



ALGERIET SANNINGEN OCH RÄTTVISAN

I **oktober 1988** revolterade tusentals ungdomar i den algeriska huvudstaden Alger. De krävde yttrandefrihet och demokrati. Regeringen svarade med våld och hundratals ungdomar miste livet. 1989 infördes pluralism och tiotals politiska partier började ta plats på den politiska scenen i Algeriet. 1991 vann F.I.S (Islamiska Räddningsfronten) riksdagsvalet med en överväldigande majoritet men militären vägrade godkänna resultatet och inledde en blodig konflikt som hittills kostat drygt 200.000 människors liv.

Justitia Universalis ordnar ett seminarium om Algeriet för att besvara åtminstone en del av de frågor som finns om denna konflikt.

Justitia Universalis har bjudit in fem kända föreläsare som ska upplysa er om vad som verkligen händer i Algeriet.

1. Forskaren och författaren **Abbas Aroua**

Hoggarinstitutets forskning och aktiviteter rörande mänskliga rättigheter i Algeriet.

Föreläsningen ges på engelska utan översättning.

2. F.d. Översten **Mohamed Samraoui**

Säkerhetstjänstens inblandning i Algeriets blodiga massakrer. Föreläsningen ges på franska och översätts till svenska.

3. F.d. Diplomat **Zitout Larbi**

Algeriet idag- Västvärldens reaktioner och ställning, politiskt och diplomatiskt.

Föreläsningen ges på engelska utan översättning

4. **Kapten Haroun**

" The generals and the western government attitude".

Föreläsningen ges på engelska utan översättning.

5. **Justitias president Advokaten Taouti Brahim**

De juridiska aspekterna av den algeriska krisen 1988-2003. Föreläsningen ges på franska och översätts till svenska.

Missa inte chansen att få veta något om det bortglömda lidandet i Algeriet.

Om ni är intresserade så ring oss och boka en plats kostnadsfritt. Vi bjuder på kaffe och hembakade algeriska kakor.

Kontaktpersoner:

1. Abdelkader (informationsansvarig)

Mobil. 0704457536 e-post: raoamira@hotmail.com

2. Hassen

Tel. 040-230800 Mobil. 0735-60 56 84

e-post: hsekkou@hotmail.com

Tid och plats:

Malmökonferenscenter - Folketshus

Olof Palmes plats 1

214 44 Malmö

25 oktober-03 kl. 9-16

26 oktober-03 kl. 10-13

Hjärtligt välkomna!



Justice is Truth in Action

International Headquarters

P.O. Box 17110
2502 CC The Hague
The Netherlands
Phone : +31 30 236 93 86
Fax : +31 30 230 45 11
E-mail : imar@euronet.nl

Centre for Legal Information, Analysis and Actions

Kirkestrædet, 1
Veksø / Sj – 3670
Denmark

Séminaire : Autopsie de la crise algérienne 1988 – 2003

Malmö (Suède), 25 & 26 octobre 2003

PROGRAMME

Samedi 25 octobre 2003

- 9.30 - Ouverture du séminaire
- 09.45-10.15 Abbas Aroua: *Les publications de l'Institut Hoggar (Genève) sur le thème: Algérie et droits de l'homme*
- 10.15-10.45 Discussion
- 10.45-11.00 Pause café
- 11.00-11.30 Colonel Mohammed Samraoui : *Algérie : Chronique des années du sang*,
Présente son livre portant le même titre aux éditions Denoël, septembre 2003
- 11.30-12.00 Discussion
- 12.00 Pause déjeuner
- 14.30-15.00 Zitout Larbi (diplomate): *Algérie : situation actuelle et réactions de l'occident (vision politique et diplomatique)*
- 15.00-15.30 Discussion
- 15.15 Pause café

Dimanche 26 octobre 2003

- 10.00-10.30 Capitaine Haroune: *The generals and the western governments attitude (Les généraux et l'attitude des gouvernements occidentaux)*
- 10.30-11.00 Discussion
- 11.00-11.30 Brahim Taouti, avocat : *Les aspects juridiques de la crise algérienne 1988-2003*
- 11.30-12.00 Discussion
- 12.00 Clôture

Hoggar Institute

Institut Hoggar

Hoggar's Research Activities (1994 – 2003)

Abbas Aroua

Seminar on Algeria
Malmö, 25-26 October 2003



Hoggar Institute

Institut Hoggar

Background Information

Hoggar's research activities

Inquiry into the Algerian Massacres

Hoggar Institute

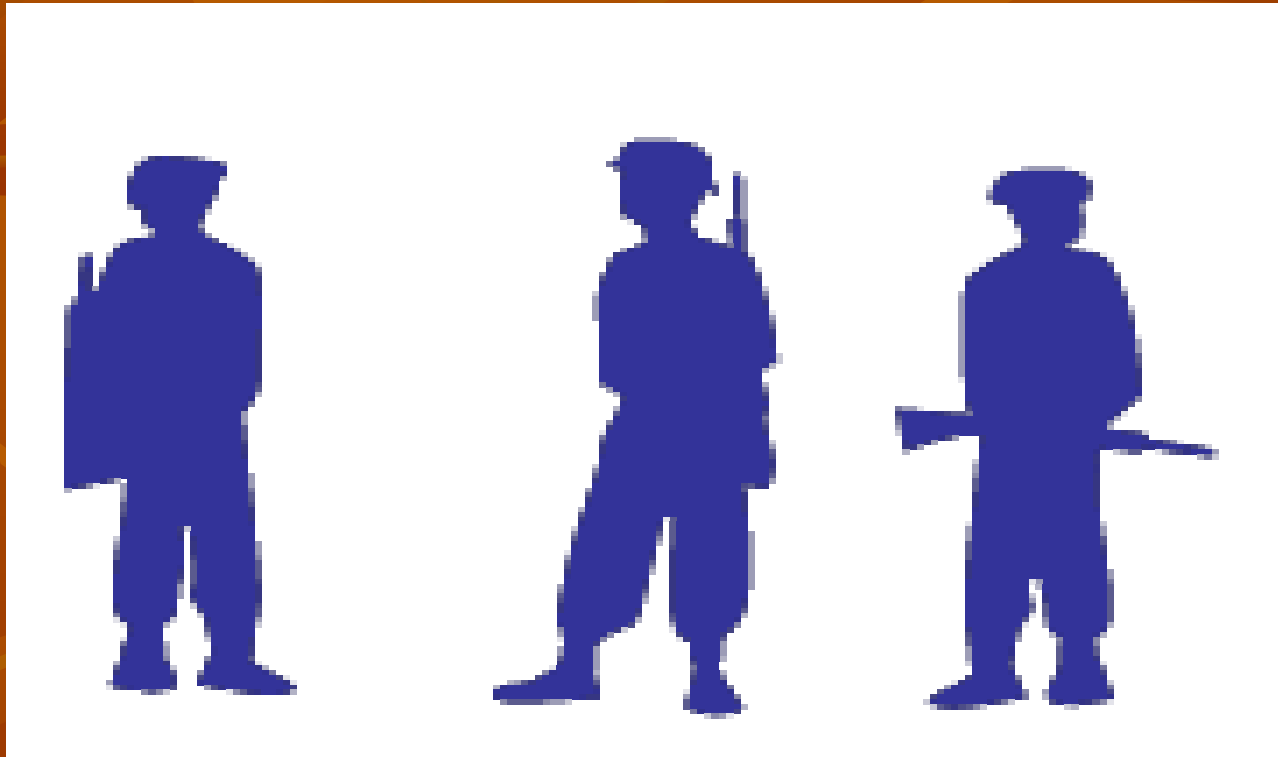
Institut Hoggar



- 2,381,740.00 sq km (3% Arable Land)
- 31,736,053 (July 2001 est.) (<25: >60%)
- Arabs, Amazighs
- Islam (> 99.9%)
- petroleum, natural gas, iron ore, phosphates, uranium, lead, zinc, etc.



"People's Democratic Republic of Algeria"



A military regime

A civilian façade



Hoggar Institute

Institut Hoggar

“People's Democratic Republic of Algeria”



A military regime

A civilian façade



5 July 1962: Independence of Algeria after 132 years of French occupation

September 1962: Ahmed Ben Bella and the external ALN overthrow the Provisional Government presided by Benyoucef Benkhedda.

19 June 1965: Colonel Houari Boumediène overthrows Ben Bella.

3 January 1967: Algerian secret services assassinate Mohamed Khider in Madrid, Spain.

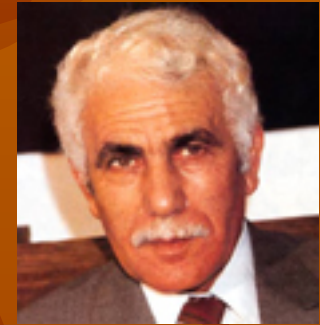
November 1967: Colonel Tahar Zbiri, the Army chief-of-staff, attempts a coup d'état. The air force, loyal to Boumediène, crushes the attempt.



18 October 1970: Algerian secret services assassinate Krim Belkacem in Dusseldorf, Germany.

27 December 1978: Death of Houari Boumediène.

January 1979: A conclave of top military officers nominates Colonel Chadli Bendjedid as president of Algeria.



20 April 1980: Berber Spring: several days of violent demonstrations in the Kabyle regions, especially Tizi-Ouzou. Students demand the recognition of the Berber language and culture.

November 1982: Large meeting of Islamists in the Faculty of Algiers. Waves of arrests follow.

November 1986: Violent demonstrations in Constantine and Sétif. Students protest bad living conditions.

5-10 October 1988: Widespread demonstrations and riots. The army steps in and massacres 500 civilians. Bendjedid promises political and economical reforms to 'democratise' the country.

November 1988: Army generals meet in a conclave to nominate Bendjedid for a third presidential term.

23 February 1989: A new constitution allowing a multiparty political system is adopted in a referendum. The army withdraws from the central committee of the FLN.

12 June 1990: The FIS wins local elections with 55 of the votes against 28 for the FLN. The FFS and the MDA boycott the poll.

May-June 1991: The FIS calls for a general strike to ask for changes in the new electoral laws for legislative elections. The strike is crushed by security forces.

26 December 1991: The FIS wins the first round of the general elections (188 of the 430 provided seats). The FLN comes second with 16 seats. The FFS obtains 25 seats.

4 January 1992: Army generals meet in a conclave and agree to overthrow the president.

11 January 1992: President Bendjedid is forced to resign in a military coup.

12 January 1992: The military High Security Council (HCS) cancels legislative elections.

14 January 1992: A High State Committee (HCE), headed by Mohamed Boudiaf, is appointed to assume power. Troubles break out throughout the country.



The 1/11 Putsch was meant to save the Republic endangered by obscurantism and to prevent a wave of boat-people flooding Europe.

How is Algeria more than a decade after the putsch?

Sources: ONS, CNES, WB, UN,
HR NGOs, Algerian Press

Aftermath of the 1/11

Human Cost

⇒ > 30'000 political prisoners



Aftermath of the 1/11

Human Cost

- ⇒ > 30'000 political prisoners
- ⇒ ~ same number of tortured



Aftermath of the 1/11

Human Cost

- ⇒ > 30'000 political prisoners
- ⇒ ~ same number of tortured
- ⇒ **Thousands of extrajudicial killings**



Aftermath of the 1/11

Human Cost

- ⇒ > 30'000 political prisoners
- ⇒ ~ same number of tortured
- ⇒ Thousands of extrajudicial killings
- ⇒ **Hundreds of massacres**



Aftermath of the 1/11

Human Cost

- ⇒ > 30'000 political prisoners
- ⇒ ~ same number of tortured
- ⇒ Thousands of extrajudicial killings
- ⇒ Hundreds of massacres
- ⇒ > **200'000 killed**



Aftermath of the 1/11

Human Cost

- ⇒ > 30'000 political prisoners
- ⇒ ~ same number of tortured
- ⇒ Thousands of extrajudicial killings
- ⇒ Hundreds of massacres
- ⇒ > 200'000 killed
- ⇒ ~ **12'000 forcibly disappeared**
(7'000 – 18'000)



Aftermath of the 1/11

Human Cost

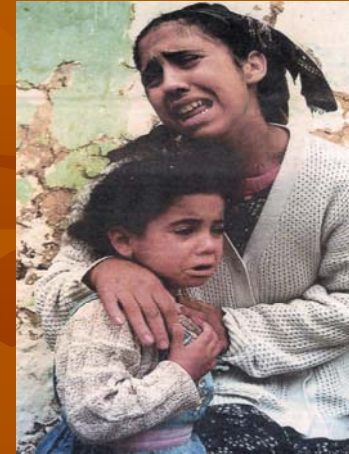
- ⇒ > 30'000 political prisoners
- ⇒ ~ same number of tortured
- ⇒ Thousands of extrajudicial killings
- ⇒ Hundreds of massacres
- ⇒ > 200'000 killed
- ⇒ ~ 12'000 forcibly disappeared
- ⇒ **1 Million displaced**
- ⇒ **> 0.5 Million exiled**



Aftermath of the 1/11

Human Cost

- ⇒ > 30'000 political prisoners
- ⇒ ~ same number of tortured
- ⇒ Thousands of extrajudicial killings
- ⇒ Hundreds of massacres
- ⇒ > 200'000 killed
- ⇒ ~ 12'000 forcibly disappeared
- ⇒ 1 Million displaced
- ⇒ > 0.5 Million exiled
- ⇒ **Suffering of millions**



Aftermath of the 1/11

Political Cost

- ⇒ Loss of civil & political rights
- ⇒ Fraudulent elections (8 after 1/11)
- ⇒ Lack of participation
- ⇒ Increased militarism (1/39 armed)
- ⇒ Loss of national sovereignty

Aftermath of the 1/11

Economic Cost

- ⇒ **Increase of military expenditure**
(\$ 0.6 Billion in 1991 ⇒ \$ 1.9 Billion in 1999)
- ⇒ **War damage: \$ 20 Billion**
- ⇒ **Decrease of growth rate**
- ⇒ **Increase of unemployment rate**
(20% in 1991 ⇒ 35-38% in 2000)
- ⇒ **Destruction of the production system**
- ⇒ **Widespread corruption**
(\$ 40 B in 1999, \$ 1.5-2 B per year)
- ⇒ **Back to colonial economy**
(1 exporter / 100 impoters)

Aftermath of the 1/11

Social Cost

⇒ Fast pauperization

Algeria: 14th oil exporter &

5th natural gaz exporter

1 Algerian / 2 is poor (< \$ 1 / day)



Aftermath of the 1/11

Social Cost

⇒ Decay of the national health system

1 Algerian / 5 is sick

- Malnutrition
- Reappearance of diseases such as:

Typhoid fever, tuberculosis, rabies, paludism, malaria, measles, diphtheria, dysentery, meningitis and even the plague several decades after Albert Camus' *La Peste* !

Aftermath of the 1/11

Social Cost

⇒ Decay of the national education system

- Loss rate from primary school to university: 95%
- 0.5 M children are excluded (lack of resources)

⇒ Chronic housing crisis

- Deficit of 4.6 M houses
- 6 M singles > 19 have no perspective to found a family

Aftermath of the 1/11

Social Cost

⇒ Propagation of social diseases

- Family conflicts
- Divorce
- Suicide
- Drugs
- begging
- Prostitution
- Crime
- Social violence



Aftermath of the 1/11

According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) 2003 Annual Report

Algeria regressed to the 107th world rank



Hoggar is a research institute on the Maghreb
Established in Geneva in 1994

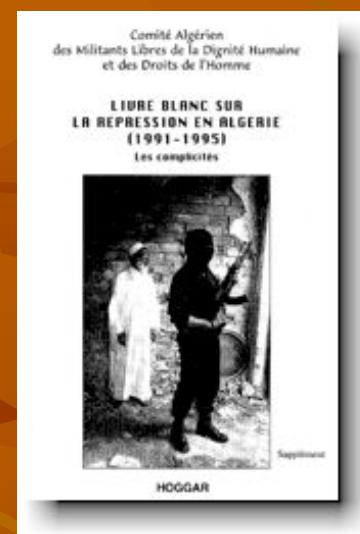
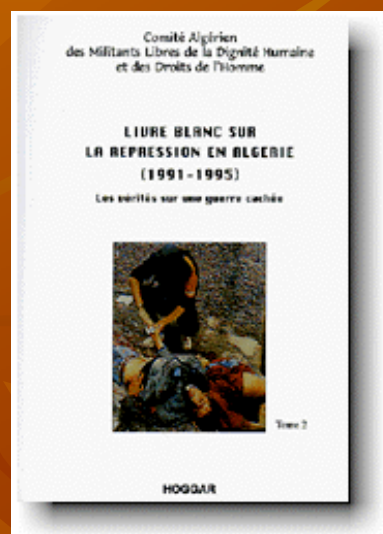
mission:

- ▶ to contribute towards a deeper understanding of the multi-faceted problems facing the peoples of the Maghreb;
- ▶ to give voice to their struggles and creative ideas to better their conditions.

Research activity (1994 – 2003)

Except a work on the Economy of the Maghreb, by Former Prime Minister Prof. A. Brahim, all the research activity focused mainly on the Algerian Conflict and the gross human rights violations in this country.

Main publications



White Book on Repression in Algeria (in French)
884 pages, 3 Vols. (1995, 1996)
The Algerian Committee of the Free Militants for
Human Dignity and Human Rights

1500 cases covering: extrajudicial detentions
and killings, torture,...

Main publications

*Whispering Algeria: Notes on torture
(in French)*

365 pages (1996)

Dr Moussa Aït-Embarek

Foreword by Me Abdenour Ali-Yahia

- Typology of torture
- Testimonial accounts
- Rhetoric of terror



Main publications

*Origins of the Algerian Tragedy
(1958-2000): Testimony on hizb
França (in French)*
312 pages (2000)
Prof. Abdelhamid Brahimi



Role of Former soldiers in the French
army in the Algerian tragedy.

Main publications

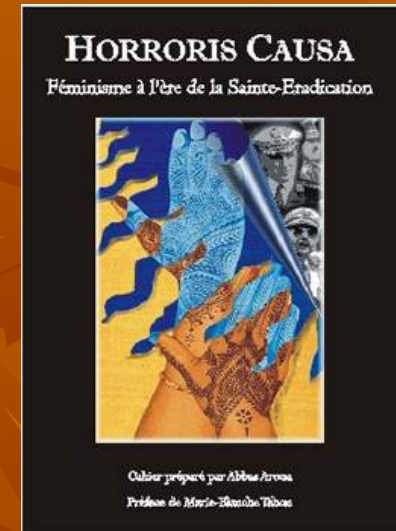
Horroris Causa: Feminism at the Holy-Eradication Era (in French)

212 pages (2000)

Dr Abbas Aroua.

Foreword by Prof. Marie-Blanche Tahon.

Manipulation & control of a segment of the Algerian feminist movement by the putschists.



Main publications

*An Open Letter to Algerian Friends
Turned Torturers (in English)*

Me Jacques Vergès (2003)

(Traslation by Michèle Messaoudi of
*Lettre ouverte à des amis devenus
tortionnaires*, Albin Michel, Paris
1993)



Testimonial account on torture.

Multi-approach studies

Massacres (in English), 1999 (F, 2004)

I. Massacres and Victims

II. Intents and Perpetrators

III. National Responses

IV. International Responses

V. Historical Perspective

VI. Legal Perspective

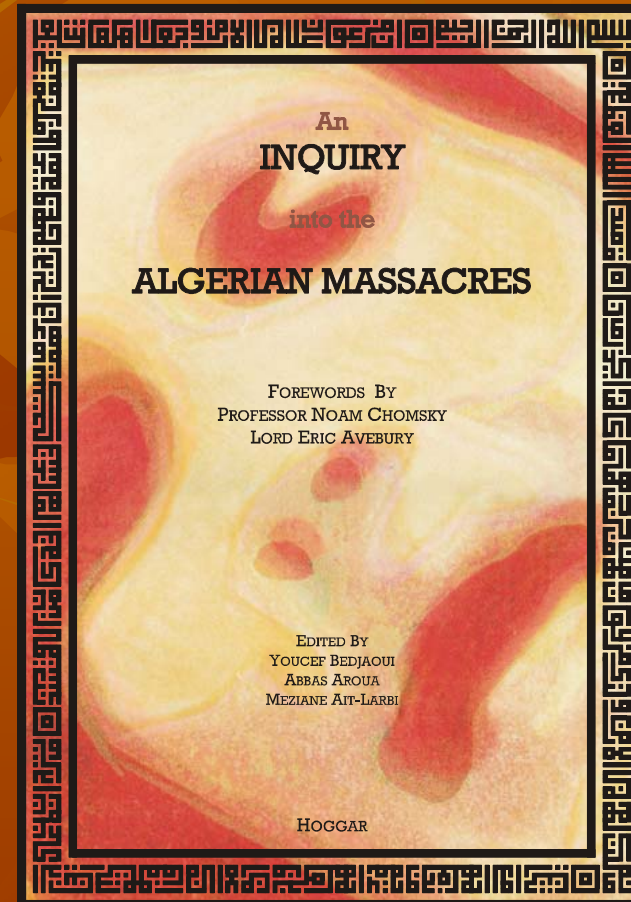
VII. Photographic Account

An Inquiry into the Algerian Massacres

1504 pages

Edited by Youcef Bedjaoui, Abbas Aroua and Méziane Ait-Larbi.

Forwords by Prof. Noam Chomsky and Lord Eric Avebury.



Multi-approach studies

Torture (*in Arabic*), 2003

Part A: Torture and its Victims

Part B: Political Perspective

Part C: Media Perspective

Part D: Historical Perspective

Part E: Legal Perspective

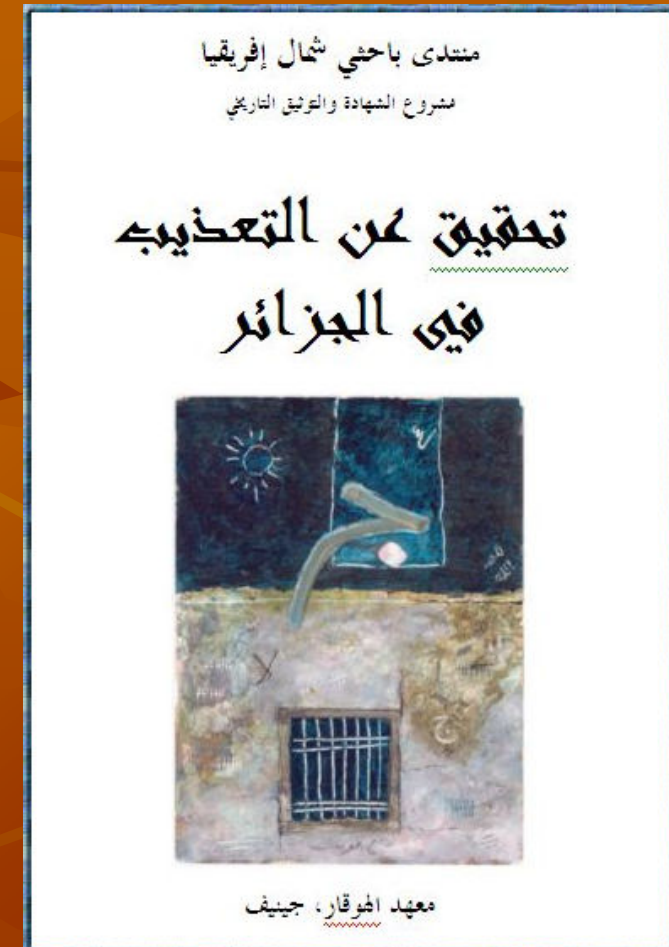
Part F: Artistic Perspective

An Inquiry into Algerian Torture

Edited by the Forum of North-African Researchers,
1074 pages

Testimonial and Historical Documentation Project.

Forwords by 12 Arab Human Rights Activists



Multi-approach studies

Massacres (E, 1999)

- I. Massacres and Victims
- II. Intents and Perpetrators
- III. National Responses
- IV. International Responses
- V. Historical Perspective
- VI. Legal Perspective
- VII. Photographic Account

Torture (A, 2003)

- Part A: Torture and its Victims
- Part B: Political Perspective
- Part C: Media Perspective
- Part D: Historical Perspective
- Part E: Legal Perspective
- Part F: Artistic Perspective

Disappearances (F, 2004)

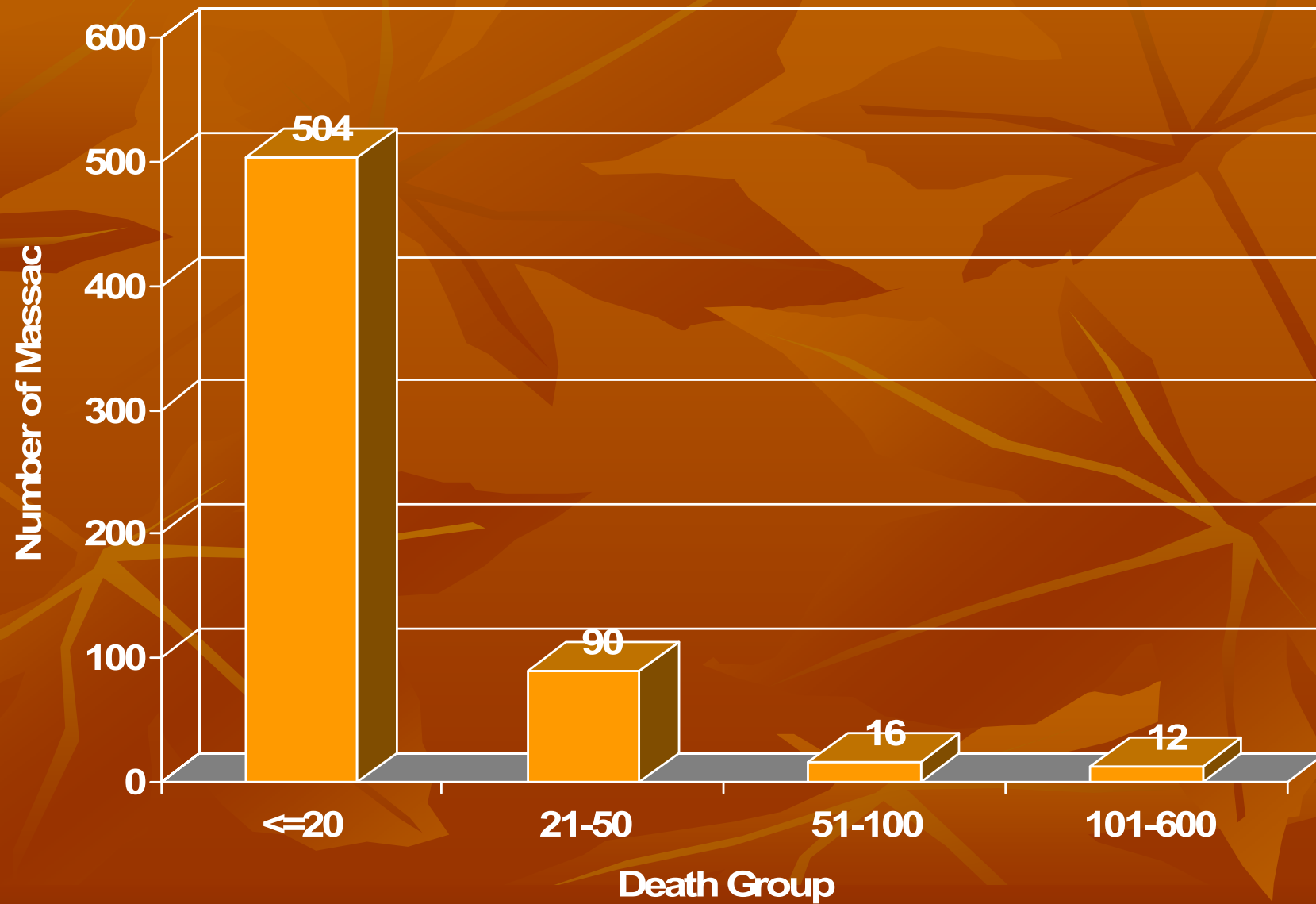
- I. Kidnapped and disappeared
- II. Politics of disappearance
- III. National Responses
- IV. International Responses
- V. Media Perspective
- VI. Historical Perspective
- VII. Legal Perspective
- VIII. Photographic Account

The Anatomy of the Massacres

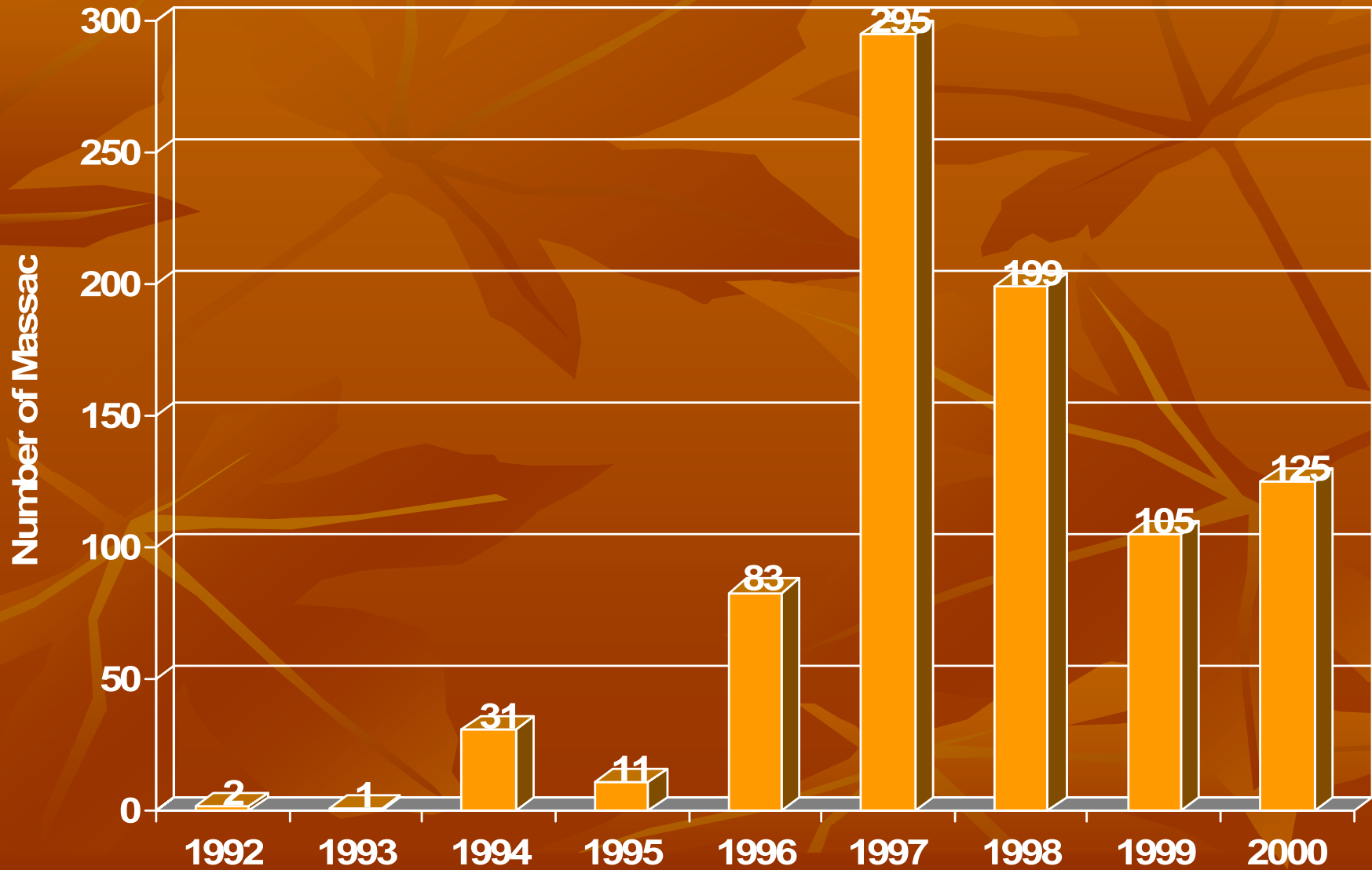
Some results:

- ▶ Magnitudes and Frequencies of the Massacres
- ▶ Time Evolution of the Massacres
- ▶ Geography of the Massacres

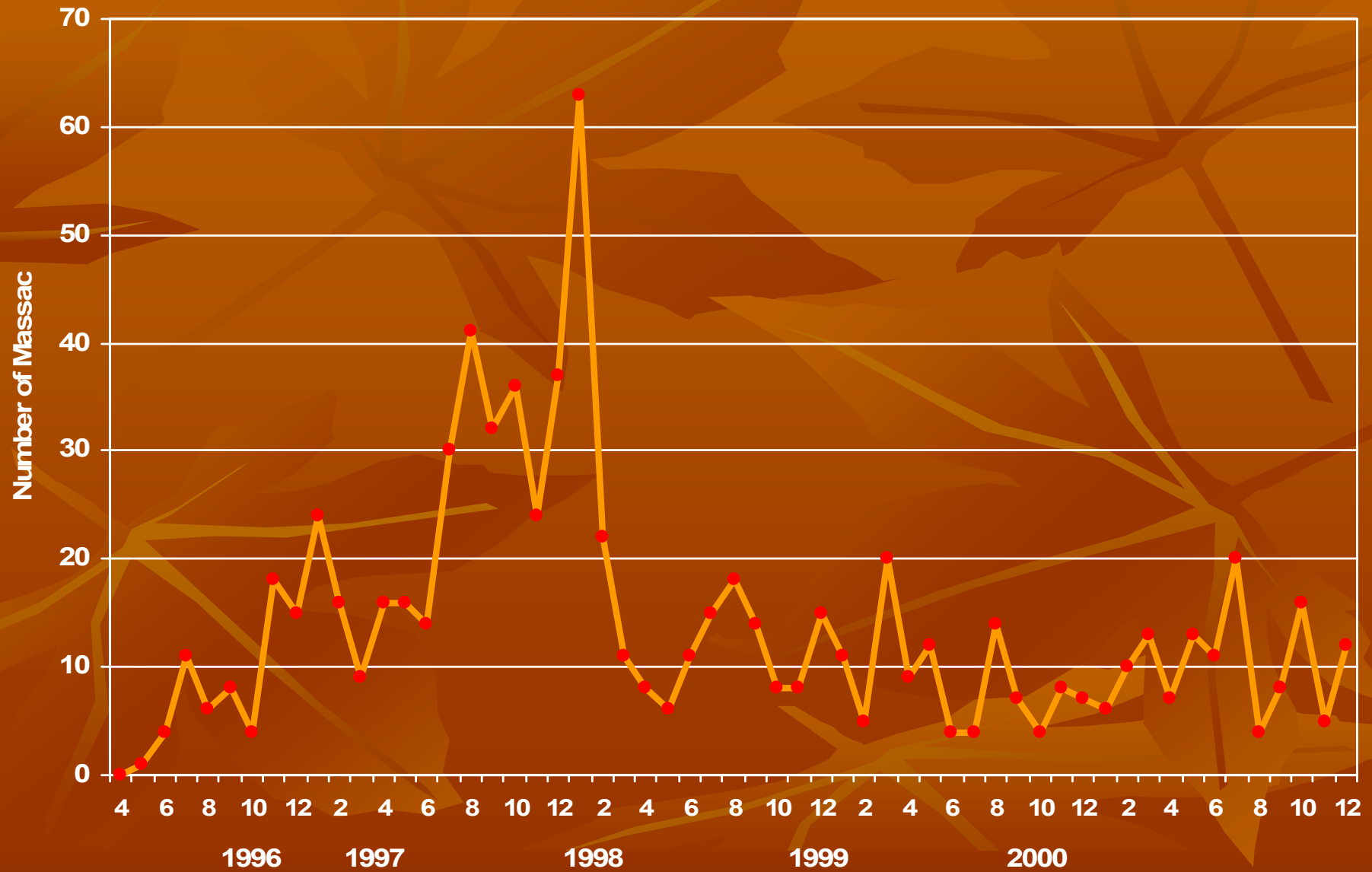
Frequencies of Massacres by Death Group



Annual Fluctuations of Massacres



Monthly Fluctuations of Massacres



Monthly Fluctuations of Massacres

J. A. M. Merloo, 'Brainwashing and Menticide: Some Implications of Conscious and Unconscious Thought Control', in M.S. Stein, *Identity and Anxiety*, Free Press, New York 1967, p.506.

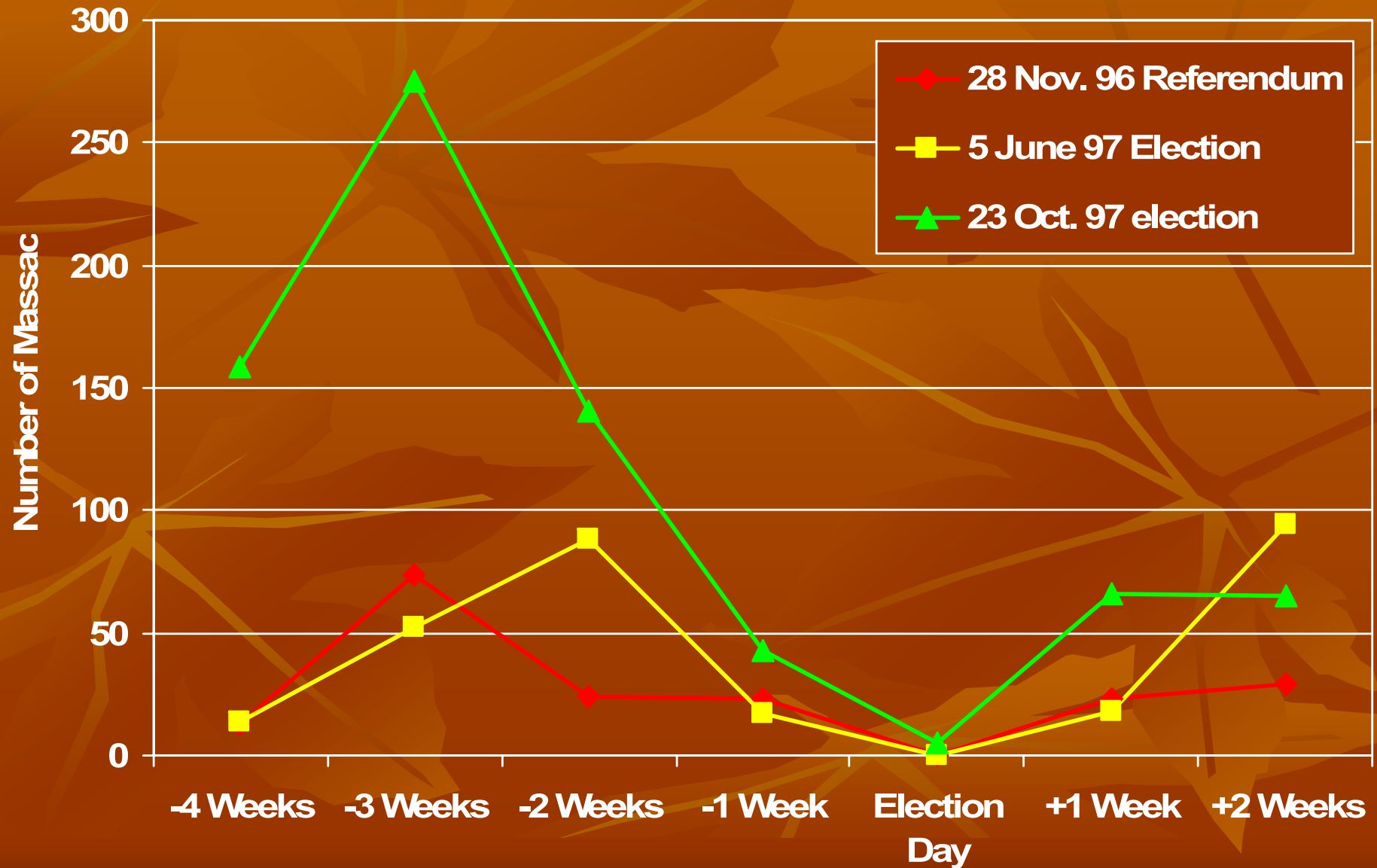
Totalitarian strategy in its tactical description of the techniques of mass intimidation and collective control discovered that the arousing of simple panic, fear and terror do not suffice.

Too great a mental pressure exerted over a long period of time loses its frightening impact and often stirs rebellion and critical resistance in the people, militating against the final aim of producing obedient automatic thought machines out of human beings.

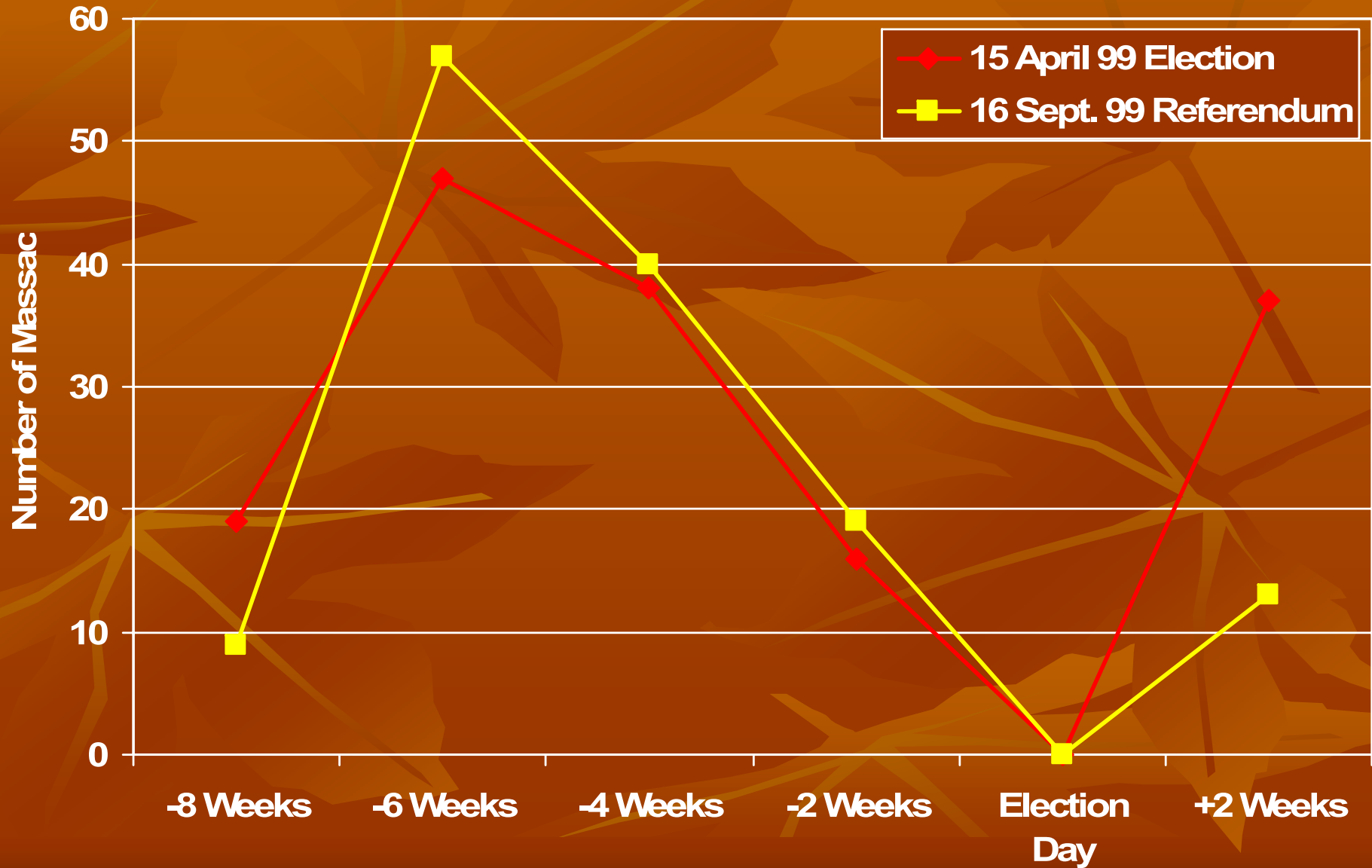
In order to better reach its goals, the more scientific strategy makes use of *waves of terror* 'with in-between periods of relative calm and freedom' – the so-called '*breathing spell*,' (*peredishka*).

These intervals of relative freedom and lack of overt tensions can be used to much better advantage for political persuasion and mass hypnosis provided some new wave of terror is anticipated.

Weekly Fluctuations of Massacres at Election Times



Weekly Fluctuations of Massacres at Election Times

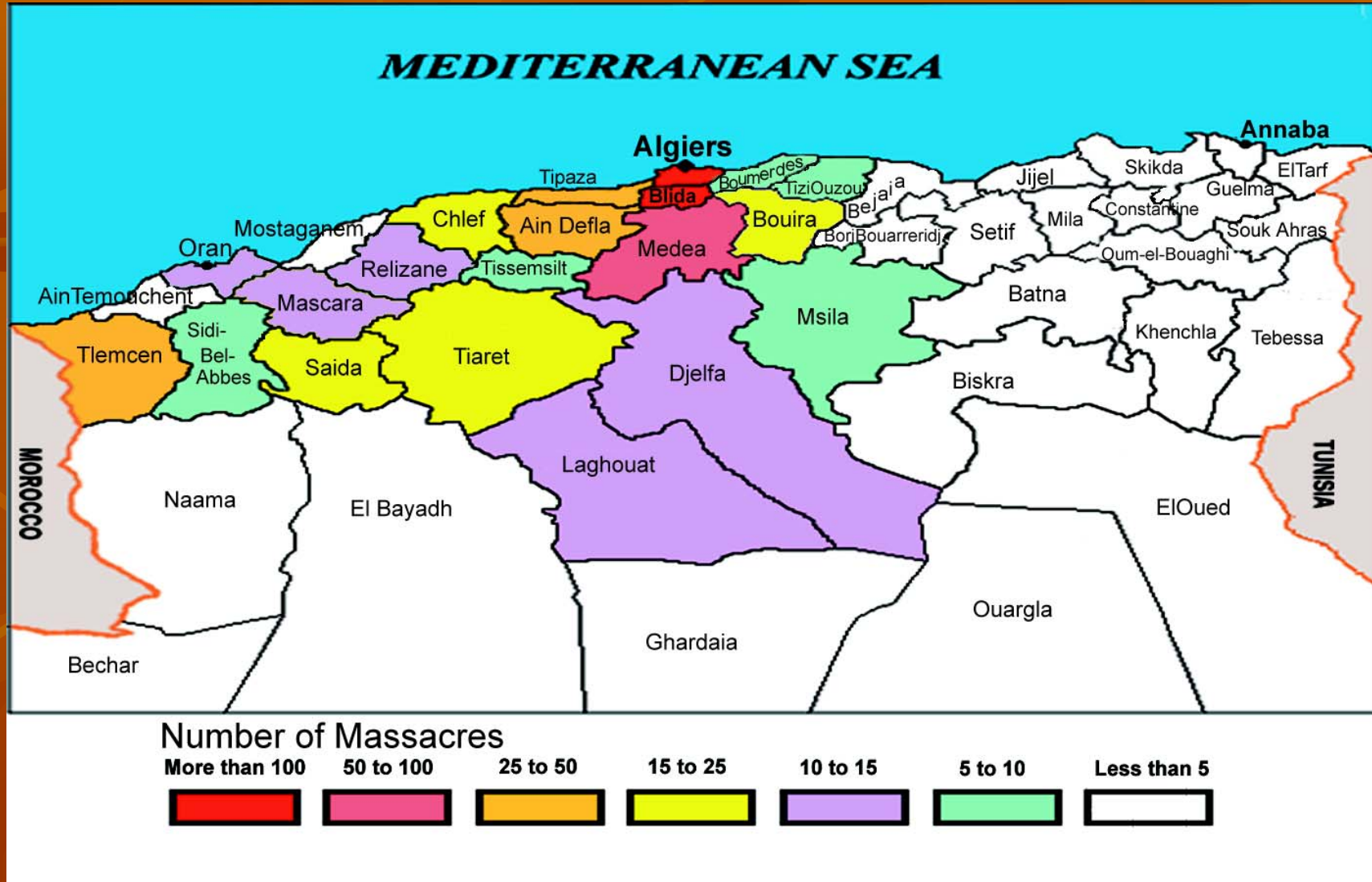


Weekly Fluctuations of Massacres at Election Times

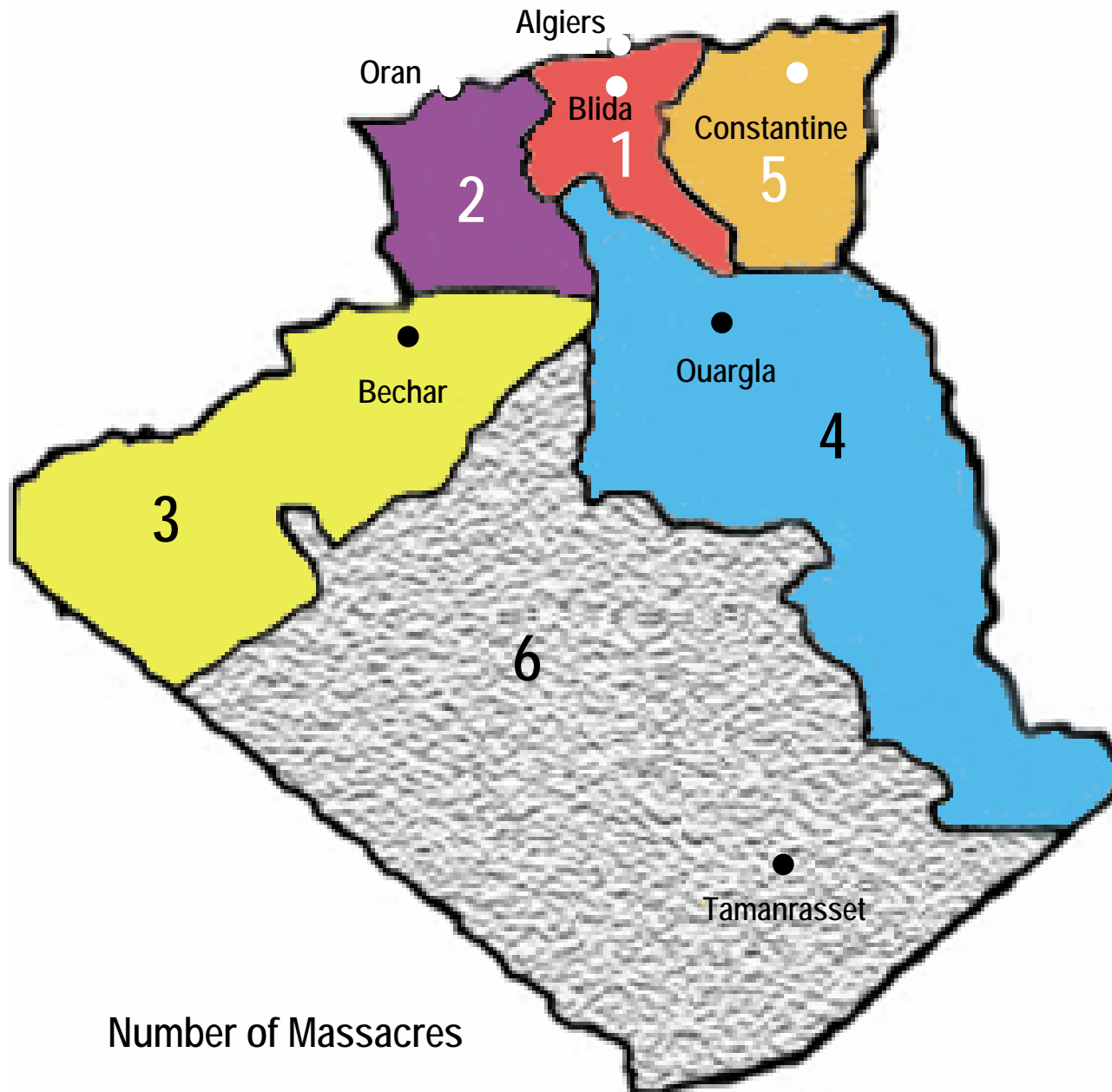
In Togo, the security forces committed hundreds of homicides before and after the June 1998 presidential election.

Amnesty International, *Le Commerce de la Terreur: L'Afrique à feu et à sang*, October 1999

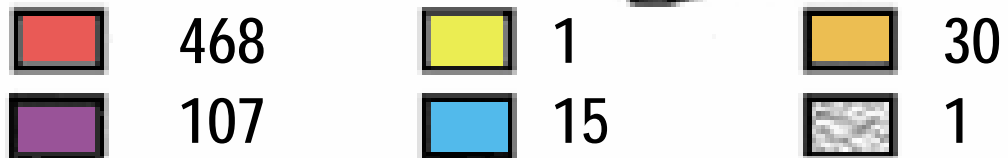
National Distribution of Selective plus Random Mass Killings



Distribution of Massacres by Military District

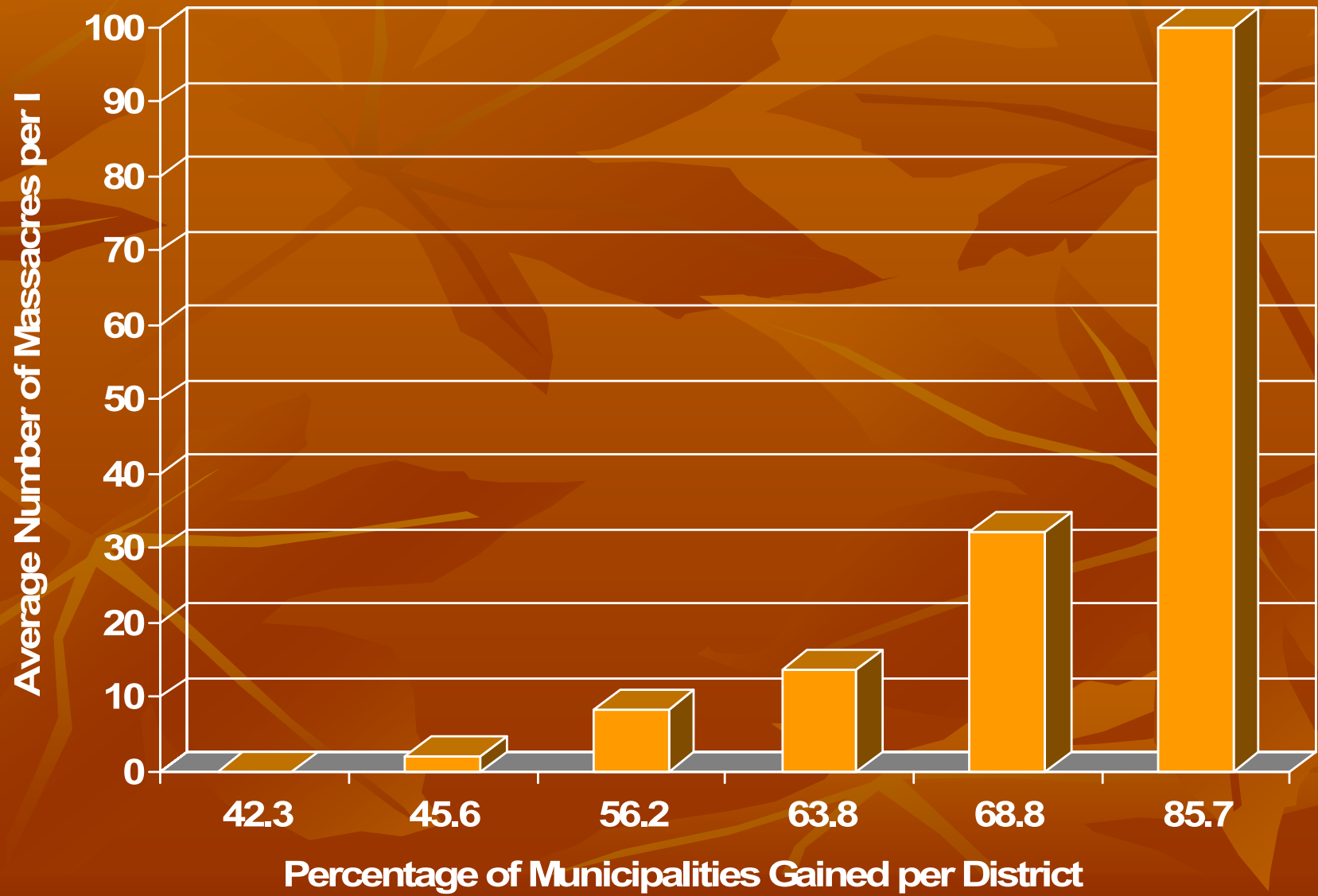


Number of Massacres



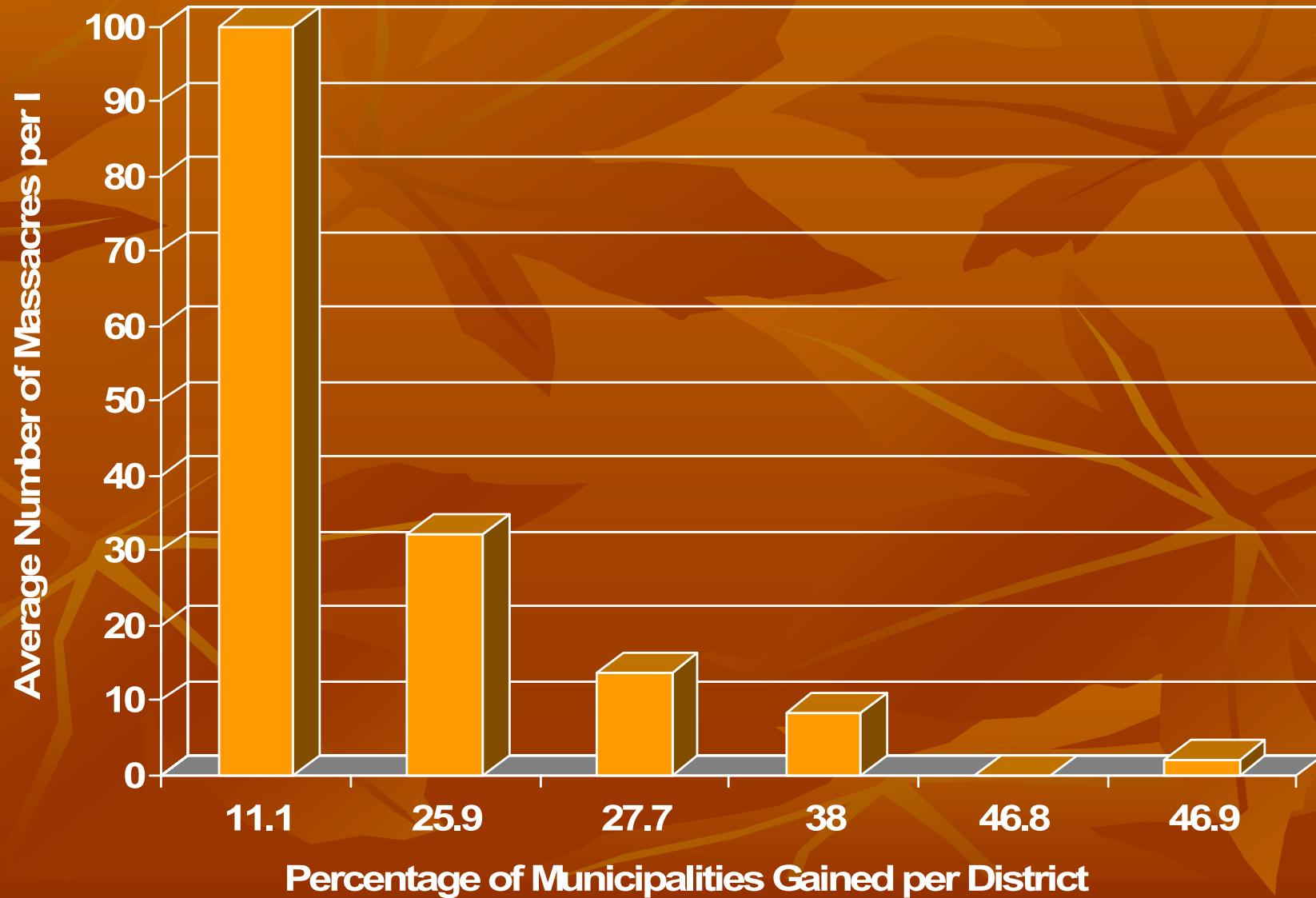
Frequencies of Massacres vs FIS Electoral results

(June 90 Local Elections)



Frequencies of Massacres vs FLN+RCD Electoral results

(June 90 Local Elections)



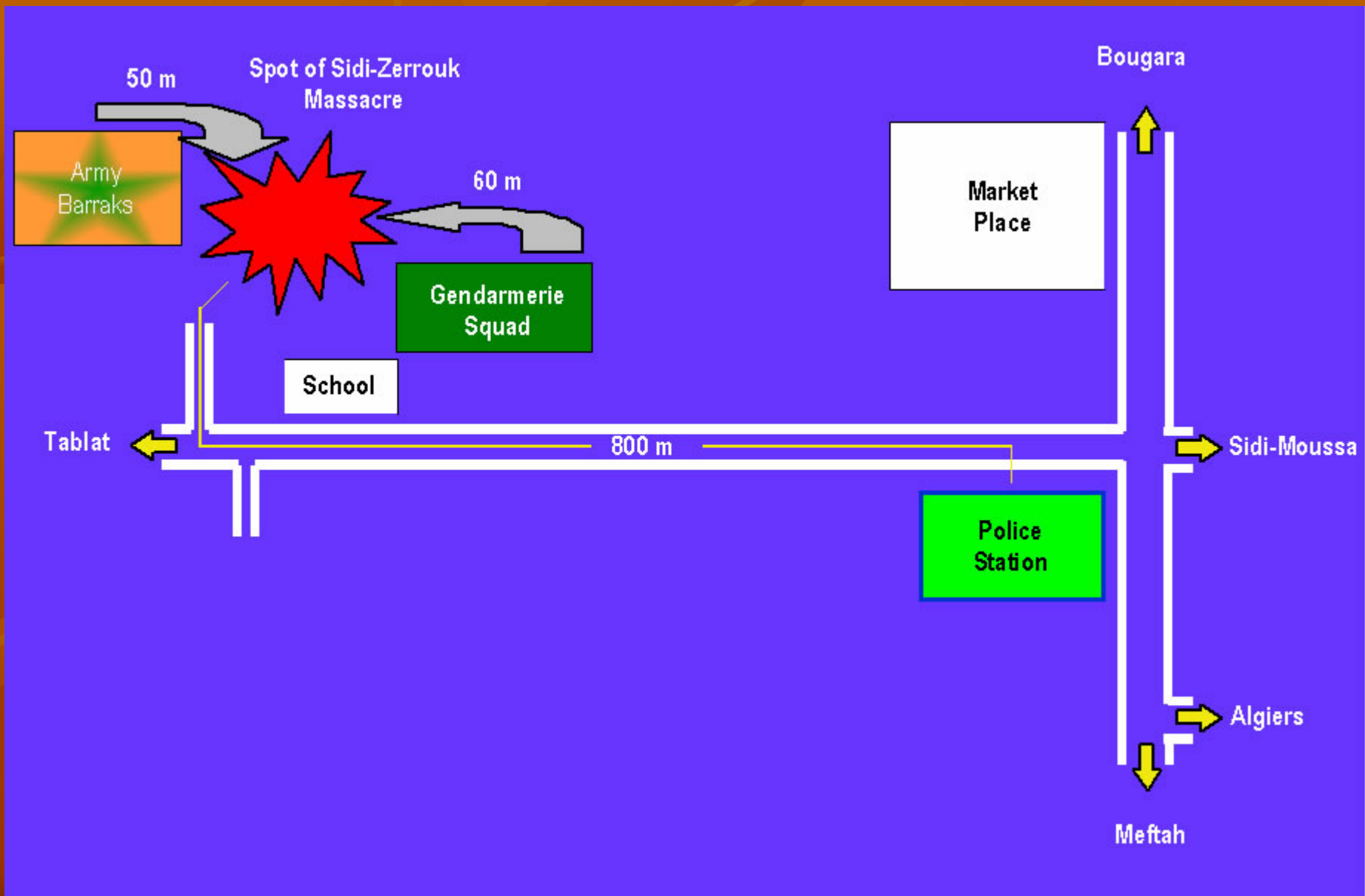
The Sidi-Zerrouk Massacre

Borough of Larbaa, District of Blida

27 July '97

51 people killed & tens injured

The Scene of the Sidi-Zerrouk Massacre (27 July '97)



The Rais and Bentalha Massacres

Rais

Borough of Larbaa, District of Blida

29 Augst '97

300 people killed & 200 injured

Bentalha

Borough of El Harrach, District of Algiers

22 September '97

At least 200 people killed & 100 injured

The Scene of the Rais and Bentalha Massacres



The Beni-Messous Massacre

Borough of Bir-Mourad-Rais, District of Algiers

5 September '97

195 people killed & more than 100 injured

The Scene of the Beni-Messous Massacre



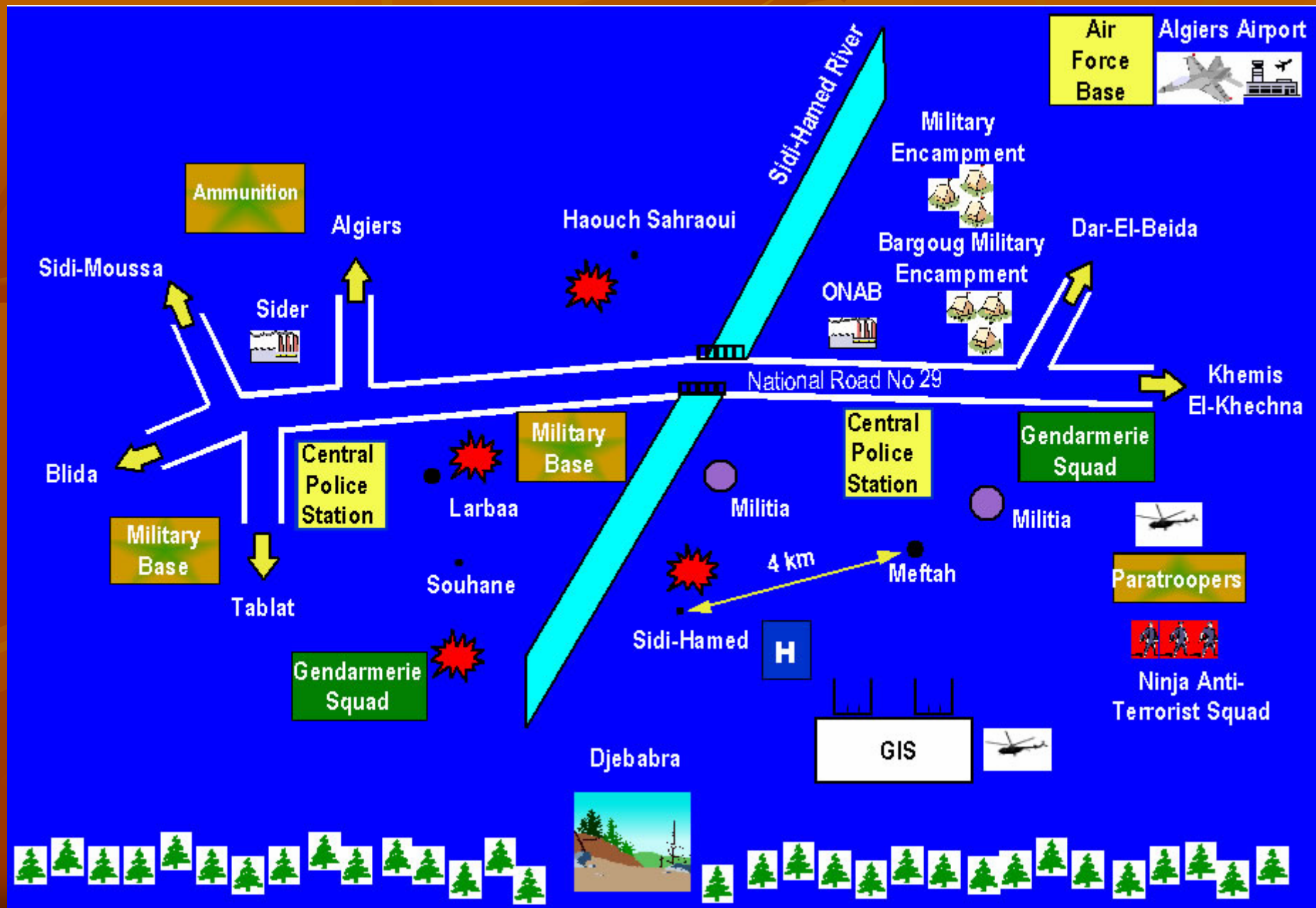
The Sidi-Hamed Massacre

Borough of Larbaa, District of Blida

11 January '98

400 people killed & 100 injured

The Scene of the Sidi-Hamed Massacre



On the Politics of the Massacres

Five Alternative Explanations. The Massacres as:

1) An Islamist Retributive Campaign

psychological or instrumental intent

2) A Counterinsurgency (COIN) Strategic Programme

a counter-mobilisation tactic prescribed by the COIN strategy

3) An Instrument in the Army's Inter-Factional War

'hardline' against 'softline' faction of the military

4) Eviction Tactics in Land Privatisation

interest of big land speculators on the most fertile land

5) A 'Barbarian Cycle'

generalised settling of family and tribal scores
all out social war rooted in Algeria's history and culture

On the Politics of the Massacres

The five alleged intents were confronted to victimisation macro-indicators obtained by aggregating data about individual mass killings

Focus on:

- ⇒ Monthly fluctuations
- ⇒ Weekly fluctuations at elections times
- ⇒ Political geography

On the Politics of the Massacres

Confrontation of the 5 theses with empirical data

■ Monthly fluctuations

⇒ excluded the 'barbarian cycle' thesis

⇒ narrowed the explanatory scopes of the other explanations

■ Natural geography

⇒ undermined the land privatisation thesis

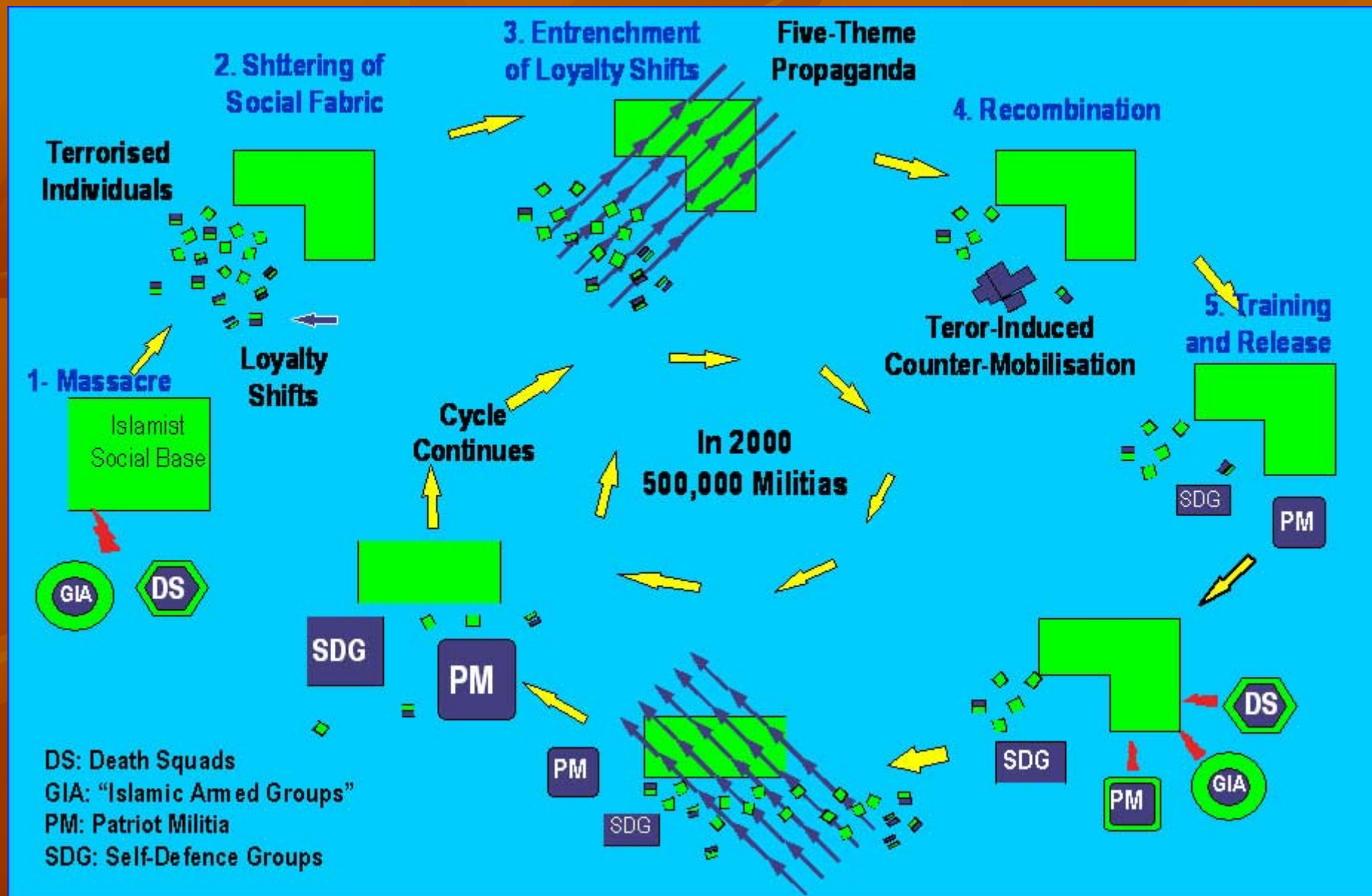
■ Weekly fluctuations around time of election + Political geography

⇒ undermined the Islamist retribution thesis

⇒ supported strongly the mixed COIN + Factional Warfare thesis

Massacres: Counter-mobilisation goads **AND
Eradicator pressure means to undermine the
conciliator faction of the military**

The Cycle of Proliferative Generation of Militias through Masscares



Les aspects juridiques de la crise algérienne 1988-2003

Plan de la présentation
Brahim Taouti, avocat

I Les instruments juridiques de la répression contre toute opposition irréductible

1. Les textes ordinaires de droit
 - a) le butin français (1962-1975)
 - b) la législation postindépendance (1962-1975-2003)
2. Les textes spéciaux 1988-2003
 - a) état d'exception permanent (proclamations de l'état de siège le 6 octobre 1988 et 5 juin 1991, et proclamation de l'état d'urgence le 9 février 1992)
 - b) confusion des pouvoirs (gel de la constitution, dissolution des assemblées élues et désignation par cooptation de « maires » et de « parlementaires »)
 - c) l'appareil judiciaire (l'indépendance de la justice reniée)
 - d) la purge ou génocide économique (décret 93-41 de 1993)
 - e) l'organisation de la propagande (circ. 1994)
3. Les appareils répressifs de justice
 - a) appareils de justice politique
 - Cours spéciales
 - Juridictions militaires
 - b) appareils communs de justice
 - Justice administrative aux ordres
 - Justice sociale d'épuration et de répression
 - Justice pénale ordinaire d'appoint à la politique de l'éradication
 - c) la fonction de police judiciaire élargie à l'armée, aux milices et à l'administration (les walis de sécurité)

II Les méthodes d'utilisation du droit

1. La clandestinité (non publication de textes au journal officiel)
 - a) traités des droits de l'homme protecteurs
 - b) textes répressifs violant les droits humains
 - Les circulaires administration/armée: 1992 sur le transfert aux militaires des pouvoirs de police,
 - Les arrêtés avec circulaire aux médias (1994)
 - Les circulaires aux juges (23 mars 1996)
2. L'interprétation déloyale (absence de bonne foi)
 - a) compétence sélective des juridictions
 - b) inversion du principe de présomption d'innocence
 - c) couverture judiciaire de la torture
 - d) la fraude (refus de preuves d'innocence et disparitions de pièces de procédure)
 - e) l'impunité assurée aux services, aux milices et aux groupes « terroristes »
3. Le mensonge
 - a) le discours de l'Etat de droit suivi de celui de la lutte contre le « terrorisme »
 - b) les séances des comités des droits (de l'homme, torture, économiques etc.)
 - c) les « dépassements » et leur prétendue répression

Pourquoi tout cela ? **Le monopole sur le pouvoir, l'économie et sur les gens**