



De Gaulle's Doctrine of "Elimination" Through "Integration" in Algeria: the Case of "The Constantine Plan" and the Fiasco of French Settler Colonial Society.

La doctrine "d'élimination" à travers "l'intégration" de De Gaulle en Algérie : le cas du "Plan de Constantine" et le fiasco de la société du colonialisme de peuplement française.

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Abstract: The article scrutinizes France's policy of elimination through integration in Algeria in De Gaulle's Address on "The Constantine Plan" (Oct. 3, 1958). Utilizing Settler Colonialism theory, the article analyzes the Address to reveal that French settler colonial enterprise in Algeria hinged on the integration of Algerians to erase them culturally and hence ensure the survival of its settler colonial society. To this end, France resorted to improving the economic, social and cultural conditions of the Algerians and lulled them to believe in the equality between Muslims and Europeans to ultimately accept French sovereignty. The study concludes that De Gaulle's objective of integrating Algerians into the European society was a desperate attempt by the French military and political elites to stymie the decolonization of Algeria.

Keywords: De Gaulle's Constantine Plan; elimination/integration of Algerians; settler colonialism theory; settler/indigenous relationships.

Résumé: L'article scrute la politique française d'élimination à travers l'intégration en Algérie dans le discours de De Gaulle sur « Le Plan de Constantine » (3 oct. 1958). Utilisant la théorie de la colonisation de peuplement, l'article démontre que le projet du colonialisme français reposait sur l'intégration des

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algériens afin de les éliminer culturellement et d'assurer ainsi la survie de sa société coloniale. Afin d'atteindre cet objectif, la France s'est attelé à la promotion des conditions économiques, sociales et culturelles des Algériens et les bercer de l'illusion d'une égalité entre musulmans et européens pour les séduire à accepter la souveraineté française. L'étude conclue que les visées d'intégration de De Gaulle étaient une tentative désespérée des élites militaires et politiques françaises pour entraver la décolonisation de l'Algérie.

Mots clés: Le "Plan de Constantine" de De Gaulle ; élimination/l'intégration des algériens ; la théorie du colonialisme de peuplement ; les relations colon-indigène.

1. Introduction: As a concept, settler colonialism has been in circulation for decades but has achieved new relevance since the publication of a number of seminal works by late 20th and early 21st centuries introduced settler colonial theory to disciplines such as anthropology sociology and political theory. However, the entry of settler colonialism as new "category of analysis" sparked heated debates as to how it relates or differs from a set of other coterminous concepts such as colonialism, imperialism, neo-colonialism and post-colonialism. The most salient proponents of settler colonialism went to great lengths to question the validity of the aforementioned concepts because settler colonialism is a resilient formation that rarely ends¹.

Settler colonialism hinges on the cardinal principle of supplanting Indigenous populations with a "colonizing" settler society. With time, this last carved out some sort of a distinctive identity studded with an assertive sovereignty. World history knew a wide array of examples of such a breed of colonialism. This involved, inter alia, Canada, Australia, the United States and France. The emergence of settler colonialism as a full-fledged sphere of research and erudition was more of a necessity to better construe and comprehend the nature of settler colonial states as it is currently crucial to disentangle and probe ongoing conflicts in a number of regions such as the Palestinian Territories.

Moored especially on the expertise of Patrick Wolfe and Lorenzo Veracini, Settler colonialist theory pleaded against any

possible complicity with the multifaceted eliminatory thrust of settler colonists. To this end, Wolfe capitalized on the importance of “recuperating binarism” in colonial studies. According to Wolfe (2016), the cultivation of the “enduring binary in Native/Settler divide” is crucial for the preservation of the truth about invasion, occupation, colonization, dispossession and the attempted elimination of natives by settlers. To Wolfe (2016), “the frontier as a way of talking about the historical process of territorial invasion – a cumulative depredation through which outsiders recurrently advance on Natives in order to take their place” is a core component of any counter-narrative destined to demystify the erasure of the “brutal reality” of settler colonialism and its tacit eliminatory drive that culminates in the obfuscation, obliteration and erasure of indigenous people’s right to land, history and identity (p. 1).

Recent history has witnessed the emergence and the growth of a host of research paths that underscored the importance of utilizing settler colonialist theory to understand ongoing colonial projects and to debunk legacies of past imperial undertakings. Aptly, summing up the crux of this insightful and path-breaking assumption, the renowned scholar Lorenzo Veracini (2015) cogently argued that “settler colonialism makes sense especially if it is understood globally and we live in a settler colonial global present” (The Settler Colonial Present).

In one of the most insightful and most vivid explorations of settler colonialism, as a concept, phenomenon, approach and paradigm, Veracini (2013) posited that before being catapulted to the forefront of scholarly research and political debates, settler colonialism had to shake off the shackles that constrained its thoughtful and vibrant potential in reinventing and reimagining world issues mainly of states with a settler colonial past or present. To Veracini, as it was shown through his meticulous review of the historiographical evolution of settler colonialism, the first half of the twentieth century was characterized by a rigid and an iron-clad separation between “settlement” and “colonialism” rendering any possible investigation or analysis in this sphere to take place in some sort of an “empty setting” coupled with an outright disavowal of “indigenous Others.” Only by late twentieth century did settler

colonialism emerge as an autonomous field of study wherein theorization could be conducted in relation, yet in a distinct form, the colonial entity².

This re-articulation of settler colonial phenomenon had as salient and noteworthy implications on the re-diagnosing of colonialism and the discovery of its direct responsibility for many of the aspects of economic underdevelopment and political fragmentation³. Arguing in a similar vein, Sabbagh-Khoury (2022) aptly delineated the linkage between knowledge and power by asserting that the deep entanglement and the inextricable intertwinement between knowledge and power in the context of settler colonialism where the “apprehension of the other is a tool of domination”(p. 44). As such, the utilization of settler colonial framework is said to be capable of reframing history, redefining states and reconceptualizing national identities, re-empowering natives and indigenous populations as agents of history, decolonizing settler colonial structure, challenging exclusive and hegemonic sovereignties of settler colonial states and hence open new paths for resisting the exclusionary and eliminatory strategies of settler states and eventually new approaches to emancipation and liberation.

Being one of the founding thinkers and scholars of the field of settler colonial studies, Patrick Wolf set forth some of the core foundational tenets and the defining formulations of settler colonialism as a crucial interpretative and analytical tool to reconceptualize relations between settler colonizers and natives in ways that clearly reinvigorated the agency of natives as determining actors in the reinvention and the re-articulations of settler/native encounter. Alongside these pivotal questions, the article at hand sets out to debunk and unravel milestone ideologies and doctrines that underpinned and undergirded cultural eliminatory movements in the world with a special emphasis placed on French “integration” policies that centered on integrating Algerians into metropolitan France by appealing to a series of economic, social and cultural plans. For the sake of substantiating these claims, the study purports to unpack De

Gaulle's Constantine Plan (October 3, 1958) as an illustrative instance of how France, after having exhausted all possible means of military repression resorted to integration options to perpetuate France's exploitation of Algerian riches mainly oil which was discovered in Algeria Sahara two years before the unleash of De Gaulle's economic, social and cultural plan destined allegedly to weaken and discredit the National Liberation Front (FLN) and forestall any possibly Communist inroad in the region.

Obviously, the case French colonial enterprise in Algeria does not squarely fit in the mould of settler colonial theory as many of its tenets could not by any means fulfilled French experience in Algeria. The case of Algeria was b far more complicated and highly intricate in comparison with other relatively "prototypical" Anglo settler societies in North America. In the case of Algeria, tackling the settler colonial experience implies accounting for multi-way relationships enmeshing the imperial metropole, the local administration, the indigenous population and the settler community⁴. This diversity is actors which ramify their turn into a litany of different and antithetical sub-actors involved in this colonial enterprise naturally spawned a dizzying array of different, paradoxical and mutually exclusive narratives. Aptly capturing the essence of this imbroglio, Veracini asserted that "colonial and settler colonial forms operate in dialectical tension and in specific contradistinction"⁵.

The case of French settler colonial experience in Algeria also deviates from prototypical and pure settler colonial societies due to the glaringly numerical inferiority of White settlers in comparison with indigenous population. As a liability, this inferiority was further exacerbated by the ethnoracial heterogeneity of settlers and the multiplicity of institutional players, implying the absence of one single overarching settler narrative and a consensual agenda⁶. The project of establishing a pure and prototypical settler colonial society in Algeria was equally compromised by the failure of the French government in Paris and local rulers in Algeria to control the population in the same way they controlled the land added to the fact the unfolding society in colonized Algeria was rigidly class-based with a minority of White Europeans at the pinnacle and a crushing majority of poor Europeans,

Arabs and Berbers. Such a flagrant gap simply emboldened the atmosphere of alienation and suspicion that was translated into a fierce military stance of indigenous population making the moulding of this diversity of nationalities and social classes into a single society more of a utopia.

Nevertheless, the endeavor of analyzing French settler colonial experience in Algeria through the lens of settler colonialism theory carries such a novel contributive value as it shows that a successful integration of indigenous population into European settler society could have resulted in the creation of a settler colonial society. In this regard, the examination of the case of French settler colonial experience in Algeria could contribute to stretching the scope of settler colonialism theory to encompass settler colonial societies wherein foreign settlers could create their settler colonial societies without necessarily eliminating the indigenous population.

2. Methodology:

Settler colonialism generally refers to a form of colonialism in which the existing inhabitants of a territory are displaced by settlers who claim land and establish a permanent society where their privileged status is enshrined in law. Indeed, being about more than mass massacres, expropriation, forcible removal of indigenous population and the wanton destruction of their property, their drastic exclusion from public life or their absolute assimilation within the mainstream culture, settler colonialism is a matter of elimination and erasure of the indigenous.

Emerged in the last decades of the twentieth century as a subfield of comparative scholarly research, settler colonial studies explores the ways in which settler colonialism as a mode of domination (tacit or unnoticed) survived the huge tides of decolonization. This innovative intellectual endeavour aims to unravel and highlight commonalities in the history and contemporary situation of indigenous peoples in many parts of the world. As such, and as Mamdani (2020) contended, “political modernity” is largely the result of a historical trajectory that compartmentalized and

hierarchized population and, most importantly rationalized and legalized, all kinds of domination and violence over them culminating in their total stripping from all attributes of culture, identity and sovereignty. “Modernity is constitutively related to coloniality, asserted Mamdani (p. 18). This makes of settler colonialism, to reprise the words of Ajl (2023), “a master category” as the “logic of elimination is prior to features [such as being republican, Christian, Jewish, Black, White, etc] that distinguish settler societies among themselves⁷.

Giving supplementary credence to this line of reasoning, Rifkin (2014) contended that settler colonizers managed to canonize and recast their own “unreflexive” settler colonial “structures of feeling” into a *fait accompli* that saturates the quotidian life⁸. To Rifkin, settler colonialism remains “vital in the ongoing performance of quotidian modes of inhabitation and selfhood” (p. 95). The achievement of statehood, nationhood, identity and sovereignty, thus, takes place at the expense of and with the purpose of discrediting any other national, identity, political or legal formation which is then cast outside of “what will count as a viable political or legal fom(ul)ation” from the perspective of the settler state which unilaterally and dogmatically poises as the “seemingly self-evident space of political organization”⁹. The solid anchoring of such self-evident normativity is a core component in the structure of the settler nation state to screen off the inherently political relations between the settler nation-state and indigenous peoples (p. 4).

Being inherently eliminatory, settler colonialism is more adequately and more precisely conceived of as “structure” rather than “event” in that it is not merely a historical episode that ends, but a tangled network of relationships embedded in the cultural and social structures as well as the legal and political systems. From this vantage point, the logic of elimination, being a zero-sum game, encompasses the entirety of measures, practices, policies that settler colonizers may mobilize to subdue or uproot the indigenous

population. This may comprise, among others, summary liquidation, genocide, miscegenation, deportation, dispossession, assimilation...etc.

For Wolfe (1997; 1999; 2001; 2007; 2009; 2012; 2013; 2016), settler colonialism has an innovative thrust the purports to usher in novel ways in the conceptualization of many conflicts and struggles in the world. Being not at all synonymous with genocide, settler colonialism deploys a miscellany of other devices and strategies that could even mislead the superficial beholder to believe it to be compassionate with the indigenous. A landmark instance in this regard is what, Wolfe (2006) "the style of romantic stereotyping" (p. 402). This pivotal technique in settler colonial discourse, which is not genocidal at face value, erases massive numbers of "empirical natives" from official reckoning and hence it highly outstrips genocide (p. 402).

The settler colonial approach is premised on a set of core principles that make of the settler-indigenous relations possible to explore, interpret and analyze through of this paradigm. This analytical framework underscores the inextricable relationship between land, life and identity in that there is no possibility for life to exist in the absence of land and that it is indispensable any community to settle permanently to project a more or less coherent and stable identity inside and outside.

The core objective behind the utilization of settler colonialism in this study is two-fold. Firstly, the deployment of settler colonialism as a lens to rethink French settler colonialism helps in better construing the unstated French ambitions and objectives during the War of Independence mainly after the appointment of General De Gaulle as France's new Prime Minister on June 1, 1958 up until his inauguration as president of the French Republic, a process that culminated in the independence of Algeria on July 5th, 1962. Secondly, the utilization of settler colonialism as an analytical lens will unmistakably contribute to better comprehending the true origins, the tenets and the implications of the Constantine Plan as

being chiefly destined to culturally erase the indigenous population of Algeria and perpetuate a settler colonial society and definitively tie up the destiny of Algeria to metropolitan France.

3. Results and Discussion:

3.1. France's Logic of Integration Positivity and the Presumable March for Prosperity

Table 1. The Adequation of Integration and Prosperity in De Gaulle's Discourse

01	Algerians, Algerians, I came here to announce to you: It is the profound transformation of this country so courageous, so alive, but also so difficult and suffering that must be realized.
02	This means that it is necessary that the living conditions of each and everyone improve from day to day.
03	This means that the work of the inhabitants, the resources of the soil, the value of the elites, must be brought to light and developed.
04	This means that children must be educated.
05	This means that all of Algeria must have its share of what modern civilization can and must bring to people in terms of well-being and dignity.
06	This profound evolution, to what can it lead as for the political status of Algeria?
07	In Algeria as everywhere, France, for its part, chose the Fraternity.

Source: Discours du plan de Constantine par Charles de Gaulle, le 3 octobre 1958.

In order for Prime Minister Charles de Gaulle to rationalize and sell the idea of the positive effect of colonialism, he yoked French occupation of Algeria to plans aiming to uplift the standard of living of Algerians by building schools and houses and providing them with well-paid jobs. Briefly put, De Gaulle's plan allegedly centered on bringing the standard of living of Algerian up to that of Europeans. By so doing, the French government intended to divert the attention of the Algerians away from the reality of occupation and to induce them to

believe their life and future would better with France taking control of their lands.

In fact, by launching his Constantine Plan, De Gaulle sought to defuse the mounting pressure owing largely to escalation in hostilities between the National Liberation Army (ALN) and the French forces culminating in the Battle of Algiers (1957). After the exhaustion of all military solutions that resulted in the fall of the French IV Republic in October 1958 galvanizing a series of military defeats unleashed by French withdrawal from Indochina after the Dien Bien Phu debacle (May 7, 1954), De Gaulle resorted to social and economic reforms in Algeria in desperate attempt to put down the ever increasing rebellion of the Algerians. France's indefatigable efforts to contain the situation in Algeria bespoke the recalcitrant ambition of the French state to preserve Algeria under French control and suggested the invaluable economic importance of Algeria for France¹⁰.

Having more or less tested wide panoply of military solutions, the French military officials came to feel the absolute need to opt for other possible means to tame Algerian revolutionaries. Largely dues to the specificity of Algeria's status in French imperial chessboard given its being one of the most ancient settler colonies that hosted around 2 million European settlers (i.e. *pieds-noirs*), handling the case of Algerian revolution drained the bulk of France's intellectual capital. Therefore, imbued by this pivotal concern after being appointed as a new Prime Minister on June 1, 1958 De Gaulle placed a special emphasis on reframing French constitution and changing the regime cresting at the birth of the V French Republic¹¹.

Despite its apparent dispositions that consisted in construction of hundreds of thousands of houses, the redistribution of hundreds of thousands of hectares of agricultural lands, the creation of hundreds of thousands new jobs together with noticeable salary increases, De Gaulle's plan has to be analyzed within its real historical context. Firstly, the idea of the Constantine Plan ran deep in the history of colonial France in Algeria and it clearly outstripped the simple idea of enhancing the economic, social and cultural conditions of Algerians.

Being staunchly convinced of the economic importance of Algeria for imperial France since the early 20th century, France was keen on integrating Algeria into grandiose project of Eurafica sphere. This step was deemed indispensable to ensure the cultural assimilation of Algerians and hence their political dependence and economic subservience to French economic designs¹².

In fact, the centrality of Algeria for French economic prosperity was adumbrated well before the announcement of De Gaulle's Constantine Plan. The early sketches of French plans to integrate Algerian society and economy into French society and economy could be traced back to the "Maspétiol Report" (June 1955) and the report titled "Perspectives Décennales de Développement Économique de l'Algérie" (March 1958). These two documents provided ample evidence that, first, the economic factor has always been the linchpin of French colonial enterprise in Algeria and, second, that the Constantine Plan was a veneer behind which lurked the real intentions of France mainly the idea of exploiting Algerian riches like oil and gas to boost the economic status of France. The intertwinement between the two goals was made clear by Delouvrier, De Gaulle's chief architect of economic reforms, in an address where he emphasized France was effectively conducting a double revolution: a revolution in oil and gas exploitation and a revolution in the promotion of the economic, social and cultural conditions of Algerians¹³.

3.2. France's Security Pretext and the Rationalization of French Control over Algerians

Table 2. The Security Pretext and the Blackmailing of Algerians.

01	So, turning to those who prolong a fratricidal struggle, who organize in metropolis lamentable attacks, who spread through the chancelleries, the backrooms, the radios, the public sheets of certain foreign capitals, their invective against France. I tell them: why kill? We have to live. Why destroy? The duty is to build. Why hate? It is to cooperate.
02	Stop these absurd fights, and immediately, hope will flourish everywhere, on the lands of Algeria.

03	We will see the prisons emptied, we will see a future big enough for everyone, especially for yourselves.
04	And then, addressing myself, to such States which here add fuel to the fire, while their painful people pant under dictatorships, I declare to them: What France is able to accomplish here, what France alone is able to achieve, Can you guys do it?

Source: Discours du plan de Constantine par Charles de Gaulle, le 3 octobre 1958.

Despite the intensive media and political campaigns to habituate the Algerians to the idea of "French Algeria" and the sturdy military and political undertakings that culminated in the division of Algeria into three departments constituting the allegedly natural extension of the French state and falling under the direct control of the French Minister of the Interior, Algerian revolutionaries maintained their resolve to call the bluff of the French propaganda machine. Alongside this, the French propaganda toolbox carried on the recalibration of its narrative to ensure the perpetuation of its presence in Algeria. This implied, *inter alia*, the persuasion of both Algerian indigenous population and European settlers (i.e. *pieds-noirs*) of the indispensability of the presence of French armed forces in Algeria to guarantee the security of both.

As regards the security of European settlers and the preservation of French vital economic interests in Algeria, the French authorities and after having lost hope in the effectuality of the presumable "civilization duty," the gravity center of their policies shifted toward hardening their stance and embracing highly extremist solutions going as far as the utter cleansing of the indigenous population all possible military means. Referring to the attacks against France as being at best "fratricide struggle" and at worst "absurd fights" that aim to divert the attention of France its ostensibly more strategic goals involving, *inter alia*, "building," "cooperation" and the construction of a better future. By so doing, De Gaulle ascribed violence, killings and hatred to France's foes at home and abroad. These claims were meant to blame

the state of insecurity prevailing in both metropolis and colony on the enemies of France, in a thinly veiled allusion to the National Liberation Front (FLN) before declaring it bluntly on October 23, 1958 in his “Peace of the Brave” address¹⁴.

In fact the military segment and the psychological warfare that the French military elite embraced by 1955 were never separated. Indeed, taking its lessons from the defeat in Indochina and the early successes scored by the National Liberation Army (ALN), the French military elite embraced the techniques of counter-insurgency, revolutionary warfare and psychological warfare to isolate civilians from revolutionaries and discredit and weaken the latter. To this end, having recognized ineffectuality of their military numerical superiority in the face the guerilla warfare, the French military elite embarked on an innovative *modus operandi* that centered on the creation of a “web of parallel hierarchies” that often overshadowed the pre-existing local authorities by assuming an unprecedentedly wide array of responsibilities and functions ranging from military to educational passing by social and health services. The powers and prerogatives of this network of parallel hierarchies which originated in the 1955 agency of psychological action would be administered and exercised by dint of an armada of institutions comprising, among others, Regional Office for Psychological Action, Special Administrative Section (SAS) and Urban Administrative Section (SAU). The enormous psychological mission entrusted to these entities was further enabled by the creation of revolutionary warfare tactical units known as Light Companies armed with Loud Speakers and Flyers (CHPT)¹⁵.

The priority that French military elite gave to psychological warfare since March 1955 underwent a minimal recalibration with the inauguration of De Gaulle as France’s new Prime Minister. Despite De Gaulle’s pledges to restore to the French army its original, traditional vocation by weaning it from interfering in politics, the changes that he operated remained cosmetic. It was both too late and too tough to supplant a deeply seated psycho-military infrastructure that a host of military officials commended its merit in making France prevail in the Battle of Algiers (January-October 1957). Moreover, the

psychological mission assumed by the French army since 1955 to which was appended the "Integration" ideology by late 1957 became integral components of France's daily exercise of power in colonized Algeria that their substitution could constitute a real leap in the dark (p. 55).

Despite his early zeal to curb the excessive prerogatives taken by the army, De Gaulle's strategy to deal with the Algerian revolution displayed too little, if any, changes from his predecessors. His Constantine Plan with its wide array of economic, social, educational and culture goals was suggestive of the perpetuation of France's psycho-military campaigns to subdue Algerian revolutionaries, isolate the civilians from ALN and discredit, weaken and pressure the latter to surrender. To this end, in his "Constantine Plan" address, De Gaulle dwelt on galvanizing the Muslim population by giving reasons to enthusiastic about living in "French Algeria" under French sovereignty, fuel the distrust of neutral Muslims about the righteousness of the national cause and the effectuality of the military combat spearheaded by the ALN. Most importantly, De Gaulle capitalized on isolating the civilian indigenous population from its political and military leadership (i.e. the FLN and the ALN).

These objectives targeted by the French military elite were further clarified by De Gaulle's "Peace of the Brave" address where he commended the courage of the ALN, offered an honorable surrender to the FLN and enticed Algerians to jump into the bandwagon of France's ostensible march for peace, brotherhood and progress. To pave the way for what looked like a haggling, De Gaulle blamed the state of security deterioration on the recalcitrance of what he called the rebels whom he indicted of being responsible for the bloodshed. Moreover, De Gaulle assured his audience from among Europeans and Algerians that a prosperous future awaited them and that it all hinged on the courage of ALN and the FLN to make a judicious choice in a thinly veiled allusion to surrender¹⁶.

3. 3. France's High-handed Rhetoric and the Cultural Erasure of Algerians

Table 3. De Gaulle's Integration Blueprint as the Sole Road to Peace and Prosperity.

01	In two months, Algeria will elect its representatives under the same conditions as the metropolis.
02	But at least two-thirds of its representatives will have to be Muslim citizens.
03	The future of Algeria, anyway, because it is the nature of things, will be built on a double basis, its personality and its close solidarity with the French metropolis.
04	Before the race of men today, there are only two roads: war or brotherhood.
05	Long live the Republic, long live Algeria and France!

Source: Discours du plan de Constantine par Charles de Gaulle, le 3 octobre 1958.

Upon being appointed as France's new Prime Minister on June 1, 1958 and through the new constitution of the Fifth Republic which made no mention of Algeria, implying that Algerian departments were simply a "trans-Mediterranean extension of metropolitan France. This imposed status of Algeria was later confirmed when the population of Algeria was invited to take part in the September 1958 Referendum to elect seventy deputies to the new National Assembly¹⁷. The fact of allocating two thirds of the seats to Muslims provided incontrovertible evidence that France was determined to integrate Algerians into French society.

Arrogating to himself the right to speak and decide on behalf of the Algerian people, De Gaulle made it clear that Algeria would never be allowed to have an existence away from French control. Crying it high and loud, De Gaulle claimed that Algeria had to choose between the quandary of "war" and the primrose path of peace and "brotherhood" in a thinly veiled allusion to the fact that the only way

for the Algerians to live in peace was to accept French control and to plan for their future on this basis.

In other words, making total abstraction of the focal point of discord between Algerians and the French colonizer which was the struggle for independence, De Gaulle exhorted, in a patronizing manner, the Algerians to conceive of, plan and concretize their political ambitions within the ambit of the French state system. Obviously, to prompt the Algerians to rally to his calls, De Gaulle claimed that Algerians' integration into the French society is just "the nature of things," implying that the Algerians were not sufficiently mature to make their choice and thus France took charge of showing them the right path for salvation¹⁸.

The patronizing tone embraced by De Gaulle was supplementary evidence that De Gaulle's France did too little, if any, to redirect France's policy in Algeria away from propagandist doctrines. Despite its recurrent invectives against the resort of previous governments to psychological warfare and the embroilment of the French army in unorthodox missions, De Gaulle's overarching objective through his Constantine Plan clearly constituted a continuation of France's prioritization of psychological warfare. Indeed, being totally aware of the failure of settler society to prevail over the indigenous population at least numerically and having more or less lost hope of the possibility for armed force to subdue or totally eliminate the indigenous population, De Gaulle harnessed his address on the Constantine Plan to entice Algerians, through a compilation of stipulations that would uplift their livening standard, put them on an equal footing with Europeans, consolidate their trust in the French state and hence give them strong reasons integrate into the French society. By so doing De Gaulle clung to a last hope of weeding out any differences between European settlers and the Indigenous population which would technically ensure the survival of a settler colonial society¹⁹.

Trying to instill in the minds of Algerians that their cultural affinities with French European heritage was inescapable and

inevitable, De Gaulle presented the issue as a commonsensical and non-negotiable truth. According to De Gaulle, the natural character of Algerians was naturally bifurcated into their traditional, ancestral personality and its “solidarity with France” implying that Algerians and French were deeply and inextricably fused that an Algerian could only make himself known by recognizing the ramification of his personality into the French European character.

4. Conclusion: The study has shed instructive new light on some core questions related to France’s policy of integration that aimed to establish a settler colonial society in colonized Algeria. The study has, thus, opened fresh lines of enquiry into the dynamics of French colonialism in Algeria. By having probed De Gaulle’s “Constantine Plan” through the lens of settler colonialism theory, the study has revealed that through a deeper and more encompassing dissection the content of the plan all in closely scrutinizing the specificities of the socio-historical context and the bedeviling dynamics of power in colonized Algeria and metropolitan France, the study has demonstrated that France opted for integration to perpetuate its settler colonial society. The study has equally shown that despite its incompatibility with pure and traditionally recognized settler colonial societies, French settler colonial experience was innovative in that it indicated that elimination, which constitutes the core tenet of prototypical settler colonial societies/states, could have as a significance meaning other than the physical eradication of indigenous populations.

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