

The PCF Colonial Policy 1920 – 1962: A Critical Assessment**By****Mohamed Kirat, Ph.D****Professor, Department of Mass Communication****College of Arts and Sciences - Qatar University, Doha, Qatar****Email: mkirat@qu.edu.qa*****Abstract***

This paper discusses the attitude of the PCF (Parti Communiste Francais) towards the French colonial policy. The PCF positions and attitudes varied from period to period in conjunction with the policy of international Communism, as well as, the position of the PCF and its relations with the French government. Furthermore, important events such as the United Front, the Stalinism era, Second World War, European Community of Defense - - rearmament of West Germany - - (C.E.D.), USSR, West European Alliance, Marshal plan, Cold War, the eviction of the Communists from the Ramadier government, Algerian liberation war, among others, played an important if not a decisive role in the PCF policy towards the colonial question. The French Communists instead of mobilizing the French proletariat and promoting Communist parties in the peripheries to assist liberation movements in order to achieve their national independence, they rather looked towards establishing an alliance with the other forces of the left – Socialists as well as the bourgeois democrats. Caught between Stalinism and reformism, the PCF experienced weaknesses and failures in its colonial policy. It opted for opportunism and parliamentarianism at the expense of the veritable cause of the international proletarianism. These contradictions had become common since the mid-thirties of the twentieth century for both the CPSU (The Communist Party of the Soviet Union), the PCF and the international Communist movement as a whole.

Key words: PCF, French colonial policy, parliamentarianism, proletarianism, CPSU, Stalinism, United front.

Introduction

The French colonial empire got larger after the First World War. The Versailles Treaty opened new doors to French colonialism at the expense of Germany and Turkey. In 1920, France was exploiting over 70 million people. (Parti Communiste Francais – Comite Central, 1964:158). At the same period, the national independence movement expanded and grew up parallel in China, Brazil, Indonesia, Morocco and Syria. In France at that time – end of December 1920 – the French Communist party PCF was born in the Congress of Tours. The PCF adopted the 21 conditions of the Second International to become a member of the Third International. Having accepted the 21 conditions, the PCF had to combat the colonial policy of its government and to follow the broad lines of international Communism drawn by the Soviets in Moscow. These two principles are found respectively in condition number eight and condition number fourteen. Condition number eight deals with the colonial issue:

In the colonial question and that of the oppressed nationalities, there is a distinct and clear line of conduct of countries where the bourgeoisie possesses such colonies or oppresses other nationalities. Every party willing to belong to the Third International should be bound to denounce without any reserve all the methods of "its own" imperialists in the colonies, supporting not in words only, but practically a movement of liberation in the colonies. It should demand the expulsion of its own imperialists from such colonies, cultivate among the workers of its own country a truly fraternal attitude towards the working population of the colonies and oppressed nationalities, and carry on a systematic agitation in its own army against every kind of oppression of the colonial population. (Chamberlin, 1946:68)

Condition number fourteen consists of the following:

Each party willing to be affiliated with the Communist International should be obliged to provide every possible assistance to the Soviet republics in their struggle against all counterrevolutionary forces. The communist parties should carry on a precise and definite propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to transport any kind of military equipment intended for fighting against the Soviet Republics, and should also by legal or illegal means carry on a propaganda amongst the troops sent against the workers' republics... etc. (Chamberlin, 1946:72)

According to the Marxist theses, and according to the fundamental principles of the Communist International on the colonial question, the communist parties must bring about a

union of the proletarian and working masses of all countries and nations for a joint and a cooperative revolutionary struggle to overthrow landowners and capitalists. (Chamberlin, 1946:120) Chamberlin elaborates on this issue and goes further by arguing that proletarian internationalism according to the theses of the Communist International requires:

- 1 – The subordination of the interests of the proletarian struggle in one country to the interest of that struggle on an international scale.
- 2 – The capability and readiness on the part of one nation that has gained a victory over the bourgeoisie, of making the greatest national sacrifices for the overthrow of international Capitalism. (Chamberlin, 123)

In accordance with the ideology of the Third International, the Communist parties of the different imperialistic countries must work very closely and in cooperation with the proletarian parties of the colonies, and through them, develop and promote all kind of support – moral and material – to the revolutionary movement in general.

In light of these principles of the Third International on the colonial question and given the fact that the PCF is one of the strongest non-ruling parties in one of the largest colonial empires in the world, one can expect support from the part of the PCF to the liberation movements in the colonies. From the fundamental principles laid down above the PCF has:

- To mobilize the French proletariat and raise its consciousness concerning the useless colonial wars of the French bourgeois government against liberation movement in the colonies for the purpose of cooperation and joint work with the proletariat of the colonies.
- To form and promote communist militants in the colonies for the liberation of the French colonial territories.

In light of various PCF Congresses declarations and resolutions and the different literature on this issue, as well as the international events that took place worldwide from 1920 to 1962, this paper analyzes the attitude of the PCF toward the French colonial policy. The PCF attitudes-as it is going to be explained throughout this paper-varied from period to period in line with the policy of international Communism as developed by Moscow, as well as the position of the PCF and its relations with the French government. Furthermore, important events such as the United Front, the Stalinism era, Second World War, European Community of Defense - - rearmament of West Germany , USSR- West European Alliance,

Marshal plan, Cold War, the eviction of the Communists from the Ramadier government, among others, played an important if not a decisive role in the PCF colonial policy. This paper analyzes the PCF policy towards the colonial question in the context of different historical periods that characterized the policies of the party.

The Leninist Policy of the PCF: 1920 – 1935

Major events occurred during this period. Between 1920 and 1925, the period of the first years of the PCF, two important developments related to the colonial question occurred. First: The Moroccan rebellion led by AbdelKrim Elkhatabi against the Spanish colonialism, and, second a Syrian demonstration against France. In these first years of its existence, the PCF was faithful to the eighth and fourteenth conditions of the Third International. It applied its anti-colonialist doctrine in practice. (Chamberlin, 19). This PCF attitude went hand in hand with the international Communist policy of the Soviets. At that time, the Russians were looking forward strengthening themselves as soon as possible and weakening the international capitalist system and its colonial network by mobilizing the proletariat of the world to ask for its independence and international cooperation and joint work. (Chamberlin, 1946: 35).

In its first Congress held in Marseille December 25-30, 1921, the PCF adopted a report and a resolution on Communism and the colonies. It was following the basic principles of the Third International. The PCF intended to create as soon as possible in the colonies a movement of opposition based on the Communist principles against Capitalism and its particular forms – imperialism and militarism.

In practice, the PCF supported openly the movement led by AbdelKrim Elkhatabi against the Spanish, and it asked the French government to withdraw its troops from Morocco. (Parti Communist Francais – Comite Central, 1964:65). In November of 1925, hundred and five Communist militants were imprisoned for their active opposition to the Moroccan War. (Caute, 1963:206)

In 1924, the Syrian people launched a strong resistance against the French colonial administration by a tax strike and the refusal of a French currency system. The PCF responded positively to the Druze revolt and denounced the French colonialism. At the same

period, the French Communists supported another revolutionary movement in Algeria led by Emir Khaled (Monetta 1971:39).

The PCF also maintained the same policy after 1925 until 1935. In its seventh Congress of May 1932, it adopted a resolution calling for the organization of the Communist parties in the colonies, as well as, the emancipation and mobilization of the colonial workers in the metropole. In this period from 1920 until 1934. Caute argues that the PCF adopted a strong anti-colonialist policy. He asserts that the Communist party's colonial attitudes have generally been developed in accordance with the fluctuations in its general line toward other parties to the left. (Caute, 1963:205). On the other hand, Monetta criticizes the PCF for not dealing with the colonial question for a period of four years. From July 1926 to April 1930, the PCF did not show any attitudes or reactions towards the colonial question neither theoretically nor practically. (Monetta, 1971:41).

During this period 1920-1935, the Bolshevization of the PCF took place. At the Soviet scene, Trotsky was evinced by the "Troika" Staline, Zinoviev and Kamenev. The general policy of the PCF was an amalgam of coalitions and concessions with the other parties of the left. This was mainly from 1921-1928 or the period of the United front. Later on, a class against class strategy was applied from 1928-1934 by the PCF. In a few words, the PCF showed during this period some timid initiatives to mobilize the French public opinion against the colonial policy. What was done was not enough to achieve some results on the ground. On the other hand, the CPSU did not exert any pressure to get the PCF more involved and more efficient in his colonial policy.

The PCF Popular Front Policy: 1935-1939

After the arrival of Hitler in power in Germany, the Communist International and its sections changed radically their attitudes towards the National defense and the colonial question. The PCF also changed its colonial policy soon after the visit of the French foreign minister Laval to the Soviet Union. (Monetta, 1971, 105). On May 15, 1935, Laval and Staline met and signed a common declaration. Staline approved fully the French policy adopted towards national defense to keep the French military force at the level of its security. After this declaration, the PCF modified its policy concerning the national defense taking a

position that supports the bourgeois government of the popular and the colonial cause. It ended up by agreeing with the Government front to deny and oppose a veritable movement of national liberation in the colonies. The PCF justified its attitude by asserting that because of their weakness the colonies could fall in the hands of Hitler and Mussolini. The same argument was presented by the CPSU. (Monetta, 1971: 106) (Sivan, 1976:98) (Gaucher, 1974:430). In short, the colonial question was relegated openly to the second plan and the national interest of both the Soviets and the French passed in the front line.

In this critical period where everybody feared Nazism and Fascism, the Seventh Congress of the International Communist was held in August 13, 1935. From its beginning to its end, the Congress focused heavily on the need for mobilization to face another World War. The Congress called for a total mobilization of the workers against international fascism. The Congress urged each Communist party to do its best in the context of the popular front to get ready to face fascism. Condition number eight and the colonial question was buried in the seventh Congress. Not a single word was pronounced in this regard. (Chambaz and Willard, 1961:102).

In this period, the PCF approved the measures of repression adopted by France in the colonies and asked for the dissolution of any kind of nationalistic and liberation movement in the colonies. The French communists described the revolutionary movements in the colonies as "reactionary and motivated by the Hitlerians". (PCF Politburo meeting, July 17, 1936) (Monetta, 1971:116).

At the ninth PCF Congress, December 1937, Thorez, the PCF general secretary, announced the new PCF colonial policy.

The colonies have a right to independence but not separation from France. He quoted Lenin: "The Question of the rights of the nations to free separation has not to be confused with the notion of the opportunity of separation from one or another nation, in one moment or another." (PCF politburo meeting, 1936) (Monetta, 1971: 132)

According to Thorez, the colonies must remain under a permanent control of France to secure the "French mission", the "French Union" and the "Popular Front" throughout the world. The PCF declared that France does not have to give up its colonies to Hitler. The

French colonies were purely considered as strategic positions of the French imperialism against the international fascism.

During this period, it is clear that the PCF is contradicting itself and its line of the twenties where Doriot once declared in a speech in 1924, "that the people have the right to achieve their independence with the arms." (Gaucher, 1974:124). This period witnessed a systematic violation of the basic principles of the Third International concerning the colonial question by both the CPSU and the PCF.

The PCF as a party of Government: 1943-1947

During the Second World War France mobilized the people of its colonies to fight in its ranks. The PCF also participated in the national defense of France and played an important role in the war. After the liberation of France, the PCF participated in the government and at the same time in the measures of repression in North Africa. The motto of this period was "French Unity" which means that the French overseas territories have to be tied to France and have to remain under its control and supremacy.

Working according to the principles of the International Proletarianism, the PCF had the tendency to militate for the colonies' independence. However: this stand is in opposition with the national interests of France. (Brunet, 1982:46). After the liberation of France, the PCF condemned all those who spoke about independence, Panarabism, Panislamism, Panafricanism and the like. The PCF was defending the idea of the "French Unity" and adopted a policy against nationalist and liberation movements. This PCF stand was justified by the following:

- The PCF with a good conduct in the colonial question wanted to get a good confidence to enter the government of coalition.
- The PCF realized that there was a good alliance between France and USSR and the CPSU will not favor a hard colonial policy from the part of the PCF. Thus, it will be a good idea to show some kind of patriotism and nationalism.
- In June 1945, the general secretary of the Algerian Communist party declared in the tenth Congress of the PCF: "those who are claiming independence from France are agents of another imperialism". The PCF gave priority to French imperialism rather than another imperialism. (Monetta, 1971:147).

Henry Lozeray asserted that a separation of the French colonies from the Center would be against the interest of the populations of the colonies. According to him, France is fighting the trusts and cartels and it is trying to establish a true democracy that will be brought in the colonies. France is protecting its colonies from imperialistic temptations. On the other hand, the colonies, given their weakness, are not able to survive economically and politically without France. (Lozeray, 1946:375).

The Congresses of the International communist on the colonial question reveal that the position of the PCF contradicted its resolutions. A historical event illustrates very well this statement. Caballero described the events of May 8, 1945 in Algeria (45,000 persons were killed) -- for demonstrating for the independence of their country--a provocation. This shows how the PCF was far from the aspirations and the hopes of the proletariat and the peasants of the colonies. Caballero used the term provocation to explain a fascist complot, according to the French Communists. In 1947, the Communist ministers voted for the budget of the war against Vietnam of the Communist Comrade Ho-Chi-Minh, because they cared about the interests of the country declared Duclos. (Duclos, 1947:107-108).

In this period both Stalin and Thorez were afraid of the fall of French colonies in the hands of the American imperialism. (Gaucher, 1947:548) (Monetta, 1971:152). On the other hand, the PCF had five of its officials in the French government. This means that in no way would the PCF side with the colonies and adopt an anti-colonial policy. Both the CPSU and PCF sided with their respective governments against the independence of the colonies.

Once again, the proletariat of the colonies did not get any attention from both CPSU and PCF when the interests of USSR and France were threatened by the escalation of American imperialism. Caute argues that the PCF after the Second World War showed a more revisionist and negative policy toward liberation movements in the colonies than ever before. He writes:

Despite acute colonial problems in Madagascar, Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, and Indochina as well as in Syria and Lebanon, the Communists emerged from the war no more inclined than any other party did to act on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Florimond Bonte told the constituent Assembly in October 1944 that France is and ought to remain a great African power . . . (Caute, 1963:208)

Once again, things are going to change for the PCF and of course, the PCF colonial policy will fluctuate. This is what is going to be explained next.

The PCF in the Opposition: 1947-1954

The eviction of the communists from the government -- May 5, 1947 --, the Marshall Plan and the Cold War led the PCF to change radically its position toward the colonial question. During the big alliance of the Western powers and the Soviet Union the PCF was partisan of a "Vietnam under the French Union"; however, things changed drastically. Guillon wrote the following in 1949:

The Vietnam War is against the national interest of France. It is a colonial war in favor of and for the profits of American imperialism. The Vietnam War is the only alternative offered by the French government to the unemployed youth of the Marshall Plan. (Guillon, 1949:1118-1121).

Once out of office – Ramadier government – and isolated, the Communists realized that it was time to mount a campaign against colonial wars and especially the war in Vietnam. Caute wrote:

By 1949, fairly extensive propaganda was being conducted through the Union des Femmes Francaises and intellectual front organizations. However, it was not until Russia and China officially recognized Ho's government in January 1950 that the party felt free to unleash the full resources as its disposal. (Caute, 1963:209)

In June 1952 the agreements on the European Community of Defense (C.E.D.) – rearmament of West Germany – were signed the PCF condemned the agreements and denounced the capitulations of the French government. Leon Feix a highly PCF member evoked the teachings of Lenin on the right of separation and the clauses of the United Nations concerning self-determination and independence. (Monetta, 1971:174). The PCF accused French government for abandoning the real interests of France and accepting the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the rearmament of West Germany (CED). This PCF position was dictated mainly from Moscow and according to the interests of the Soviet Union. This was the peak of the cold war and the East-West division.

This period was mainly characterized by a PCF opposition policy towards the French government. Evicted from the government, the PCF doubled its efforts to criticize the weakness of France in front of the American imperialistic hegemony in Western Europe. On

the PCF colonial policy, Marty -- a former PCF member -- asserts that in this period 1947-1954 there have not been in France one hundredth (1/100) of the PCF action as in 1925. (Monetta, 1971:178).

The PCF during the Algerian War: 1954-1962

In the beginning of the Algerian War, the PCF described the revolution as an amalgam of individualistic actions. It defended the "French Unity", claimed some Algerian rights but never talked about independence or the Algerian nation. The PCF colonies responsible, Leon Feix protested against the demands of Algerians for a Moslem nation. Monetta, 1971: 182). From 1954 to the first quarter of 1956, not very much was said in the declarations and resolutions of the PCF about the Algerian colonial war. The PCF concentrated on accusing and denouncing the French capitulations concerning the rearmament of West Germany (CED). Caute asserts:

There was no mention of Algeria in the pages of La Pensee in the period 1955-1956 and until 1957; the PCF did its utmost to evade an outright commitment to Algerian independence, although agitation among left wing intellectuals had begun in earnest as early as January 1955. (Caute, 1963:211).

In this period, The PCF denounced verbally, from time to time, the French colonial policy; however, in practice it was following the line of De Gaulle. The PCF was more worried about the intervention of the Atlantic allies in the former French colonies than the independence of the colonies. In the eyes of the Russians also, a French imperialism in North Africa was preferable than an American hegemony in the region. (Monetta, 1971:214).

In this period, the colonial policy of the PCF can be summarized as follows:

- Militate for a "French Unity" in the colonies.
- Defend the French authority and control in the colonies on the basis that French colonialism is better than the American or the German.
- Make some capitulation with the present government in order to get some influence and maybe some positions.
- Please the Russians who prefer French colonialism to the American imperialism.

Criticizing the PCF position the Algerian War, the FLN (National Liberation Front) declaration reads:

Far from understanding the Algerian revolt and the revolutionary significance of the claim for independence, the leftist French parties used the pretext of the presence of a European minority in Algeria and a nationalistic and bourgeois FLN ideology, to mask and hide their refusal to support unconditionally the Algerian struggle for independence. (Monetta, 1971:227).

A former PCF member, Jean Baby, argues that the PCF should have denounced the myth of the "French Unity" which is a simple camouflage of the colonial oppression. He goes further by saying that the PCF should have mobilized all its energy in such vital interest, which is the liberation of the proletariat in Algeria and the combatting of colonialism and international imperialism. (Baby, 1960:120). On the contrary the PCF aimed at an eventual inclusion of France's colonies in the metropolis. Wall argues:

The result is an equally charged descriptive language that variously characterizes the PCF as opportunistic, equivocal, or ambiguous about the independence of Algeria. Underlying most such interpretations there is commonly the assumption that the party's real aim was the eventual inclusion of all France's overseas territories in a big red republic ruled from Paris by itself. (Wall, 1977:522).

From a Soviet perspective on the colonial question, it can be said that the CPSU gave total authority to the PCF in its relationships vis-a-vis the PC's of the colonies since 1922. On the other hand, the Soviet Union expressed a large measure of indifference towards the problems of the Maghreb (Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco) since its early existence. (Perry, 1972:175).

Evaluating the PCF conduct during the Algerian War, Baby writes:

To follow a struggle against the colonial war in Algeria required taking courageous initiatives without any fears of possible oppressions, to give up certain nationalistic positions and to review the methods to form a unique front – etc. The PCF, it is indispensable to recognize it, did not dare to engage in this battle. (Baby, 1960:115-116).

Conclusion

Following a policy of national integration - successful during the Popular Front and the period of resistance, 1934-1945 - the PCF could not carry its duty toward the international proletariat and the support of liberation movements in the colonies. The

French Communists instead of mobilizing the French proletariat and promoting Communist parties in the peripheries to assist liberation movements to achieve their national independence, they rather looked forward establishing an alliance with the other forces of the left – Socialists as well as the bourgeois democrats.

It was with the Laval-Staline declaration of 1935 --in which the Soviet leader recognized and approved fully the policy of national defense that was adopted by the French imperialism -- which things changed drastically for the PCF colonial policy. With this declaration, nothing could be understood without reference to the tactics of the Kremlin ideology. Influenced by Stalinism the PCF defended for a long time the policy of keeping French imperialism in the territories of the French empire as being less harmful if compared with another imperialism -- German, Italian, British, and American.

During this long period, instead of working with the masses of the colonies the PCF preferred compromises with the indigenous bourgeoisie. This reflects the declaration of the 81 parties during their conference in 1960, which no longer recognized the emancipation of the workers as a sine qua non of the international Communist movement.

Another striking fact about the PCF colonial policy is its resolutions, declarations, literature and documents on the colonial question. It was found that in spite of having more than twenty colonies, only Algeria, Morocco and Indochina attracted the attention of the PCF. This is explained by the fact that in these three countries, demonstrations, revolts and intense guerilla activities took place many times, obliging the PCF to react and show a kind of support. If these revolts had not happened, the PCF would have cared less about the colonies.

Caught between Stalinism and reformism, the PCF showed weaknesses and failures in its colonial policy. It opted for opportunism and parliamentarianism at the expense of the veritable cause of the international proletariat. These contradictions had become common since the mid-thirties of the twentieth century for both the CPSU, the PCF and the international Communist movement as a whole.

References

Asselin, Pierre (2015). The Algerian Revolution and the Communist Bloc : Evidence from the Algerian National Archives. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/the-algerian-revolution>.

Baby, Jean (1960) *Critique de Base: Le Parti Communiste Francais ente le Passe et l'Avenir*. Paris : Francois Maspero.

Barbe, Raymond (1947) "Ou Va l'Union Francaise", *Cahiers du Communisme*, 24 :399-412.

Brunet, Jean Paul (1982) *Histoire du P.C.F.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Caute, David (1963) *Communism and the French Intellectuals 1914-1960* London: Andre Deutsch Limited.

Chambaz, Jaques and Claude Willard (1961). *Front Populaire Pour Le Pain, la Liberte et la Paix* Paris : Editions Sociales.

Chamberlin, William Henry. *Blueprint For World Conquest*. Washington: Human Events. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015003578005;view=1up;seq=26>. Accessed October 20, 2018.

Chauveau, Henri (1962). Apres 16 annees de guerre colonial: La paix en Algerieet l'interet national, *Cahiers du Communisme*, march, 1-20.

Duclos, Jacques (1947) "Notre Politique", *Cahiers du Communisme*, no. 2. 107-108.

Elleinstein, Jean (1981) *Ils Vous Trompent, Camarades*: Paris: Pierre Belfond.

Federation de France du FLN. (2000). Le PCF et la Revolution Algerienne. Vacarme, automne, no. 13, pp : 28-31.

Feix, Leon (1947-1948) Le PCF et la Revolution Algerienne. <https://www.marxists.org/francais/fln/works/1958/04/pcf.pdf>. Accessed 15 jan. 2018.

Commentaire [MK1]:

Feix, Leon (1955). Les Communistes et la lutte nationale du peuple algerien. *Cahiers du Communisme*, February, 147-148.

Fejto, Francois (1967). *The French Communist Party and the Crisis of International Communism*. Cambridge, Mass : The MIT press.

Gallisot, Rene (1978) (ed.) *Mouvement Ouvrier, Communisme et nationalismes dans le Monde Arabe*. Paris : les Editions Ouvrieres.

Gaucher, rolland (1974). *Histoire Secrete du Parti Communiste Français – 1920-1974*. Paris : Editions Albin Michel.

Guillon, Jean (1947). Le Vietnam et la Politique Nationale et Coloniale. *Cahiers du Communisme*, 24 : 217-245.

Guillon, Jean (1949). La Lutte contre la guerre du Vietnam. *Cahiers du Communisme*, 9 : 1118-1121.

Le PCF et la question algerienne, un anticolonialisme usurpe. <https://npa2009.org>. Accessed 15 Sep. 2018.

Lozeray, Henri (1946). La lutte du peuple Français pour la Democratie et l'emancipation des peuples coloniaux. *Cahiers du Communisme*, 23 : 368-398.

Marty, Andre (1946). La Question Algerienne. *Cahiers du Communisme*, 23 : 678-705.

Monetta, Jacob (1971). *La politique du Parti Communiste Français dans la Question Coloniale 1920-1963*. Paris : Francois Maspero.

Parti Communiste Français, Committee Central (1964). Histoire du parti communiste Français> Paris : editions Sociales.

Perry, J.R. (1972). Soviet Policy Towards North Africa. PhD Dissertation, Columbia University.

Rodinson, maxime (1972). *Marxism and the Muslim World*. Trans. By Michael Pallis. London : 2nd Press.

Sartre, Jean-Paul (1957). Le fantome de Staline. *Les temps Modernes*, 129-131 (january) 690-92.

Seton-Watson, Hugh (1978). *The Imperialist Revolutionaries : Trends in World communism in the 1960's and teh 1970's*. Stanford, CA : Hoover Institution Press.

Sivan, Emmanuel (1976). *Communisme et Nationalisme en Algerie 1920-1962*. Paris : Presses de la Fondation nationale des Sciences Politiques.

Suret-Canale, M. (1970). Le parti Communiste francais et la Lutte AntiColoniale. *Cahiers de l'Institut Maurice Thorez*, 18 :30-42.

The Communists and the Colonized, interview with Selim Nadi, <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2010/10/pcf-french-communists>. Accessed Sept. 30, 2018.

Vernant, Jean-Pierre (2000). Le PCF et la Question Algerienne (1959). *Vacarme*, automne, no. 13, pp : 20-27.

Wall, Irwin M. (1977). The French Communists and the Algerian War. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 12,521-543.

Wall, Irwin M. (1983). *French Communism in the Era of Staline : The Quest for Unity and Integration -1945-1962*. Westport, Conn. :Greenwood Press.