TV, Prime Minister Sid Ahmed Ghazali said that he had asked the National People's Army as a preventive step, to take the necessary measures to ensure the protection of public security and individuals; he also appealed to the security forces and members of the civil service to raise their efforts to the level of the challenge.

12 Jan 92: Army responds to Ghazali's appeal:

In a statement reported by Republic of Algeria Radio at 0200 gmt on the 12th, the Ministry of Defence said: Following the President of the Republic's statement announcing his resignation as head of state, the National People's Army reiterates its loyalty to the constitution and its trust in the existing constitutional bodies. Therefore, the National People's Army complies, in accordance with its duties towards the homeland, with the head of government's request in accordance with Law No 91.23 of 6th December 1991 which stipulates the participation of the National People's Army in the protection of public order tasks.

12 Jan 92: Chairman of Constitutional Council named as Acting President:

At 0400 gmt on the 12th, Algiers radio said that, according to Articles 84 and 85 of that chapter of the constitution which deals with the country's Executive, and in view of the fact that the National People's Assembly had been dissolved, the Chairman of the Constitutional Council (Abdelmalek Benhabiles ) takes over the duties of the president of the republic for a period not exceeding 45 days during which presidential elections must be held.

12 Jan 92: FIS, FFS Leaders Hold Emergency Meetings:

A meeting of the FIS (Islamic Salvation Front ) consultative council was in progress, Republic of Algeria Radio reported at 1400 gmt on the 12th Jan, citing sources close to the Front . The same radio also reported that the FFS (Front of Socialist Forces) leadership was meeting to consider its response to Chadli Bendjedid's resignation. In separate reports on the 12th, the radio also noted the initial responses made by spokesmen for a number of political organisations.

Radiodiffusion-Television Algerienne (Algiers), on the 12th, said that the PRA (Party of Algerian Renewal) had called for calm and considered that the resignation would help to prevent a deterioration in the country's current situation and that the MAJD (Algerian Movement for Justice and Democracy-led by Kasdi Merbah ) considered that Chadli Bendjedid's decision to step down had come too late .

12 Jan 92: Elections postponed

Following the resignation of Chadli Bendjedid on 11th January Algeria's Constitutional Council said in a statement , broadcast the following evening by Algerian TV, that it accepted that the Presidency of the Republic was vacant. Since the constitution made no provision for a situation in which such a vacancy coincided with the dissolution of the National People's

Assembly, and in view of the circumstances, the council said that institutions vested with relevant constitutional powers must ensure the continuity of the state and the functioning of its institutions. The statement was signed by Council Chairman Abdelmalek Benhabiles and six Council members. Later the television reported that the Council of Ministers had met that day under the chairmanship of Sid Ahmad Ghazali, who informed the participants of the Constitutional Council's stance. In the circumstances, it was decided that the Higher Security Council should meet immediately.

#### 13 Jan 92: FIS calls on people and army to unite against authorities

A statement by the Islamic Salvation Front on 13th Jan., as reported by Republic of Algeria Radio, said that the resignation of President Chadli Bendjedid was unconstitutional, and stressed that the Higher Security Council, under the constitution, was merely a consultative body with no right to assume power. The FIS statement went on to say that the situation was extremely grave and "we must prepare ourselves for all eventualities to save the country, its sovereignty and its sons". In conclusion, it called on the people to protect their project and choice, and to reject any conspiracy aimed at confiscating their will and obstructing the process of change. The FIS statement was also reported by France Inter (Paris), which said it called on the people and the army to unite against the Algerian authorities, who were guilty of treason.

#### 14 Jan. 92: Higher State Council Formed

Algerian TV on 14th January announced the formation of the Higher State Council, a five member body which would exercise all the powers of the President of the Republic, as stipulated by the constitution. The television named the Council's members as Mohamed Boudiaf, Khaled Nezzar, Ali Kafi, Tedjini Haddam and Ali Haroun. The Council's term was set not exceed the end of the presidential mandate resulting from the elections of December 1988, that is December 1993.

#### 15 Jan 92: Reactions to formation of Higher State Council (HSC)

- FLN Secretary General Abdelhamid Mehri said at a news conference on 15 March broadcast by Algeria Radio that the FLN regarded the formation of the Higher State Council as "unconstitutional".

- FIS leader Hocine Ait Ahmed said he did not think the council would be able to resolve the Algerian people's problems.

- FIS provisional leader Hachani said at a news conference on 15 Jan. 92, reported by Algeria Radio, that the events of recent days were "a coup against the Islamic state, a coup against the Algerian people". He said that the army had made many arrests the previous night.

- In an interview broadcast by Republic of Algeria radio on 15th Jan. 92, Boudiaf, Chairman of the Higher State Council, said that democracy without civic sense and freedom without discipline were meaningless.

- FLN Sec. Gen. Abdelhamid Mehri, according to Algeria Radio, said that a first meeting had taken place between FLN and FIS officials during which views were exchanged on the current situation. The two sides agreed to continue their dialogue.

- The National Gendarmerie had announced 15th January the arrest in a mosque of El Harrach of 133 people who were wearing "Afghan dress" and carrying out "provocative actions".

16 Jan 92: Boudiaf returns to Algeria

Boudiaf's return to Algeria from Morocco on 16 Jan, after 30 years in exile, was relayed by Algerian TV. He was welcomed by Prime Minister Ghazali, members of the Higher State Council and Constitutional Council, and senior army officers.

16 Jan 92: FIS leader appeals to people not to be "provoked"

In an interview on 16th Jan. for Republic of Algeria Radio, Hachani said the FIS would take legal action "in the appropriate forum to appeal against the legitimacy of the decision to suspend the electoral process." He urged the people of Algeria "to show caution and vigilance and not to respond to any provocation."

16 Jan 92: Boudiaf sworn in as Chairman of Higher State Council.

In his address to the nation after he was sworn in, Boudiaf said he had returned to join the ranks of men and women who were standing firm in the face of this challenge. He declared that the state's institutions must be respected and a "sound democratic programme" must be pursued. He said: "Democracy does not mean anarchy, nor does it mean insulting state institutions."

18 Jan 92: Further developments

- Algeria calls ambassadors from Tehran and Paris.
- Higher State Council meets and sets objectives.
- Soldier killed and two gendarmes wounded in an attack by unknown armed persons on an observation post on the outskirts of Algiers.

20 Jan 92: FIS leader warns against dissolution of Front

In an interview broadcast by Antenne-2 TV (Paris) on 20th Jan., FIS provisional leader Hachani said: "If the authorities dissolve the Islamic Salvation Front the people will answer." He said that for some days the authorities had been arresting members of parliament, FIS representatives, without any reason.

The Higher State Council issued a communique warning those involved in attacks on members of the security forces that it would use all the means at the state's disposal to apply the law strictly and fully.

21 Jan. 92: Prime Minister says foreign interference in internal affairs "unacceptable" and accuses Iran of involvement in Algerian affairs:

The remark was made by the Prime Minister during his meetings with members of three Belgian information media. He said: "We want to secure all the conditions for the onset of an authentic democracy." In a statement to 'La Libre Belgique', Ghazali said: "We had evidence of Iran's participation in all of the illegal acts which had characterised some conduct during and after the elections, and that Iran's participation was not confined to making a financial contribution."

21 Jan. 92: Cabinet discusses reform of mosque management:

Algiers radio reported on Jan 22 that in its 21 Jan meeting, the Algerian cabinet discussed appropriate measures regarding the imposition of strict respect for laws inside mosques in order to encourage religious and educational practices, and to prohibit any partisan activity.

22 Jan. 92: FIS Provisional Leader Hachani Arrested:

Republic of Algeria Radio reported on 22 Jan that Cheikh Abdelkader Hachani, the head of the provisional executive bureau of Algeria's Islamic Salvation Front had been arrested. Eight journalists from the daily 'El-Khabar' were also arrested that day. According to the statement by the Gendarmerie, Hachani's arrest was ordered by the judiciary in Algiers following a case submitted against him by the Ministry of Defense, in which it accused Hachani of inciting elements of the People's National Army to mutiny.

On the same day Radiodiffusion-Television Algerienne reported that the Wali (governor) of Algiers had banned all gatherings near mosques.

22 Jan 92: Boudiaf says "Islamic Party no needed"

Boudiaf says Algeria does not need an Islamic party to be an Islamic country. Statement was made during his meeting with the Algerian army high command.

22 Jan 92: FIS condemns arrest of Hachani, journalists

FIS issued a statement condemning the arrest of Hachani and journalists from the 'Al-Khabar' and the 'Al-Balagh' newspapers. The FIS further denounced the decision by the Governor of Algiers to ban the holding of prayers in areas adjacent to mosques. The movement termed Hachani's arrest as a "provocative measure taken by the Algerian leaders."

24 Jan 92: New acting FIS leader named

AFP reported that the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) named Othmane Aissani, Deputy Chairman of its Provisional Executive Bureau, as its acting leader, after the arrest of Abdelkader Hachani.

25 Jan 92: HSC says no parties will be dissolved

Algerian TV reported on 25 Jan that the Higher State Council planned no measures to dissolve any political party which acted within the framework of firm respect for constitutional and legal measures.

25 Jan 92:

Four Spanish journalists expelled from Algeria arrive in Madrid.

26 Jan. 92: Authorities seize FIS publications:

In a report carried by Algerian TV in Arabic on 26 Jan, the gendarmerie command confirmed that the act of confiscating issue no. 74 of the weekly 'El-Mounkid', mouthpiece of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), was carried out on orders from the public prosecutor at the Hocine Dey court because it contained inflammatory topics against state institutions. In a related report broadcast by Radiodiffusion-Television Algerienne in French on the same day, FIS sources denied that the said edition of the weekly publication contained any provocative topics aimed against state institutions. The sources added that the seizure was not carried out on the basis of a judicial decision as the gendarmes presented no documents to the managers of the paper when they turned up at the printing-works.

27 Jan 92: Members of the Islamic Salvation Front Arrested

The National Gendarmerie command has announced that a member of the FIS [Islamic Salvation Front] town council of Dellys was brought before the state prosecutor in Dellys's court yesterday. The court ordered him to be held in custody, accusing him of incitement to revolt during last week's Friday prayers at one of the mosques of the town. On the same day another person was presented to the public prosecutor's office in the town of Chelif on the same charge. The accused, who is a member of the FIS, was placed in custody at the request of the state prosecutor. The National Gendarmerie command adds finally that another person charged with incitement to revolt in the mosque in the town of Bou Saada was brought before the state prosecutor in the court of the town, which ordered him to be held in custody. (Radiodiffusion - Television Algerienne, Algiers, in French 1800 gmt 27 Jan 92 )

27 Jan. 92: More measures taken against FIS leaders:

In Algeria 14 FIS leaders have been put under lock and key, 20 Imams have been taken in for questioning, and several dozen sympathisers have been arrested since last Friday [24th January]. For his part, the Algerian Interior Minister reiterates that the government will not give in to pressure from the FIS. The state will exercise with determination its prerogatives as the keeper of public order, he says. (France Inter, Paris 2130 gmt 27 Jan 92 )

27 Jan 92: El - khabar' journalists appear in court

This afternoon, the director, chief editor and his assistant of [El -khabar] appeared before Algiers court accused of publishing and circulating a call that incited army elements to desert which was signed by Mr Abdelkader Hachani, President of the FIS Provisional Bureau . (Republic of Algeria Radio, Algiers, in Arabic 2100 gmt 27 Jan 92.)

28 Jan 92 : FIS official Rabah Kebir and journalists arrested

Algerian police have arrested one of the main officials of Islamic Salvation Front [FIS], Rabah Kebir, head of Political Affairs and Foreign Relations in the Provisional Executive Bureau of the FIS, in Algiers. (France Inter, Paris 1800 28 jan 92 )

28 Jan 92: FIS Weekly's Editor arrested

Algerian gendarmes on Tuesday 28th January arrested the director of the Islamic Salvation front's Arabic - language weekly El- Mounkid, Salah Gouami, Front sources said. The latest issue of 'El-Mounkid' was seized on Saturday 25th January because it contained what officials called "subversive articles".

### 30 Jan 92: Governor bans gatherings in public places, collection of donations

The Wali (Governor of Algiers on 30th January banned public gatherings and the collection of donations without prior permits in the wilaya of Algiers, Republic of Algeria Radio (Algiers) reported that day . A total ban was imposed on " the occupation of any place, such as a square, road, wall of hoarding . The validity of permits for the collection of donations was limited to only one day. The collection of donations inside mosques was banned.

### 30 Jan 92: Clashes erupt

- Algerian TV (Algiers ) on the 30th reported a statement by the Interior Ministry warning people against saying their prayers outside mosques.
- France Inter ( Paris ) reported on 30th January that clashes had taken place between demonstrators and security forces in Constantine. The clashes occurred near the court building where five FIS members were appearing .

### 2 Feb 92 : Prime Minister denies resignation rumours

- Prime Minister Sid Ahmad Ghazali, speaking at a news conference during the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, denied reports saying that he was preparing to submit his resignation . Republic of Algeria Radio reported on 2nd February.

- Radio France Internationale reported Ghazali as saying in Davos that what happened in Algeria has nothing to do with Islam. "There are always people everywhere who are ready to exploit a crisis, FIS in our case and other extremist groups elsewhere" he said adding that the action currently taken by the authorities is not against democracy at all. It is clear that mosques cannot be use for political purposes, Ghazali added.

### 2 Feb 92: More casualties in clashes with the Police

- A total of 20 people, including three policemen, had been injured and 25 people arrested in disturbances during or after Friday prayers on 31st January, Republic of Algeria Radio said on 2 Feb 92.

- France Inter (Paris ) on 2nd February reported that five people had died in clashes on 31st January . Morocco Radio added that 109 people had been arrested on the 31st.

### 3 Feb 92 : FIS headquarters street sealed

A significant presence of National Gendarmerie forces was reported by Republic of Algeria Radio to have gathered in the street housing the headquarters of the National Salvation Front , FIS , on 3rd February . The radio cited National Gendarmerie sources as saying that its forces had been ordered to retake the building in order to hand it back to the Ministry of Economy.

Republic of Algeria Radio Algiers reported on the 3rd that 42 people had been detained during the period 17th -25th January, on the orders of the judicial authorities, for disturbing public order and the management of mosques aystem.

### 3 Feb 92: Boudiaf refuses FLN leader an audience

The President of the Higher State Council, Mr Mohamed Boudiaf, is reported to have rejected a request for an audience from the Secretary General of the National Liberation Front, FLN, Mr Abdelhamid Melhi. This is what the evening daily 'El-Massa' reported.

### 3 Feb 92: New Algerian leader says FIS can operate democratically

Mohamed Boudiaf was asked in an interview broadcast on 3rd February by Algerian TV Algiers what would be the attitude of the Algerian authorities to the Islamic Salvation Front, FIS. He replied: The FIS is a party like the other parties and is recognised as such. Maybe some people have made statements -which I have heard - calling for the disbanding of the front, but it will not be done providing that the front accepts the democratic game.

### 3 Feb 92: Anti-FIS measures, arrests reported

- Arrests continue in Algeria: official sources this evening confirmed the arrest of some 15 religious figures of the Islamic Salvation Front for breach of the peace. (France Inter Paris 2130 gmt 3 Feb 92.)

- Seventy-six persons have appeared before the court in Laghouat some 200 miles south of Algiers. According to the court of Laghouat, 62 defendants, of whom 10 were minors, appeared before the examining magistrate on Saturday charged with breaching the peace, gathering, harming the interests of the state, insulting state officials and causing deliberate bodily harm. (Republic of Algeria Radio, Algiers, in Arabic 2300 gmt 3 Feb 92.)

### 3 Feb 92: Algerian rights group tells Boudiaf of its concern at alleged excesses

During their meeting with President Boudiaf, the president and members of the Algerian League of Human Rights expressed the league's concern at possible excesses which could undermine the efforts of the security forces aimed at establishing the authority of the state.

During their meeting with Mr Boudiaf, the members of the Executive Bureau talked about cases where the rights and liberties of citizens in Algiers, Oran and Constantine had been violated. (Republic of Algeria Radio in Arabic 2200 gmt 4 Feb 92)

### 4 Feb 92: Five killed in unrest in eastern Algeria

- In a statement issued on 5th February the Governor of Batna 430 km east of Algiers said that five people had been killed and 28 injured in clashes in the town on the 4th. Republic of Algeria Radio reported.

- Radiodiffusion -Television Algerienne said that 30 people had been arrested on 4th February during confrontations between demonstrators and security forces in Constantine, where three preachers, including two FIS representatives elected in the first round of legislative elections, had gone on trial.

#### 4 Feb 92: New Consultative Council to be appointed by regime

The consultative council due to be set up would consist of 60 members who would be selected on objective bases, Algerian TV Algiers reported on 4th February, citing a statement made that day by Ali Haroun, a member of the Higher State Council (HSC) and Minister for Human Rights, to Radiodiffusion - Television Algerienne. Haroun said that this council would not legislate. It would give views and advice and study cases only on the initiative of the HSC.

#### 5 Feb 92 : FIS march banned

France Inter Paris on the 5th reported that the authorities had banned a march which the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) had planned to hold in Algiers on 14th February after Friday prayers. According to Radiodiffusion - Television Algerienne Algiers quoting a FIS official, the aim of the march was to end political piracy, to continue the free electoral process and to demand the release of political prisoners, particularly the FIS leaders.

#### 6 Feb 92: Army units deployed, marches banned

- Army and police units were deployed on a large scale in Algiers on 7th February before the start of Friday prayers, Republic of Algeria Radio reported that day.

- Algerian RT on 6th February broadcast a statement from the Interior Minister warning against the exploitation of Friday prayers to incite worshippers and children to join marches aimed at provoking the security forces and to defy the state's authority, and reiterating the government's determination to fight severely, within the framework of the law, to safeguard public security.

- Republic of Algeria Radio on the 6th said the death toll in clashes in the eastern town of Batna had risen to 12, with 66 people injured.

- FIS had called for the continuation of the political process in Algeria as the only solution to the political crisis.

#### 9 Feb 92: State of Emergency Declared, FIS headquarters raided

- On 9 Feb 92, the headquarters of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) in Algiers had been raided by the security forces and a group of (FIS) leaders and officials arrested, Republic of Algeria Radio reported.

- Mohamed Boudiaf, the Chairman of the Higher State Council, had received the leaders of eight political parties on 9th February and was expected to consult the leaders of other parties later.

- Algerian TV at 1900 gmt on 9th February reported that a state of emergency had been declared with immediate effect, as a result of the serious and continuous violations of public order and threats aimed at the stability of the institutions. The Interior Minister and regional governors were given wide powers to arrest people, search houses, stop unauthorised strikes and ban demonstrations.

- At 2200 gmt, Republic of Algeria Radio broadcast an Interior Ministry statement which said that steps were being taken to suspend and dissolve the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) because



of subversive actions that threatened public order and state institutions.

- Algerian TV reported on the 9th that two of the five people arrested at FIS HQ that morning had been members of the National Consultative Council.

10 Feb 92: FIS Radjem arrested

On the 10th, Republic of Algeria Radio cited press reports that FIS information officer Abdelrazak Radjem had been arrested.

10 Feb 92: FFS Leader Calls for Restoration of Democracy

Hocine Ait Ahmad, leader of the Socialist Forces Front (FFS), told Radio France Inter Paris: "Only a return to the democratic process could restore calm and reestablish confidence". Asked whether that process should include the FIS he said: "With the FIS of course."

15 Feb 92 : Boudiaf promises to continue democratic process

Republic of Algeria Radio reported that Boudiaf had met representatives of the national press on 15th February and affirmed that the press must help raise public awareness of impending dangers. Boudiaf affirmed the state's determination to continue the democratic process and hold a dialogue with all sections of opinion, as well as its intention to respect the freedoms of citizens, including freedom of expression .

16 Feb 92 : Further unrest

- AFP on 16th and 17th February reported further unrest, including on the 16th the siege of a building in Algiers from where shots had been fired at the naval forces FIHQ.

- Continuing student unrest was reported in Constantine.

17 Feb 92 : Five detention camps set up in south, demonstrations continue

The thousands of people arrested these past few days during combing operations in Islamist circles are being deported to five detention camps situated in southern Algeria. The opening of these camps has been confirmed by lawyer Ali Haroun, the Minister for Human Rights and member of the Higher State Council. Lawyer Rezzag -Bara, the Secretary - General of the Algerian Human Rights League, which is close to the authorities, has for his part stated that these camps are situated in the region of Reggane, Timimoun, Adrar and Ouargla. These people, who are deported in specially chartered Hercules C-130 (transport aircraft), risk, by virtue of the state of emergency, being detained for a period of 12 months.

Thus, the Algerian authorities are repeating what was done last summer during the state of siege. Several human rights activists, including Ali Yahia Abdennour, President of the independent League for the Defence of Human Rights, had then used the term "concentration camp" to denounce these internments.

The long list of arrests is not closed. The combing operations are taking place daily, mainly at night or at dawn. The anti-riot brigades surround the area, then plainclothes policemen go into action and check the houses. Under the state of emergency measures, they do not need either

arrest or search warrants. (Radio France Internationale, Paris, in French 1830 gmt 17 Feb 92)

18 Feb 92 : FIS Willing to talk to authorities, arrests continue

- The Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) in a telephone call to AFP on 18th February, said that it was willing to hold talks with the Algerian authorities if they respected the results of the cancelled general election, the agency reported.

- Algerian TV on 18th February reported the arrest of 14 members of an armed group calling itself the Armed Islamic Movement.

- Mr. Ali Haroun the Minister of Human Rights and member of the Higher State Council, affirmed on Tuesday evening 18th February that about 5,000 people have been arrested since the beginning of February .

18 Feb 92 : FIS willing to hold talks with authorities

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18 Feb 92: More arrests reported

- Algerian TV on 18th February reported the arrest of 14 members of an armed group calling itself the Armed Islamic Movement.

- Mass arrests in south Mr Ali Haroun the Minister of Human Rights and members of the Higher State Council, affirmed on Tuesday evening 18th February that about 5,000 people have been arrested since the beginning of February .

20 Feb 92 : FIS accuses authorities of torture, detention of 14,000

According to FIS, 14,000 people are reported to have been arrested by the police and the gendarmerie during the week of 6th -13th February . The FIS also accuses the government of torture. So far, the Algerian government has confirmed only 5,000 arrests. (France Inter , Paris in French 1800 gmt 20 Feb 92 ).

20 Feb 92 : FIS statement calls for serious political dialogue

- A statement by the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) dated 20th February, was received by AFP on the 23rd, that agency reported. Signed by the head of the organisation's national information commissin, Abderrazak Radjam, who has been sought by police for the past two weeks, the statement called for a return to serious political dialogue before violence becomes the alternative for the parties which (the current Algerian leadership) wants to exclude. The statement called for thousands of detainees to be freed and referred to Algeria's leadership as a junta which was trying to create a gathering of opportunists amountig to a return to single party rule.

- A separate appeal, also signed by Radjam, called on the FIS's elected local officials to be patient and to remain in the service of the people, AFP added.

24 Feb 92 : FIS statement says 150 killed ; 30,000 arrested

Clashes between the security forces and Islamic fundamentalists had left nearly 150 dead and 700 injured, and some 30,000 Muslim militants had been affected since the start of the crackdown, according to the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) publication 'Minbar El Djoumouaa' quoted by AFP. The agency said it had received a copy of 'Minbar El Djoumouaa' the official organ of the FIS Algiers bureau, on 24th February. The FIS said that 30,000 detainees were being held in detention camps in the Sahara at Timimoun, Ouargla, Adrar and Reggane; they included 200 mayors, 28 chairmen of regional assemblies and 109 parliamentary candidates. Some 20,000 other people had been arrested but were later released.

25 Feb 92 : Boudiaf sends envoys to Europe and USA to explain developments

Boudiaf has asked Higher State Council Member Ali Haroun and ex-minister Redha Malek to proceed to Belgium, Germany and Spain for the former and the USA and Canada for the latter to explain the recent developments in Algeria to the governments and public in these countries. During the coming weeks missions will be sent to other countries friendly with Algeria. (Republic of Algeria Radio Algiers in Arabic 0600 gmt 25 Feb 92).

25 Feb 92 : Higher State Council on student disturbances, repossession of party properties

The Higher State Council gave precise instructions to the competent authorities to take all the appropriate measures in order to put an end to the disturbances which have been noticed recently in university establishments and in order to guarantee that teaching is not interrupted and that exams are held in normal conditions in accordance with the programmes fixed by the university authorities. The Higher State Council decided to create a special committee in charge of making an inventory of the property and movable belongings of the state which are currently in the political character.

26 Feb 92 : Higher State Council member says only 50 killed in unrest; 5,000 held

Ali Haroun held a news conference in Brussels in which he dealt with the political situation in Algeria. Concerning the number of those who were killed during the disturbances of January and the number of people currently being detained, Ali Haroun pointed out that the number of those who were killed was not more than 50 people half of whom were officers and privates from the ranks of the National People's Army and the gendarmerie giving the number of 5,000 for those people who were currently under arrest.

27 Feb 92: Boudiaf says country saved from Islamic dictatorship

In an interview with the French weekly VSD published on 27 February Chairman of the Higher State Council Mohamed Boudiaf stated that Algeria has been saved from a major threat in the form of an Islamic dictatorship.

3 Mar 92: Three linked to clandestine organisation sentenced to death

Death sentences were passed on 3rd March by the criminal court of Tlemcen Judicial Council on three people connected with the Algerian underground group Hezbollah and three others were sentenced to terms ranging between 20 years and two months imprisonment, Republic of Algeria Radio reported. Those convicted had been charged with forming a gang of outlaws possessing weapons, abduction and murder, the radio said.

4 Mar 92: Algiers court dissolves FIS

- The following report was broadcast by Algiers Radio on 4th March:

(Text) We return now to the case of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS). Our correspondent at the Algiers court has just contacted us and sent us the news that the administrative chamber of the Algiers judicial council has decided to dissolve the FIS.

- Algerian leader says no parties based on religion

Mohamed Boudiaf, in interviews published in the 4th March editions of the Egyptian Al-Ahram and the Algerian Essalem and reported by the Egyptian agency and Republic of Algeria Radio respectively, discussed his current foreign and domestic policies. According to the Egyptian agency he said that there should be no political parties operating on a religious basis: religion should not be used for political ends. A Radiodiffusion - Television Algerienne report of the Al-Ahram interview quoted him as saying that such parties were unconstitutional. Boudiaf also said that he hoped to organise legislative and presidential elections in two years time.

4 Mar 92: Algeria Radio welcomes banning of FIS

(Excerpts from commentary by Belazoug broadcast by Algiers Radio on 4 March 92) Bourn thanks to democracy which it [the FIS] describes with engravitude as blasphemy, now its days are over in the name of the same democracy. The dissolution of the Islamic Salvation Front is well and truly the result of an act of justice emanating from a judicial institution belonging to a state of law. A party which was democratically legalised engages in terrorist actions unknown before threatening to put the country to fire and the sword - threats which have once again been made as you know by the leaders in hiding. Such a party cannot easily escape the implementation of the laws of the republic.

5 Mar 92: Algerian Foreign Minister visits France

After a one-hour meeting with his French counterpart Roland Dumas in Paris on 5th March Algerian Foreign Minister Lakhdar Brahimi said that there was no longer any misunderstanding between France and Algeria, Republic of Algeria Radio reported adding that Dumas had stressed France's readiness to help Algeria overcome a difficult period.

5 Mar 92: FFS condemns dissolution of FIS

The Socialist Forces Front (FFS) said that it rejects the dissolution of any political party, especially as it takes place in time of turmoil such as the state of emergency and in an atmosphere where complete openness is lacking. The FFS statement renewed the party's firm position which rejects both the police state and the fundamentalist state. (Republic of Algeria Radio in Arabic 1200 gmt 5 Mar 92)

6 Mar 92: FIS communique warns of calm before the storm

Radio France Internationale (Paris) reported on 7 March that several thousand FIS activists, among whom were said to be four members of the FIS Consultative Council, had gathered on the 6th at a mosque in Algiers to hear the reading of "Communique No. 21", which the radio said was the FIS's first public reaction to the announcement of its dissolution.

In another mosque in Algiers, Cheikh Ahmed Sahnoun, one of the founder-members of the newly-established Algerian Islamic Solidarity, had declared that the FIS was "indissoluble" and that Ramadan should be a time of "mourning" for those in detention.

9 Mar 92: Authorities dismiss six FIS mayors

The authorities of Mila Province have removed from their positions six mayors who were elected from the FIS list of candidates. The six men were accused of misuse of public property. They were released on bail. (France Inter, Paris, 2200 gmt 9 Mar 92)

11 Mar 92: Prime Minister says 70 killed, hundreds wounded in February clashes

The Algerian government has given a new toll for the clashes last month between Islamists and the security forces: 70 dead and several hundred injured, according to P.M. Ghazali. Half of those killed are reported to be members of the security forces. (France Inter 11 March 92)

12 Mar 92: Interior Ministry issues statement on February clashes

Lengthy statement by Interior Ministry in which measures adopted during February incidents are explained. Both statement and press conference held by the Interior Minister were reported by Algiers TV on 12 March.

14 Mar 92: Prime Minister to resign if people's support is not forthcoming

In an interview with the French-language weekly 'Le Jeudi d'Algerie', Prime Minister Ghazali said: "My work depends on the understanding of the Algerians, and consequently if my government fails to meet with the desired response, I shall resign." (APS in Arabic 14 Mar 92)

15 Mar 92: Government publishes detainee numbers

The Algerian Interior Ministry has just published new figures concerning the arrests of Islamists. In total, exactly 8,891 people are reported to have been arrested before 10 March. Most of them are reported to be detained in the seven security centres opened in the Sahara. (Radio France Internationale, Paris, in French 1230 gmt 15 Mar 92)

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21 GIU. 1993

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**In the Name of God the Most Gracious the Most Merciful**

**BOSNIA**  
**The Unwanted European Muslim Majority State <sup>1</sup>**

**by Anwar N. Haddam <sup>2</sup>**

**Roma, Italy**

**June 19, 1993**

1- Talk given at the International Symposium on "EC-Arab World Relations: Political Dimension", organized by the Royal Institute of International Affairs in Rome at Castelgandolfo on June 18-20, 1993.

2- Head of the Parliamentary Delegation of the FIS to Europe and the United States.

God Almighty says in the Holy Qur'an:

" Say: O People of the Scriptures, come to a common word between ourselves and yourselves"

### Introduction

Between the mountain ranges and valleys of Bosnia and Hercegovina, what used to be Yugoslavia's Central Republic, one can see, piercing through the skyline, the pointed tops of old minarets of thousands of mosques. This remains a living testimony to the forgotten Islamic heritage of the last remnants of Europe's indigenous Muslim population, a people, a society, a civilization possibly at the verge of extinction.

This is not a fate different from that experienced by the indigenous Muslims of Sicily in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Hungary, Malta, etc... many centuries earlier.

As a result of the bitter-sweet winds of change that have swept through Eastern Europe beginning in 1989, the Muslim population of then Yugoslavia find themselves, for the first time in the century, in a situation where they can effectively take charge of their own political and social-religious future and chart a course for a better tomorrow. However, at the same time the Muslims of former Yugoslavia have never been in a more precarious and life-threatening situation as they are in today.

This paradox lies at the heart of the contemporary Balkan



Muslim experience. It is a situation which must be understood in light of the historical forces that brought about the birth of Yugoslavia as a nation-state in 1918 and the religious-ethnic strife that has been the core of the micro-nationalism that has led the country to a systematic implosion along with the brutal, bloody, and devastating war.

### Historical Background

Islam came to the area in 1389. Over the next one hundred years, Islam spread to the gates of Vienna and the walls of Budapest. During this tie period, the serbs were able to organize their activities in Serbian language, utilizing Orthodox churches and other institutions as bases of operations, most of which were built and flourished under the Muslim rule. As a matter of fact one could even go as far as to make the assertion, in light of historical data, that if there ever was any "greater Serbia" it would have been under the Muslim rule.

Recent history has witnessed the creation of a Serbian-dominated Yugoslav Monarchy out of the ruins of the fallen Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires of post-WWI. Yugoslavia was subsequently reformed again out of the ruins of WWII as an atheist communist state. It was also during WWII that Muslims faced their first major genocidal campaign and ethnic cleansing at the hands of Serbian regular forces as well as the Chetnicks (armed militia). As a result of which 300,000 Muslim men, women, and children were massacred without mercy. Under the communist rule the Muslims were

guaranteed biological survival, but were sentenced to an ideological death.

### European Community and the Bosnian crisis

The demise of communism in Eastern Europe at the end of 1989, has generally meant a sigh of relief for the peoples who lived behind the iron curtain of communism, except for muslims who have been excluded from the rule. Algeria which held the first and most genuine democratic elections in the history of North Africa is another striking example to the exception of the rule.

The following events, that took place in Yugoslavia after the collapse of the communist block, are worth mentioning:

What was left of the Federal Presidency (Serbia and its ally, Montenegro), developed a plan -in response to Germany's move toward recognizing Croatia and Slovenia-, to create a "Greater Serbia" that includes Montenegro, all of Bosnia and Hercegovina, and approximately 30% of Croatia. This plan would ultimately result in the loss of the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Hercegovina, and the brutal ethnic cleansing against the Muslim population, currently underway.

In response to a rapidly deteriorating situation the Republic of Bosnia pursued a course of ensuing its independence as a sovereign Republic. On October 15, 1991 the Muslim-led coalition of the Bosnian parliament adopted a Memorandum of Sovereignty. The Serbian parliamentarian walkout, led by Karadzee who made an ominous threat in which he stated that the ratification of the

Memorandum would catapult Bosnia into hellfire in which the Muslims may perish once and for all.

The Izet Begovich government applied to the European Community for international recognition at the end of December 1991. On January 15, 1992, Europe, under pressure from Germany which already recognized Croatia and Slovenia, refused to recognize Bosnia and Macedonia. The reason given by the EC is that Bosnia did not hold a national plebescite to decide whether the people would opt for independence. The Memorandum of Sovereignty should have fulfilled this exact requirement. In any case the referendum was held in February 92 and was ratified by the majority of the Bosnian citizens. As a result of this selective process pursued by the EC:

- the delicate balance hitherto had been in place between the republics was destroyed. The resulting disequilibrium led to an open invitation to increased violence on the part of chauvinistic elements.

- the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia led to a pressured military concessions by the Serbian-led Yugoslav National Army (JAN), including the relinquishing of some previously occupied territory by the federal forces and their paramilitary allies, the Chetnicks. These forces were subsequently repositioned in the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina.

During this period the extremist elements within the Serbian population became critical of its leadership for, allegedly being so passive in regard to the UN and the EC peace plan. And hence we

have seen the disappearance of moderate Serbs from the political and military scenes. Henceforth the Serbs captured most of the land and declared independence autonomy over it where Sarajevo would serve as the capital, thereby declaring null and void the authority of the duly elected leadership of the Republic of Bosnia as well as the referendum.

The following meeting of the EC foreign ministers was scheduled for April 1992, where the expectation was high that the statehood of Bosnia and Hercegovina would be recognized. Encouraged by the EC inertia the Serbian forces launched a violent attack on Saturday April 4th killing scores of Muslims on the day of the celebration of "Eidul Fitr" in the town of Bjlieva. Similar attacks were unleashed throughout the Republic.

Since then the scene has witnessed a dangerous escalation culminating in the torture, massacre, rape, forceful displacement of civilians, concentration and death camps, and the ethnic cleansing of the muslim population in order to exterminate the European indigenous Muslims.

The Balkan Muslim experience is far from over. However the hasty recognition of Croatia and Slovinia catapulted the Muslims into a very precarious and deadly situation. The EC hesitance to uphold the statehood of Bosnia-Hercegovina coupled with the UN reluctance to send in peace-keeping forces increased the likelihood of a bloody aftermath. But only history will tell what went behind the scene.

### The Aftermath:

The world community has a moral responsibility to the people of Bosnia and Hercegovina (and the Muslim population at large). The necessary action is clear: the prompt and immediate implementation of the London conference resolutions, the lack of which may result in the radicalization of the parties involved and the expansion of the conflict well beyond its current boundaries.

The EC and the world community at large should not dismiss the idea of the wilful acceptance of an independent Muslim majority state in Europe.

As H.E. Muhamed Sacirbey, Ambassador and Permanent Representative of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina to the United Nations, said:

"Ethnic cleansing is not a diplomatic or political problem. It is a human rights problem. It is a crime against all of us. It cannot be dealt with through negotiation. Ethnic cleansing must not be excused, legitimized or appeased. It must be dealt with through the force of international law".

### Conclusion

At the end of this century, with the collapse of the colonial empires and the fall apart of the communist block, the world is experiencing profound and comprehensive changes leading to a 21st century new international order.

Security, commitment to stable peace, respect of human rights, cultural plurality, and economic diversity are no more local nor

the entire world today. Let us hope that the EC and the world community will accept the notion of a muslim-dominated state in Europe and the political Islam that came through Democracy in Algeria and will have a positive attitude toward it.

Algeria and Bosnia could certainly be the bridge that would link the upsurging Muslim World with the Western World, and hence would enter the 21st century with a meaningful cohabitation between the two civilizations.

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n° Inv. 13146  
21 GIU. 1993

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