

**Journalism and Collective Memory: *Le Monde* and the question of  
French torture in Algeria (1957 — 2000-01)**

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A Thesis  
In the Department  
of  
Journalism

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Master of Arts (Journalism Studies) at  
Concordia University  
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

August 2017

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**CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY**  
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# ABSTRACT

**Journalism and Collective Memory: *Le Monde* and the question of French torture in Algeria (1957 — 2000-01)**

**Blanche Morel**

**Concordia University, 2017**

Memory studies have long assigned journalism to the role of mere primary recorder of events, therefore denying its power to shape collective remembrance. Based on the assumption that collective memory results from the interdependent process between traditional representations of the past, memory makers and consumers, this study explores journalism as a concrete and abstract site of collective memory. As such, it contends that journalism is a material and institutional pool of knowledge built out of disparate yet collective memories, as well as an interactive and durable memorial site that lays the ground for social change. Applying a mixed methods research design, this thesis examines the impact of the French “journal of record” *Le Monde* in the collective remembrance of torture during the Algerian War (1954-1962). The study employs quantitative content analysis and critical discourse analysis to explore *Le Monde*’s 1957 and 2000-01 coverage of the use of torture in Algeria, two periods separated by official amnesty laws that crystallized the memory of the war in favour of the official narrative. The deployed discourses are compared and contrasted by opinion polls and interviews of historical, sociological and journalistic experts on State-sponsored torture. As such, this thesis goes beyond the hypothesis that journalism acts as a memory agent through the practice of commemoration by shifting the focus on institutional and narrative memory that collectively produce, disseminate and sustain memories over time.

# Acknowledgements

I would first like to thank my supervisor Dr. James McLean for his continuous support and valuable comments throughout the progress of this thesis. I would also like to thank Dr. David Secko, Dr. Brian Gabrial, Dr. Chedly Belkhodja and Dr. Mike Gasher for opening new and exciting research horizons during my Master's studies at Concordia University.

Moreover, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Concordia University which gave me opportunity to conduct my interviews in France and more importantly, to pursue my studies in Canada. I am also gratefully indebted to Florence Beaugé, Raphaëlle Branche, Edwy Plenel, Laëtitia Bucaille and Guy Pervillé who kindly accepted to participate in this study.

Also, I would like to acknowledge Greg Nielsen, Chair of the Sociology and Anthropology Department at Concordia University, as the third reader of this thesis.

Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends, and particularly my sister Colette and my godmother Marie for their invaluable love and support in my life.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

*“Florence Beaugé, avec son travail, a plus fait pour la réconciliation Franco-algérienne et le rapprochement entre les deux pays que 43 ans de diplomatie française.”* (“With her work, Florence Beaugé did more for the Franco-Algerian reconciliation and the rapprochement between the two countries than 43 years of French diplomacy.”)

- Henri Alleg, author of *The Question*<sup>1</sup>

Henri Alleg, an (if not *the*) emblematic figure of the exposure of torture by the French army during the Algerian War (1954-1962), refers here to the anamnestic work undertaken by the French newspaper *Le Monde* in the person of journalist Florence Beaugé. In 2000, Beaugé first ignited the “torture controversy”, in Neil MacMaster’s words, by unveiling torture narratives, as well as obtaining confessions from respected career military men whose impunity had been guaranteed by several amnesty laws enacted in the decades following the war (2002, 449-459).<sup>2</sup>

To fully understand Beaugé’s contribution, and as a matter of context for this thesis, it is important to situate the use of state-sponsored torture within the wider context of the generally received history of the Algerian conflict.

Soon after losing the war for Indochina in August 1954, France engaged in an armed conflict with Algeria, a North African French colony since 1848. This conflict included what came to be known as the “sale guerre” (dirty war), which employed methods condemned by international conventions, illegal violence such as massacres, terrorism and torture. It is certain that the “sale guerre” and the Algerian War in general contributed to the collapse of the Fourth Republic (1946-1958), the return of General Charles de Gaulle in 1958, the fall of the French

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<sup>1</sup> In an email exchange on December 12, 2016, *Le Monde*’s journalist Florence Beaugé quoted Henri Alleg, author of *The Question* (1958 book detailing the French methods of torture during the Algerian war), who testified for her at her trial against Jean-Marie Le Pen in May 2003, as he sued *Le Monde* for libel after revelations about his participation to torture in Algeria.

<sup>2</sup> According to MacMaster, the “torture controversy” began in 1998 with the 1997-1998 trial of Maurice Papon for crimes against humanity committed during the Second World War, which also shed a light on his role as Prefect of Police during the Paris massacre of October 17, 1961. However, this thesis focuses on the first year of the controversy in the media (2000-01), which started with *Le Monde*’s revelations.

Empire (1534-1962), and the exodus of 1 million *Pieds noirs* (Algerians of European descent) to the homeland (McCormack 2007).

The methods used by the French army in its Algerian “peacemaking operations” – the conflict was only officially acknowledged to be a de facto war in 1999 – triggered a moral crisis. If many politicians, intellectuals, and artists such as Albert Camus, Jean-Paul Sartre, Pierre-Vidal Naquet, Simone de Beauvoir, Henri Alleg and Pierre-Henri Simon voiced concerns about the recurrent infringement of human rights (and this in defiance of the state censors), the subject of torture was nevertheless protected if not by a cone of oblivion, at least by a cone of relative silence after the war. It remained, and to some extent remains, a thorny topic to address in the public arena. Still, there are notable examples of journalism, both during and after the Algerian War that did not shy away from reporting on the use of torture.

*Le Monde* is perhaps the best example. Along with other newspapers, *Le Monde* sought to reveal the use of torture during the war and, again, 38 years after war’s end by publishing articles that incited and nourished a public debate on the necessity of coming to terms with this war crime by condemning those state officials who had been in charge, all of whom had been exonerated by amnesty laws. For this reason, it might be argued that the end of the Algerian War in 1962 brought with it the beginning of a policy of oblivion implemented through amnesty laws (1962-1982). Indeed, General de Gaulle considered amnesty as “an abrasive necessity. It aims at silencing everything that divides to restore national unity.”<sup>3</sup>

Consequently, this imposed “policy of forgetting” put the history of the Algerian War into an odd sort of space in the collective memory. Certain events were remembered and others suppressed in the “official” narrative; other events were subsumed into personal narratives; still others became embedded unevenly, or incompletely, in the collective memory. Not until 1991 did French historian Benjamin Stora resurrect the matter of memory and the Algerian War in a book: *La Gangrène et l’oubli* (*The Gangrene and the Forgetting*). In it Stora claims that the political fabrication and repression of memories both in France and in Algeria continued to rot both societies from within. Since *La Gangrène* was published and the archives opened (during the 1990s), a substantial amount of historical and sociological work has been dedicated to the

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<sup>3</sup> “une nécessité abrasive. Elle sert à taire tout ce qui divise pour restaurer l’unité nationale” (Gacon 2005, 4).

collective memory of the Algerian War (see for example Bucaille 2010; Pervillé 2008; McCormack 2007; Rousso 2004; MacMaster 2002; Branche 2001; Stora 1991; Rioux 1990).

Interestingly, a great deal of the available scholarship on the topic was published after *Le Monde*'s investigation in the early 2000s, suggesting that the newspaper might have encouraged further historical and sociological inquiry on the Algerian War. Yet only a few researchers (McCormack 2007; Fleury-Vilatte 2000; Lambert 1990) have explored the role of the news media in creating and sustaining a memorial activity with respect to the collective memory of the Algerian War. While Fleury-Vilatte (2000) explored the televisual memory of the Algerian conflict from 1962 to 1992, Lambert (1990) devoted a chapter to the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of the war in the French print media, claiming that they were not ready to stir up difficult memories. McCormack (2007) was, however, the first to contend that the “Media, the Family, the Education” were equally important for understanding the collective memory of the Algerian War.<sup>4</sup> Illustrating the presence of the Algerian War in the French press, McCormack (2007) explored the retrospective coverage of the Algerian War through quantitative diachronic analysis of *Le Monde* from 1987 to 2002, before focusing on the topics tackled in *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro* and *Libération* from December 2000 to November 2001 in a synchronic quantitative analysis. According to the author, *Le Monde*'s 2000-01 coverage of the war revolved around the “sensationalist” topic of torture, characterized by negativity, and fomented “battles of memories” in a somehow biased coverage that established a competition between the memory of the veterans and the memory of the victims. In McCormack's (2007) analysis, the study of veterans' letters stands for the reception of the event, which ignores existing opinion polls revealing an increasing condemnation of the use of torture. His work ultimately contends that *Le Monde*, through its journalistic activism, reinforced the calcification of the collective memory of the Algerian War.

This thesis takes the position that there is a great deal more to be learned about the role of journalism in the study of memory, and that to neglect journalism's contribution to setting the memory record straight is a grave oversight.

Perhaps the fact that journalism is intrinsically related to the daily publication of current events, and is therefore regarded as a contemporaneous and ephemeral production of knowledge, helps to explain why memory studies, by excluding journalism from its institutional settings and

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<sup>4</sup> See especially "The Media: Reporting the War Forty Years On." In *Collective Memory: France and the Algerian War (1954-1962)*, 133-166. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books.

privileging the realms of family, state and education, assigns journalism the status of primary recorder while simultaneously neglecting its ability to shape and legitimatize shared memories over time (Zelizer and Tenenboim-Weinblatt 2014). For example, as Jeffrey Olick (2014, 21) points out, Pierre Nora, widely regarded as one of the most important theorists of memory studies, dedicated not one chapter of his massive seven volume encyclopedia *Les Lieux de mémoire* (Nora 1984-92) to journalistic institutions. Indeed, no French journalistic organization was cited as a major “lieu de mémoire.” This omission appears even more surprising given that collective memory is by definition always mediated because it is conceptualized as an interdependent and interactive threefold process involving the intellectual and traditional representations of the past; memory makers who select and manipulate those traditions; and the memory consumers who use, reshape, or ignore these traditions based on their own interests (Kansteiner 2002).

Despite the significant number of studies dedicated to memory produced in the past three decades (Zelizer and Tenenboim-Weinblatt 2014; Zandberg, Meyers, and Neiger 2012; Connerton 2009; Zelizer 2008; Olick 2005; Kitch 2002; Kansteiner 2002; Nora 1996; Schudson 1995; Bartlett 1995; Schudson 1992; Zelizer 1992; Habermas 1989; Connerton 1989; Nora 1984-92; Schwartz 1982), including those that focused on journalism specifically, the news media’s ability to produce and shape collective memories has not been entirely theorized since most studies still strive to find—and particularly to prove—correlations between their interpretations of mediated representations of the past and actual media reception (Kansteiner 2002). Indeed, Kansteiner (2002, 180) addressed two crucial criticisms to collective memory studies, both suggesting the development of new methods of exploration in collective memory studies. Firstly, Kansteiner reproached collective memory studies with their improper use of psychoanalytical and psychological methods that fail to clearly distinguish individual from collective memories. For instance, when journalism’s role is mentioned with respect to collective memory, it is often through the Freudian terms of “repressed memories”, while the processes at stake in the individual repression of memories do not apply to whole societies. Secondly, Kansteiner notes that most of studies do not address the question of reception sufficiently satisfactorily because they merely equate hermeneutics to reception.

In the last decade, an increasing number of media and communication scholars have pointed out the neglect of journalism within memory studies and have further theorized the field.

Their common research interest resulted in *Journalism and Memory* (Zelizer and Tenenboim-Weinblatt 2014), which is divided into a historiography of the place occupied by memory in journalism and a typology of domains of memory such as narrative, visual and institutional memory. Only one scholar clearly theorized journalism as intrinsic to any collective memory, and suggested (although not through a case study) that journalism could and should be construed as an active shaper of collective memory, and ultimately, as a site of memory (Olick 2014).

Drawing from that argument, one way of exploring the role of journalism in collective memory is to address institutional memory, as Schwartz (2014) did when claiming that American journalists succeeded in distorting the historical meaning of the Gettysburg Address by infusing it with a new cultural, symbolic meaning during the Civil Rights era. The argument behind this statement contends that journalism, especially in the case of a legitimate newspaper, does influence both the representation and reception of cultural events. It directly echoes Halbwachs' idea ([1950]1992) that there are as many collective memories as there are institutions, groups or organizations, and not, as some would have it, that collective memory is a consensual, agreed-upon pool of memories. This distinction is essential to further develop reflections on journalism with respect to memory. Yet, nowhere in *Journalism and Memory* (Zelizer and Tenenboim-Weinblatt 2014), is this criticism taken into consideration.

On that basis, this research focuses on the recollection of a traumatic French national memory, namely the use of torture by the French Army during the Algerian War (1954-1962) by the center-left daily newspaper *Le Monde*, a paper that has sometimes been referred to as the French "journal de référence" (national journal of record) (McCormack 2007, 147). As has been mentioned, *Le Monde* reopened the debate on torture in June 2000, when Florence Beaugé published the story of Louisette Ighilahriz, a nationalist fighter for the FLN (Front de Libération National) who had been tortured at the headquarters of the 10<sup>th</sup> Parachute Division, led by General Jacques Massu, a highly regarded veteran of the Second World War and the War in Indochina. Louisette Ighilahriz claimed in published reports that Massu was present, along with Major Marcel Bigeard, at the time when torture sessions were being conducted. This implicated two well-known career military men in war crimes. Two days after the article was published, Massu voiced his regrets in *Le Monde*, on June 22, 2000 while Bigeard denied his part in the atrocity. Regardless, the revelations opened a public debate whose resonance was, according to Benjamin Stora (2003), not only due to the publication of a work of investigative journalism, but

to the desire of a certain group of “memory carriers” to set the record straight. Those memory carriers were the children of Algerian immigrants who had witnessed, lived through, and suppressed their own accounts of the war.

Drawing from the above-mentioned lacunae in the existing scholarship on collective memory and journalism, and the historical and media studies produced on the “torture controversy” (MacMaster 2002), this study elaborates on several interrogations related to the processes at stake in the making, consumption, and reception of collective memories. In doing so, it seeks to address the following research questions:

- 1) How do journalists portray controversial events, whether contemporaneous or past? How can a medium inform and shape public consciousness?
- 2) What was *Le Monde*’s contribution in the shaping of the collective memory of the use of torture during the Algerian War?
- 3) Can *Le Monde*’s contribution be construed as an institutional memory?
- 4) Can we gauge media reception as it pertains to the “torture controversy”, and if so how?
- 5) To what extent can a legitimate newspaper be regarded as both a concrete and abstract site of memory, along with memorials, events, archives, museums, and even widely held cultural symbols and systems of belief?

This research therefore uses a comparative analysis to explore the active role of the French daily newspaper *Le Monde* in the collective memory of the use of torture in Algeria. First, it aims to evaluate the way torture was portrayed by French print media during the war thus situating media accounts as the primary record of this event. Second, it analyses the coverage and the active role of *Le Monde* in awakening and sustaining a journalistic and memorial activity during the first year of the “torture controversy” in 2000 and 2001. By doing so, the study intends to reflect on *Le Monde*’s discourse on torture in 2000-01 by shedding light on the discourse generated by *Le Monde* during the Algerian War. Third, this study tackles the aftermath of the newspaper’s memorial activity, namely the reception of the coverage through available opinion polls that highlighted changes in public opinion, and how French society increasingly demanded official recognition that state terrorism had occurred during the Algerian War and condemned the use of torture. Adopting a pragmatic worldview and developing mixed methods is therefore necessary to provide a comprehensive and interdisciplinary approach to this case study of journalism as both a site and an active shaper of collective memory.

Drawing from the criticisms addressed by Kansteiner (2002) to collective memory studies and the ones addressed by McCormack (2007) to *Le Monde*'s 2000-01 coverage of torture, in-depth semi-structured interviews add both to the exploration of reception and the role of journalistic actors. In-depth semi-structured interviews serve the pluralistic approach of this study, as they allow the “descriptions of the lived world of the interviewees with respect to interpretations of the meaning of the described phenomena” (Kvale 1996, 30). They consist in a conversation in which the participant is asked to answer open-ended questions. As such, in-depth semi-structured interviews help to reflect on the specific lived experience of a participant.

This method allows two journalistic actors in the *Le Monde* controversy, as well as two historians and a sociologist specialized in the Algerian War, to present their points of view and expertise on the contribution of *Le Monde* in the collective memory of the Algerian War. The interviewees are Edwy Plenel, the former editor in chief of *Le Monde* (now director of *Mediapart*); the journalist who revealed and followed up on the stories, Florence Beaugé; an historian specialized in the Algerian War, Guy Pervillé; the historian whose Ph.D. thesis detailed the French army's use of torture, Raphaëlle Branche (University of Rouen); and Laëtitia Bucaille whose sociological work has long focused on postcolonial challenges and identities after the Algerian War (Professor of Political Sociology at the National Institute for Oriental Languages and Civilizations (INALCO)).

More precisely, the interviews explore the intentions behind *Le Monde*'s 2000-01 coverage of torture; the extent of novelty and legitimacy of the newspaper's discourse on torture; the general social, cultural and historical context; as well as the lived reception of the coverage.

Thus, this research both gathers quantitative and qualitative data, including statistical data, textual analysis and in-depth semi-structured interviews of different key actors of collective memory – including historians, sociologists, journalists and editors – in order to avoid the pitfalls of disciplinary exclusivity and, ultimately, reflect the role of journalism in shaping collective memories.

## **Chapter 2: Journalism and Memory Studies**

### **2.1 An Overview of Memory Studies**

The roots of memory studies are to be found in the work of the French sociologists Émile Durkheim and his student Maurice Halbwachs, both of whom understood collective memories as a “collectively shared representation of the past” (Kansteiner 2002, 181). Although Durkheim was not the first to coin the concept of “collective memory”, he nevertheless drew attention to the existence of commemorative rituals in early societies and the need for historical continuity (Misztal 2003). As Lewis A. Coser mentions in the introduction to *On Collective Memory*, originally published in 1950, Halbwachs not only claimed that “[n]o memory [was] possible outside frameworks used by people living in society to determine and retrieve their recollections” but also propounded a necessary distinction between historical and autobiographical memory (Coser 1992, 43). In this view, historical memory corresponds to what could also be labelled “material memory”; that is to say, records (written documents, photographs, etc.) accessed by social actors, which need to be re-enacted to achieve collective relevance, hence the practice of commemoration. As such, they are indirect memories, as opposed to autobiographical ones, which stem from personal experience. The empirical nature of autobiographical memories makes them more prone to fade than historical memories, which are stored in archives and therefore are less likely to be altered. Firmly opposed to the way psychological treatises dealt with memory by isolating individuals from social influences, Halbwachs also insisted that if one has the ability to remember, it is only in society that individuals acquire, “recall, recognize, and localize their memories” (Halbwachs [1950] 1992, 38). More precisely, as Coser points out, Halbwachs held that individuals remembered as a group, which means that “there are as many collective memories as there are groups and institutions in a society” (Halbwachs [1950] 1992, 22), and not, as some would have it, that collective memories are necessarily shared by entire nations.

As Durkheimians believed that “individual memory was entirely socially determined” (Winter and Sivan 1999a, 23) their theory of memory as a production of social interactions laid the ground for a conceptualization of the way society forgets, remembers and commemorates. According to Erll’s (2011) historiographical analysis of Memory Studies, the Durkheimian school of thought, and more specifically Halbwachs ([1950]1992), represented the first stage of memory studies, along with the work of art historian Aby Warburg (Gombrich 1997) and

psychologist Frederick Bartlett (1995), each of whom theorized memory as a collective faculty rather than an individual one. Rethinking memorial processes led to the examination of national identities, a second stage exemplified, according to Erll (2011), by Pierre Nora's theory on the role of "lieux de mémoire" in national identities, a concept which defines sites of memory as complex phenomena that are at once "natural and artificial, simple and ambiguous, concrete and abstract, they are lieux—places, sites, causes – in three senses – material, symbolic and functional" (Nora 1996, 14). Those sites range from museums, monuments, and memorials to archives, objects, symbols, and events. As Olick (2014) rightly pointed out, Nora's work on the "memory-nation nexus" echoes the work of Benedict Anderson and Ernst Renan.

Indeed, Anderson's (1983) *Imagined Communities* represents one of the most influential contributions to memory studies in recent decades, a book that theorized "print capitalism" as a central feature of nationalism. It followed Renan's idea that "the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories" (quoted in Anderson 1983, 6) was essential to the constitution of national identities. In Anderson's furrow, the notion of communication was articulated with identity and community, a "symbolic process whereby reality is produced, maintained, repaired, and transformed" (Carey 1989, 23). This in turn reinforces the notion that representations of the past in society are shared.

Over the past decade a third wave has emerged in memory studies, influenced by the digital revolution that pushed the boundaries of the mediatization of memories. It holds that contemporaneous memory "transcends the container of the 'nation-state'" (Olick 2014, 23). According to Olick, this stage gathers together Erll's (2011) work – influenced by post-colonial theory – with that of Michael Rothberg (2009) who focused on migration and its influence in blurring the defined frontiers of the second stage's "methodological nationalism" (Olick 2014, 23). The work of Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad (2010), and Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider (2005) is also important, particularly in their argument that the Holocaust exemplifies a new "global" or "cosmopolitan" memory.

## 2.2 The Media and Memory Studies

Although Halbwachs ([1950] 1992, 173) stated that collective memory was tributary to language, the key to reconstruct the past, he did not conceptualize the media in general as being intrinsic to the very notion of collective memory. Yet memory, whether cultural or individual, is

“constantly produced through, and mediated by the technologies of memory. The question of mediation is thus central to the way in which memory is conceived in the fields of study of visual culture, cultural studies and media studies” (Sturken 2008, 75). In a rather McLuhanian perspective, Zelizer (2014, 43) provided a typology of memories based on the nature of their own medium, in which she claims that four tropes are relevant in the actual context: written memory, place memory, bodily memory and material memory, all of them included within the practices and institution of journalism.

Written memory has resurfaced in Schudson’ work (1992) and that of Zerubavel (1995) as well as Fowler (2005), who identified several narrative categories of collective memory in news obituary, whether dominant, popular or counter-memory. Place memory is mostly exemplified by Pierre Nora’s concept of *lieu de mémoire*, even though he did not devote much attention to journalism (Olick 2014). Other scholars (Narvaez 2012; Connerton 2009; Hirst and Manier 2008; Connerton 1989) contributed to the understanding of bodily memory by illustrating how mnemonic practices were inscribed on the body. As Zelizer rightly points out, news making itself necessitates individuals working on “collecting, filtering, interviewing, writing, editing, distributing, consuming” as well as eye-witnessing (Zelizer 2014, 44). As for material memory, it is illustrated by the very materiality of newspapers and magazines, and the work of Hirsch (1997), Landsberg (2004) and Sturken (2007), who have argued that materiality does change the ways we remember.

Given the volume of media in which memory is inscribed, one can only come to the same conclusion as Erll ([2005] 2011, 113) that: “cultural memory is unthinkable without media.” Already aware of memory’s dependence on mediation, Jürgen Habermas (1989) focused attention on the importance of mass media in the creation of the “public sphere” and the shaping of collective memory. As Nancy Wood (1999) pointed out, Habermas and other intellectuals used mass media to publicly debate the historical interpretations of the Nazi period in Germany. Drawing from Theodore Adorno’s ([1959] 1998) concept of “working through the past”, whose central dimension is the “publicly conducted ethical-political self-understanding” (Habermas 1997, 19), Habermas believed that the Nazi legacy needed to be socially, and therefore, collectively examined through a shared introspection. Supporting Habermas’ (1997) theory, Paula Hamilton (1994) claimed that the media exert considerable influence on both collective memory and historical representations. Konrad Jarausch (2001) explained that the media, along

with intellectuals, historians, and politicians, are the cement of memory culture, which defines how a country approaches its own past. As a result, “the extent and nature of media coverage of a topic will influence individual and group remembering by providing ‘frames of memory’ (such as the words we use, the content of memories, or the timing of our remembrance). Media coverage will influence how individuals, families, associations, and other groups remember” (McCormack 2007, 136).

However insightful, this approach does not conceptualize how exactly the media, by publicly releasing disparate memories, transforms them into collective ones; that is, collective representations, interpretations, and even beliefs. In response to this methodological shortcoming, it has been argued that memories could only achieve collective relevance provided that “they fit within a framework of contemporary interests” (Weissberg 1999, 15). But perhaps more important are the two criticisms formulated by Kansteiner (2002) on the very conceptualization of collective memory in memory and media studies.

As aforementioned, the lack of a clear dividing line between collective memories and individual memories, as well as the improper use of psychoanalytical and psychological methods that have led to misrepresentations, is problematic. In addition, collective memory studies have not sufficiently addressed the question of reception, either in their sources, or their methodologies. In other words, most scholars equate hermeneutics to reception, while retaining the possibility that memories put forth by newspapers and media in general pass into oblivion. As a consequence, because they mainly adopt a conventional research design often exclusively based on qualitative or quantitative analysis, memory studies in journalism reflect the content of the memorial discourse without going further into the analysis of how exactly the memories they make public become collective.

To avoid that methodological pitfall, Kansteiner (2002, 180) propounded that collective memory be theorized as the sum of three interdependent sociological factors: the intellectual and traditional representations of the past; memory makers who select and manipulate those traditions; and the memory consumers who use, reshape, or ignore these traditions based on their own interests.

### **2.3 Journalism and Memory Studies**

Barbie Zelizer’s intervention served as a wake-up call in memory studies: “As journalism

continues to function as one of contemporary society's main institutions of recording and remembering, we need to invest more efforts in understanding how it remembers and why it remembers the ways it does" (2008, 85). This was the prelude to *Journalism and Memory*, a book that brought together journalism scholars specializing in memory works, as well as memory scholars, to overcome the neglect of journalism in the field of memory. Based on the dichotomy between "trajectories" of memory, which informs on the temporal aspects of memory, and "domains" of memory, which represents the spatial aspects of memory, the book offers a historiography of the relationship between memory and journalism, before exploring three domains in which journalism reflects mnemonic works: in narrative, visual, and institutional memory.

### *Trajectories of Memory*

However pluri-disciplinary, memory studies did not theorize journalism along with other institutional settings. Nevertheless, Halbwachs ([1950] 1992) implicitly referred to journalism when pointing out the prevalence of language in the formulation and transmission of memory; the social frames that enable society to achieve the recollection of disparate memories; and the narrative nature of mnemonic activity; hence, the importance of story-telling in memorial sharing (Zelizer 2014, 40). Likewise, Olick (2014) noted that autobiographical and historical memory are deeply shaped by journalism. Thanks to the expansion of journalism platforms in the-nineteenth and twentieth centuries, mnemonic practices became part of journalism's apparatus through the use of analogies and references to the past used to explore the present (Zelizer 1998, Schwartz 1982). But aside from reflecting memorial activity, what exactly can be said about journalism's influence in the shaping of memory?

As is often the case in the social sciences, the answer is pluralistic. In order to define through which processes journalism actively and passively shapes collective remembrance, one needs to shed light on the reasons for its marginalization within memory studies. This is partially explained by Kitch:

Journalism as a site of memory construction is taken for granted, like air or water – merely the carrier of the thing itself, the memory event or theme of interest. In fact, the relationship between journalism and memory is complex and significant. For much if not most of the public, journalism is a

primary source of information about the past and shared understanding of the past. It also is a main site for public anticipation of memory: as “the first draft of history”, journalism is also the first draft of memory, a statement about what should be considered, in the future, as having mattered today.

(2008, 311-312)

The neglect of an important set of systemic practices such as journalism as an agent of memory is even more surprising given that, as Kansteiner (2002) noted, all memories are tributary to one or several media. Despite its relative absence within the field of memory studies, journalism is construed as a site of memory construction and a site of memory in archival terms, the first draft of history and the primary source of information about the past. More precisely, as they provide new versions of the past through the media’s exceptional ability to reach large communities, journalists are said to be the writers of later drafts of history, thereby creating and preserving shared memories through commemoration, historical analogies and contexts (Edy 1999). Media organizations and actors indeed re-enact certain memories through commemoration and anniversary journalism (see for example Meyers, Neiger, and Zandberg 2009; Robinson 2009; Kitch 2006, 2005, 2002; Bodnar 1994; Wagner-Pacifici and Schwartz 1991; Schwartz 1982; Lang and Lang 1989) that involve different generations in the remembrance of a shared past. Drawing from Carey’s (1989) ritual view of communication, in which journalism is perceived as the primary source of information about the past and its shared recollection, Kitch (2002, 47) regards reminiscent journalism as “a dialogic creation of journalists and audiences, who together construct collective memory and a shared, national identity based on the passage of time.” Others argue that the media are increasingly competing for the interpretation of the past, especially regarding commemoration (Zandberg, Meyers, and Neiger 2012).

Since memory perpetuates a sense of identity and journalism a certain sense of belonging, as Halbwachs ([1950] 1992) and Anderson (1983) respectively hold, it is not surprising that much of the scholarship has investigated the relationship between memory and journalism through the remembrance of national events. For instance, Schudson acknowledged the role of the media (printed and visual) in the shaping of the American collective memory of Watergate through the analysis of “career, myth, reform, celebrity, anniversary, reputation, language, metaphor, expectations and pedagogical lessons” (1992, 5); while Zelizer (1992) has argued through a diachronic textual analysis of journalistic, cinematographic and other publications, that

the media (and television more specifically) established themselves as the legitimate and authoritative spokespersons for JFK's assassination. In addition, Kitch (2005) provided an analysis of reflections on the past in American magazines that shaped the significance of American identity. Memory studies, as Olick (2014, 2005) has pointed out, have explored journalism as a source and site of memory, but too often under the broad category of the media. If it would be a lie to claim that memory studies have totally ignored journalism, since sociologists have long referred, for instance, to the work of Zelizer (1992), Schudson (1992) and Lang and Lang (1989), it remains true that "no main theorists of the field of collective memory included 'news making' as an important component of their work that explored the field" (Neiger, Meyers, and Zandberg 2011, 11).

This could be explained by the dichotomy between news ephemerality as opposed to historical durability. Indeed, as Ross (2004) has it, the analysis of WWII set the standards for social memory studies, which explains that the latter are intrinsically marked by "parameters of devastation: catastrophe, administrative massacre, atrocity, collaboration, genocide ..." (Olick 2014, 22), information whose newsworthiness is far from eliciting unanimity. Likewise, it has been argued that collective memory typically develops from a troubled past that is brought into the public sphere, a socio-political process in which reporting practices contribute to reshaping the representations of events (Edy 2006).

Consequently, it appears that journalism can be construed as a site of memory transformation, (re)construction, maintenance and perpetuation. In fact, the exploration of the under-developed relations between journalism and memory have drawn attention to two essential points: journalism shapes events themselves through the practice of representation to such an extent that the "memory of public events is thus ultimately inseparable from their journalistic coverage" (Olick 2014, 28); and journalism constitutes a major site of memory (although Pierre Nora did not seem to think so), as public memory is created from journalistic events, images, speeches, etc.

Inspired by Derrida's (1995) deconstructed concept of the "archive", an embodiment for culture itself, representing both the latent and the manifest, Olick claims that "there is no cultural or collective memory that is not at least in part journalistic" (2014, 30). According to that view, not only can archives inform us about specific events, but they can also tell us how events are represented, and perhaps even perceived, over time. As Olick (2014) concludes, memory depends

on journalism since journalists are interested *by memory* in general, whether it is memory science, commemorative events or memory politics and illustrated memories *of* journalism since we remember important broadcasts as cultural materials that empirically shape the way we apprehend the world (Sturken 1997). This conceptualization of journalism legitimates lingering over traditional journalism instead of shifting the focus to the new global economy of journalism, suggesting that journalism might as well be construed and theorized as a material and institutional memory in and of itself.

### *Domains of Memory*

Memory and Journalism scholars have focused on specific domains of memory through which different versions of the past are created, distributed and maintained over time. For the purpose of this study, only two are relevant: narrative and institutional memory. The verbal record is a necessary focus since this research is conducted on a newspaper in which story-telling, and narrative practices in general, are analyzed. This acknowledges that journalism constitutes “a central site for the social construction of narratives that span from past to future through the nexus of present” (Zelizer and Tenenboim-Weinblatt 2014, 7). As for institutional memory, it distinguishes the institutional presence of journalism in the creation of collective memory from other institutions such as the state, education and family, which supports the analysis of a news institution such as *Le Monde*. As Zelizer and Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2014, 10) claimed in the introduction of *Journalism and Memory*, “changing institutional parameters of journalism are shaping memories of key historical events.”

Elaborating on the significance of narrative memory, Schudson (2014, 1997) illustrates how journalists can act as the vehicles of non-commemorative memories by incorporating the past in ways that do not reflect intentions to commemorate. This matters since the media “seek to capitalize on human drama or to connect to historical shifts, coincidences, or trends that might give their stories a distinctive importance” (Schudson 2014, 86). Through examples taken from the *New York Times*, considered to be one of the most important national and global news institutions, Schudson analyses how journalists invoke memory without the aim to commemorate by using history to heighten the news value and originality of their stories. They do this by drawing on the past to explain the present in a rather didactic perspective, and by showing how people act in ways that “incorporate a sense of past or future” (Schudson 2014, 95).

Motti Neiger, Eyal Zandberg and Oren Meyers (2014) offer another case study on

narrative memory through the analysis of Israeli media coverage of the Remembrance Day for the Holocaust and Heroism over the past decade. They focus on the commemoration of the past through the coverage of the present by coining the term “reversed memory”, a concept that holds that some journalistic works shift the focus from past to present by making news developments the main prism of the news narrative, while the past occurrence is relegated to the background.

In the case of the Remembrance Day for the Holocaust and Heroism, the coverage revealed that Israeli newspapers celebrated the heroism of survivors rather than commemorating the trauma of the past. The authors hold that although collective memory is often analyzed through the narrative depiction of the past, it should be construed as a “(1) multidirectional process (between the past and present) of (2) concretizing a (3) narrative of the past into a (4) functional, (5) social-political construct” (Neiger, Meyers, and Zandberg 2011, 115). Developing a typology of news items and memory carriers, Neiger, Zandberg and Meyers (2014, 116-117) claim that the past is a resource used as a curriculum (providing a deep background and context), a yardstick (point of reference of the present) and as the focus of the coverage.

Based on news analysis, the authors argue that the narratives displayed by the coverage of the Remembrance Day for the Holocaust and Heroism revealed the importance of four memory carriers: people (individuals or groups who witnessed the event); places (for instance, where commemorative ceremonies take place); objects (symbolic artifacts such as photographs); and phenomena (social behaviors associated with past events). Indeed, the coverage of this event showed that all of these memory carriers participated in their own way in the creation of memory narratives in newspapers as journalists gave survivors a voice, reported visits on memorial sites, resorted to diaries, pictures and other meaningful artifacts as well as reflecting on the persistence of anti-Semitism. According to the study’s findings, the journalistic coverage of the commemoration of the genocide served “the implicit notion that the Holocaust is an ongoing phenomenon” (Neiger, Zandberg, and Meyers 2014, 123) through the narrative device of “reversed memory”, which keeps the past alive.

In the case of the institutional domain of memory, Barry Schwartz (2014) argues that American journalists have played a decisive role in the distortion of the meaning of the Gettysburg Address, which was largely ignored by the press until the twentieth century, when it was invested with a symbolic function in order to make Abraham Lincoln’s words foreshadow the civil rights and racial equality movements. It is through “framing” – a representational device

that selectively frames events – and “keying” (Goffman 1974), when some events are referenced with others, that Schwartz claims the collective memory of the Gettysburg Address was manipulated by American newspapers. Schwartz’s analysis was based on the Civil war press and American press accounts from the 1940s and 1960s.

Adopting a Durkheimian viewpoint, Schwartz provides another insightful definition of collective memory with respect to journalism:

Collective memory is a necessary property of mind, a fundamental component of culture and an essential aspect of tradition ... A variant of *public opinion*, collective memory refers to the *distribution* throughout society of what individuals know, believe and feel about past events, how they judge them morally, how closely they identify with them, and how much they are inspired by them as models for their conduct. The word ‘distribution’ is emphasized because its key property is variation, which denies the possibility of consensus.

(2014, 211-212)

The author raises a crucial point here: one should not equate collective memory with agreed-upon memory. Defending the idea that a great deal of our collective representation stems from journalistic production, Schwartz endorses Lippmann’s (1922, 108) argument that ordinary citizens perceive the world only indirectly; that is, through the press, which itself provides forms and stereotypes framing those representations. As opposed to Lippmann’s viewpoint, Schwartz believed that “journalism does more than inform; it exerts *social pressure* on readers and viewers to conform to community leaning and provides *social support* for doing so, thus reinforcing the impersonal representations that constitute collective opinion” (Schwartz 2014, 212). Such a concept suggests that the Gettysburg Address became suddenly relevant because it is the resonance of past events with present ones that makes history “newsworthy” (Zandberg, Meyers, and Neiger 2012). This has the effect of making journalism into “a time machine not only because it preserves *contemporary* events for posterity but also because it brings to presence the experiences of the *past*” (Schwartz 2014, 223). But at the same time, regrets Schwartz, as journalism does not necessarily focus on the context of events, it sometimes misinterprets history, which undermines its own legitimacy.

Another insightful and innovative research project on institutional memory is to be found in the work of Susana Kaiser (2014) who addressed the ways journalists covered the Argentinean Torturers' Trials, in which officials who participated in state terrorism during the Argentinean dictatorship (1976-83) were judged. Drawing from ethnographic observations of the trials, an assessment of five Argentinean publications, as well as interviews with journalists specializing in human right issues (some who defined themselves as “activist journalists”), Kaiser’s research reveals that journalists acted as professional witnesses and memory agents, holding that they were fulfilling an historical responsibility. According to the author, the trials also fomented “memory battles.” Indeed, when journalists were interviewed about their role, they claimed social agency and political responsibility to build and defend memory as an “act of moral responsibility” (Rentschler 2009, 175).

However, Kaiser posited that in the context of “mass human rights violations in polarized societies ideology shapes editorial policies, and the responsibility of bearing eyewitness to history and acting upon it is assumed unevenly” (2014, 254). Rewriting history, especially around traumatic events, reveals inconvenient truths, but the trials at least helped to break the silence, and the media coverage both generated interest (even three decades after the fact) and highlighted the need to explore how audiences perceive these later drafts of history. Listening to more voices and bringing more data to the forefront of the public scene also adds new elements to the nation’s collective memory. However, a full analysis of how media coverage impacted Argentina’s collective memory remains to be done.

## 2.4 The Collective Memory of the Algerian War

The Algerian War (1954-1962) was “one of the hardest wars of decolonization ever fought” (McCormack 2007, 1). As examined by Emmanuel Hecht (2012), it involved many actors, and caused the deaths of 500,000 people; among them, 400,000 Muslims, 4000 *Pieds-noirs* (people from European origin who lived in Algeria during French rule), 30,000 French soldiers and between 13,000 and 15,000 *Harkis* (indigenous Muslim soldiers who fought along with French troops).<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> The *Harkis* were native Muslim Algerians who served as auxiliaries during the Algerian War. Considered as traitors by Algerian nationalists, thousands of them were massacred despite the 1962 *Évian Accords* cease-fire. If 91 000 *Harkis*, helped by French officers, could find refuge in France, many of them were denied entry as the government privileged the *Pieds-Noirs*’ (Algerians from European descent)

Shortly after losing the First Indochina war in 1954, France engaged in a military struggle with Algeria, a French colony since 1830. On November 1, 1954, Algerian separatists launched a series of attacks on public buildings (hospitals, shops), killing several colonists. In the course of the month, the “rebels” announced the creation of the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) an Algerian political party that demanded independence. Its military wing, the Armée de Libération Nationale (ALN) organized armed resistance (Meynier 2012). Rapidly, the French government launched an operation of “maintenance of public order” to crush the rebellion (Jauffret 1998). As explained by Guy Pervillé (1992), the situation became increasingly complex and France’s military presence was more than doubled between January 1956 (200,000 soldiers) and the end of 1957 (450,000 soldiers deployed).<sup>6</sup>

Combat took the form of guerrilla warfare in the *maquis* between the French army and the FLN. One of the turning points of the war was the Battle of Algiers, which raged for nine months beginning on January 7, 1957. The 10<sup>th</sup> Parachute Division, led by General Jacques Massu, who proclaimed martial law, used torture to track down terrorists and infiltrate their networks as well as targeting the Algerian civil population (Pellissier 2002). Technically, the French army won this battle, however, the methods used triggered a moral crisis even among senior French officials on the ground. Revolted by the tactics used in Algiers, General Jacques Pâris de Bollardère asked to be dismissed from command two months after the battle began (Merchet 2001), soon followed by Paul Teitgen, the General Secretary of the Police of Algiers (Branche 2001).

From 1954 to 1958, the political decision-makers in France failed to propose satisfactory reforms or solutions that were acceptable to either the FLN or the partisans of the colony. The war was costly and the government was facing a dead-end. It is widely accepted that the “Algerian issue” triggered the collapse of the Fourth Republic and saw General Charles de Gaulle’s return to power (See for example Winock, 2006).

The Fifth Republic was established on October 4, 1958. After two fact-finding trips to Algeria, General de Gaulle concluded that it would be necessary to negotiate with the rebels. He would soon propose self-determination. The situation worsened in 1960, when the colonists – people of French descent who felt betrayed by de Gaulle’s proposal – took over Algiers. When,

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repatriation. In 2001, President Jacques Chirac acknowledged the sacrifice of the *Harkis* whose memory is since commemorated every year on September 25.

<sup>6</sup> As mentioned in the first paragraph of Pervillé’s article “L’armée française au combat, de 1956 à 1962” published on his blog *Pour une histoire de la Guerre d’Algérie* (see references, 157).

in January 1961, the referendum of self-determination yielded an outcome 75 per cent in favour of self-determination (both from the homeland and French Algeria), extremist *colons* funded the terrorist *Organisation de l'Armée Secrète* (OAS) – the “secret army” – to prevent the decolonisation of Algeria. On March 18, 1962, the *Évian Accords* were signed by the belligerents and approved by 91 percent of voters in mainland France in a referendum on April 8. This put an end to the war by granting Algeria its independence, and introducing a policy of “official forgetting” through amnesty laws (Maury 1998). One of the major outcomes for France was the exodus of the *Pieds noirs*. Approximately one million left for France (Ripoll 2012).

## 2.5 Memories of the War: Between Oblivion and Controversy

The Algerian War, as most commentators hold, was a taboo subject for decades in France (see for example McCormack 2007). This is exemplified by the title of one of the most important historical and memorial works on the topic: *La Grangrène et l'Oubli (The Gangrene and the Forgetting)*, written by the French historian Benjamin Stora (1991). The book widely reflected the French State’s denial of the war, which had been officially declared as “peacekeeping operations” until 1999.<sup>7</sup> Another milestone in the scholarship about the Algerian War, and most specifically the use of torture, was the 2001 publication of historian Raphaëlle Branche’s *La torture et l’armée pendant la guerre d’Algérie*. Branche was the first historian who clearly established that torture was a massive institutionalized system whose secret practices had been orchestrated in high places. From a more general viewpoint, French historian Henry Rousso (2004) argued that the collective memory of the Algerian War in France oscillated between oblivion and resentment. There was indeed an official policy of oblivion articulated for mass consumption through a discourse on forgetting, as explained by Rousso:

In reality, the discourse on oblivion refers most of the time to an “official oblivion”, a real or state-imputed willingness to move on in an arbitrary way, thereby influencing majority opinion even though some of those most concerned have not yet forgotten anything.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> The term “guerre d’Algérie” was officially adopted in law no. 99-882 of October 19, 1999.

<sup>8</sup> “En réalité, le discours sur l’oubli désigne la plupart du temps ‘un oubli officiel’, une volonté (réelle ou imputée) de l’État de tourner la page de manière arbitraire, influençant ainsi l’opinion majoritaire, alors même que certains de plus concernés n’ont, eux, rien oublié.”

(2004, 3)

Indeed, the *Évian Accords* of 1962 came with amnesty laws attached, a kind of “politics of oblivion” that is still officially in place nowadays. Under the laws, French state officials and soldiers and Algerian nationalists were granted amnesty from criminal prosecution in return for forgetting their part in the war. This greatly reduced the possibility of conducting any kind of public debate on torture. In his historiographical analysis of the French collective memory of the Algerian War, Henry Rousso (2004) identified four stages, *amnesty* (1962-1968); *amnesia* of official memory (1968-1980s) (the fact that Algerian War seemed to vanish from the public sphere and was only present in political and intellectual life); and *anamnesis*, which corresponds to the “return of memory”, when the memory of the colonial past and the Algerian War re-entered the public consciousness in the 1980s. When, in 1981, the left-wing party headed by François Mitterrand was elected there was hope that colonisation was to be condemned, but it was not. In fact, Mitterrand implemented the last amnesty laws in 1982, which permitted the reintegration of former civil servants (servicemen, policemen, and gendarmes).

The last stage is the self-explanatory *hypermnesia*. It began, according to Rousso, in 1991 with the civil war in Algeria (1991-2002), a war that reawakened the memory of the Franco-Algerian conflict. However, if Rousso’s (2004) analysis helps us to understand the stages of collective memory’s treatment of this event, it does not reflect at all the role of the media, and especially journalism, in the reopening of a memory debate in 2000.

## 2.6 Exposure of Torture in the Print Media (1955-2002)

If the public denunciation of the use of torture faced difficulties, one can mostly impute it to censorship, including self-censorship. The newspaper under scrutiny (*Le Monde*) provided an insightful chronology of the presence of torture in news reports during and after the Algerian War.<sup>9</sup> In January 1955, Claude Bourdet, a writer and journalist who had been involved in the Resistance movement during WWII, characterized state officials during the Algerian War as an “Algerian Gestapo” in *France Observateur*, a famous weekly newspaper. Two days later, François Mauriac, awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1952, wrote an article for *L’Express*,

<sup>9</sup> See the online dossier “La torture et la guerre d’Algérie”, *Le Monde*, March 17, 2012 [http://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/visuel/2012/03/17/la-torture-et-la-guerre-d-algerie\\_1671229\\_3212.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/visuel/2012/03/17/la-torture-et-la-guerre-d-algerie_1671229_3212.html)

the weekly supplement of the economic newspaper *Les Échos*, entitled “The Question.” Other articles followed. The reaction was swift. The government closed down several newspapers, among them *L’Express*, *Le Monde*, *L’Humanité* or *Témoignage chrétien* in order to control the story. All of these publications, at one point or another, had pressured the government to stop using torture on the grounds that it is an inhumane and immoral practice, especially because of the memory of WWII. Yet challenges to the “official truth” continued.

In April 1956, Henri-Irénée Marrou, a history professor at the Sorbonne and a Catholic intellectual, published “France, my homeland” in *Le Monde*, where he denounced “the vile means” used by the French government in Algeria. As a result, he was sued by Guy Mollet, the President of the Council of Ministers, the head of state during the Fourth Republic. Then, in 1957, voices arose to denounce the disappearance of Maurice Audin, an Algerian communist leader who was tortured during the Battle of Algiers. The historian Pierre Vidal-Naquet published a book about this case in 1958. The same year, Henri Alleg, the former director of *Alger Républicain* and a communist journalist who was arrested, tortured and imprisoned by the Parachute Division that fought in the Battle of Algiers, published *The Question*, a book on his own story written from prison (Rappaport 2013). According to Mollier (2007), it was immediately censored, but circulated clandestinely.

Following de Gaulle’s return to power in 1958, André Malraux, who had just been appointed Information Minister, declared officially that torture “must not occur henceforth” in a speech before Parliament that was reproduced *verbatim* in *Le Monde*.<sup>10</sup> In 1960, 121 intellectuals signed the “Manifesto of the 121”, a declaration of the right of insubordination in the Algerian War. Among them was Simone de Beauvoir who publicly denounced the use of torture in an article published in *Le Monde* on June 2, 1960 that revealed the story of Djamilia Boupacha, a young Algerian woman who had been raped and tortured by French soldiers the same year. Her article was unembellished, meticulously depicting how Boupacha had been arrested for acts of terrorism, tortured with electrodes, and raped with a glass bottle. The victim had confessed her guilt under torture.

Simone de Beauvoir’s stated purpose was to raise awareness, claiming that Boupacha’s history concerned every French person because the young Algerian woman feared the death

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<sup>10</sup> “Après la définition de l’action gouvernementale par le Ministre de l’Information”, *Le Monde*, June 26, 1958.

penalty. Despite the very public media interest in her trial, she was found guilty and sentenced to death in 1961. She would benefit from the amnesty laws of the *Évian Accords* of March 1962 and be freed a month later. However, rape as a means of torture was not publicly acknowledged or discussed again for two decades when, in 1984, two newspapers, *Le Canard enchaîné* and *Libération*, published a dossier accusing Jean-Marie Le Pen, the leader of the French extreme right-wing party (Front National), of having practiced torture in Algeria while serving as section commander during the Battle of Algiers. As a result, he sued for libel and won.

Again, the question of torture in Algeria was suppressed. It would take close to another two decades before the French government took the first tentative steps in recognizing its part in the systematic use of torture during the Algerian War. This was the beginning of what has come to be known as the “torture controversy”, which started with reinvigorated reporting by *Le Monde* and has been described by French Education Minister Jack Lang, in a speech delivered in August 2001, as a “very polemical and mediatized reactivation of the memory of the Algerian War” (McCormack 2007, 137).

In the existing scholarship, there are two main interpretations of the mediatic interest triggered by *Le Monde* in June 2000. On the one hand, historian MacMaster claims that the “torture controversy” led towards a “new history” of the Algerian War, a new situation in which French and Algerian historians, as well as a wider public, could begin to discuss the traumas of the war and “resolve the issues of repressed memories” (MacMaster 2002, 451). The author holds that there was nothing new in the revelations of *Le Monde* in 2000, and the relevance and precipitation of the debate was due to “a social and political-cultural moment that was propitious to memorial activity” (MacMaster 2002, 450). This is in reference to a trial in 1997-1998 in which Maurice Papon was judged for crimes against humanity for its collaboration with the Nazis under the Vichy Regime. It should also be noted that Papon held a dominant administrative position during the Algerian War.

In addition, MacMaster references the work of French historian Raphaëlle Branche whose Ph.D. thesis on the use of torture by the French army during the Algerian War argued that torture was institutionalized and systematized, a claim that had never been levelled before with such rigor. This happened in December 2000, several months after the beginning of the controversy. MacMaster’s work on the “torture controversy” deploys a chronological analysis using different news reports, mostly from *Le Monde* and *L’Humanité*. Finally, although he mentions existing

opinion polls that reflect the “intense public interest in the torture controversy” (MacMaster 2002, 457), the author argues that this public opinion shift can be traced back to the publication of General Paul Aussaresses’s book on May 3, 2001, which is true, although MacMaster bases his argument on opinion polls published in November 2001 and May 2002 while the opinion polls he is referring to were actually published in November 2000 (Bezat 2000) and May 2001 (Thoroval 2001).

On the other hand, McCormack (2007), who devoted a thorough and insightful book to the collective memory of the Algerian War, holds that the coverage of the “torture controversy” triggered “memory battles” rather than reconciling disparate memories. Based on three conceptualizations of collective memory, McCormack explores how the Algerian War is discussed in the classroom, within the family circle, and in the media.

First, drawing from Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan’s *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*, (Winter and Sivan 1999b), the author approaches collective memory as a process determined by competition and pluralism as well as agency. Indeed, he argues that agency “can consist of associative actions, writing, scholarship, and filmmaking, all of which impact upon the way the past is represented and remembered” (McCormack 2007, 4). Secondly, following a Halbwachsian model, he “highlights the importance of groups (and belonging to groups) on individual memory and points to the significance of the present in recollections of the past” (McCormack 2007, 12). Thirdly, he explores collective memory from a Freudian perspective, which emphasises repression of memory. With respect to the media, McCormack underlines the relative absence of the role of print media in the scholarship on the Algerian War. Indeed, only Isabelle Lambert (1990) produced a piece of anniversary journalism with respect to the Algerian War, namely the coverage of the year 1982, the twentieth anniversary of the end of the war.

It is through Winter and Sivan’s model that McCormack (2007) reflects on the role of the media in shaping the collective memory of the Algerian War. More precisely, the author argues that during the “torture controversy” journalists acted as agents of memory, which he believes corresponds to a form of activism. The author explores the retrospective coverage of the Algerian War through quantitative diachronic analysis of *Le Monde* from 1987 to 2002, before focusing on the subjects and topics tackled in *Le Monde* from December 2000 to November 2001 in a synchronic quantitative analysis.

Using the keywords “guerre d’Algérie” in *Le Monde* for the year 1977, 1981-1982, 1984-1986, 1991, 1998-1999, 2000-2001, McCormack reveals the explosion of articles during the “torture controversy” as opposed to previous decades. The diachronic analysis highlights the importance of anniversary/commemorative journalism in the media coverage before 2000 whereas the synchronic analysis points out the importance of the theme of torture during 2000-2001, and the overall negativity of the coverage. Concluding his synchronic analysis, the author claims:

The media then are particularly suited, through investigative journalism, to forcing society to look at issues that it would rather forget. But this tends to mean that the representation of the historical event in question will be partial—orientated towards sensational aspects of history. This ‘work of memory’ undoubtedly needs to be undertaken, but, in order to reconcile the groups involved in the Algerian War, perhaps the media could also cover less sensationalist issues and identify common elements from the war. Such editorial choices obviously cannot be ‘imposed’ on the media, but if journalists really want to facilitate a “work of memory” on this topic, it is a point they should consider.

(McCormack 2007, 147)

This argument, however, is flawed for three reasons. First, McCormack seems to believe that journalists and journalism in general seek to impose their views following memorial agenda-setting strategies while they might simply report truth-based facts that are linked to past events. The author draws this conclusion without reflecting on the potential editorial intentions behind *Le Monde*’s 2000-01 coverage of torture. Secondly, by referring to “sensationalist issues”, the author confuses the controversial nature of certain events (in this case torture) with inaccurate mediated representations that are intended to provoke public interest, thus falling into the widespread cliché that news media thrive on dramatic events. Lastly, but perhaps even more serious, is the very conceptualization of collective memory as a unified memory shared by all social actors in a given space, which blatantly ignores Halbwachs’ idea, later underlined by Schwartz (2014), that associations, groups and institutions have their own collective memories, and that collective memory in general should not be construed as a memorial consensus (Halbwachs [1950] 1992).

Furthermore, in a qualitative analysis of *Le Figaro*, *Le Monde* and *Libération* in June 2001, McCormack (2007) explores the style, themes and language of the coverage of the Algerian War, mainly targeting torture. According to the author, the press coverage reveals six elements. First, it revolves around a limited number of actors such as General Aussaresses, General Bigeard and Louisette Ighilahriz. Secondly, the negativity of the coverage is obvious in the themes that are chosen for analysis, such as torture, rape, massacres and similar terminology. Thirdly, there is a clear focus on torture specifically. Fourthly, the articles do not seem to reveal the existence of a real debate as readers have little opportunity to express themselves. The author, however, refers to veterans' letters, some of which clearly reproached *Le Monde* with almost universal claims of bias. Finally, the analysis highlights the limited number of questions at the core of the issue such as: Who was responsible for torture in Algeria? Should alleged torturers be prosecuted? Sixthly, the coverage appears to have exposed competitive versions of the past.

As a result, McCormack concludes that the controversy needs to be seen more as "a return of the repressed memories rather than a therapeutic working through of problematic memories in a Freudian perspective" (McCormack 2007, 160) since the coverage confronted two antagonistic versions of the past put forth by the analysis of the veterans' letters, which were made to stand for an analysis of the reception of the event. Furthermore, the author judges it to be unlikely that *Le Monde*'s coverage transmitted much historical memory to younger generations, as this newspaper generally appeals to an older audience. However, as explained in the following section, opinion polls contradict these findings and conclusions.

## 2.7 Public Opinion and Torture

If memory studies partially excluded journalism from its institutional settings, journalism studies have mostly fallen into a methodological pitfall. Indeed, most studies on memory "focus on the representation of specific events within particular chronological, geographical, and media settings without reflecting on the audiences of the representations in question" (Kansteiner 2002, 180). In other words, many scholars equate hermeneutics to reception while denying the probability that memories put forth by newspapers and media in general pass into oblivion. As a result, because they mainly adopt a conventional research design often exclusively based on either qualitative or quantitative analysis, memory studies in journalism reflect the content of the memorial discourse without going further into the analysis of how exactly the memories they

make public are transformed into collective memories. This is why Kansteiner's conceptualization of collective memory as an interconnected and interdependent process between traditional and cultural representations, memory-makers and memory-consumers offers a more comprehensive and promising methodology to memory studies.

One way to elaborate on the role of public opinion in this process is the use of opinion polls and surveys, combined with a textual analysis of letters to the editor. While the content of letters to the editor will be incorporated to the findings of this thesis, conclusions on public opinion regarding the use of torture during the Algerian War can already be broadly drawn.

To begin with, the relative lack of opinion polls considering the practice of torture could be interpreted as supporting the claim that torture was a taboo topic. As an example, when Charles Robert-Ageron (1976) published a research paper on French public opinion on the Algerian War based on surveys made by IFOP (Institut Francais d'Opinion Publique) from 1955 to 1963, the question of torture had clearly been bracketed out by pollsters. As the author explains, the participants had simply not been asked questions on the topic because of the official program of "forgetting." Three years later, a survey conducted by Louis Harris (1979) for *Europe 1*, a French radio outlet, and *L'Express*, a newspaper, showed a severe condemnation of torture. Indeed, 81 per cent of the respondents unconditionally condemned it, while 59 per cent wished to know more about the Algerian War as it was, according to them, "occulted in the media" (Rioux 1987, 499). However, a second survey conducted by Louis Harris eight years later shows that the Algerian War ranked well after WWII and the troubles of May 1968 in the public's list of major historical events of the twentieth century. Interestingly, the survey also reveals a generational transfer: 10 per cent of the 18-24 year olds insisted on its importance even though they were born after the end of the war. Again, however, the question of torture was not put to those who were surveyed.

It is only during the "torture controversy" that the condemnation of torture resurfaced in opinion polls. Indeed, a survey conducted by CSA/*L'Humanité* on a national representative sample of 1006 people and conducted on November 23 (the day *Le Monde* released the testimonials of Generals Massu and Aussaresses) and November 24, 2000, showed that 57 per cent judged torture condemnable (whereas 33 per cent believed it was not reprehensible given the situation on the ground). Fifty-nine per cent of those surveyed supported an official recognition of torture from the authorities; 30 per cent opposed it, and eleven per cent were neutral (Bezat

2000). On November 24 and 25, 2000 another survey by BVA for *Le Monde*, conducted on a national representative sample of 976 people, confirmed that 58 per cent of French people found torture “unjustifiable”, against 23 per cent for whom it was “understandable.” Asked whether those responsible for the practice should be prosecuted, 47 per cent of respondents believed they should; 39 per cent said those responsible should not be prosecuted; and 14 per cent had no opinion.

Interestingly, the category of population that condemned torture the most corresponded to 18-24-year-old individuals (72 per cent), as opposed to 55 per cent of 50 to 64-year-olds — those who represented the generation with lived memories of the Algerian conflict. In terms of responsibility and actual condemnation, the same survey reveals that 39 per cent of the respondents put the blame on the French authorities of the time, against 24 per cent who blamed senior army officers, and nine per cent who blamed the soldiers on the ground (Courtois 2000). Less than a year after the beginning of the “torture controversy” and immediately after General Aussaresses’ book was published, a CSA-*Le Parisien-Aujourd’hui en France* survey, conducted on May 3-4, 2001 on a national representative sample of 1005 people, revealed that 70 per cent of the population condemned the use of torture during the Algerian War. Another survey, by BVA-*Liberation* conducted on May 5-6, 2001 showed that 56 per cent of the population wanted to prosecute those who ordered the use of torture. Asked whether the French authorities should apologize to Algeria, 56 per cent of participants answered yes, and 24 per cent said no. Interestingly, 56 per cent of the respondents also believed the guilty parties should be prosecuted, as opposed to 47 per cent the previous year. Here again, a majority of young people (77 per cent of the 18-24 year-old category) demanded prosecution (Thoroval 2001).

In conclusion, if the media in general and journalism specifically have gained importance in memory studies, many studies tend to explain how memory is part of the practice of journalism but they do not reflect much on the impact of journalism in awakening and sustaining collective memory. When they defend the latter position, most studies solely explore how the news media frame collective representations as they select what is to be remembered, while they rarely base their analyses on the study of audiences. One dichotomy is insightful in this respect: *potential* versus *actual* memory. Jan Assmann (1995) distinguishes potential memories as representations of the past that are stored in libraries, archives and museums, as opposed to actual memory, in which these representations are adopted and given a new meaning when entering a

new socio-historical context (130). This process cannot happen without a medium that brings memory back to the public foreground. This cannot help but orient research toward a deeper analysis on the role of journalism since “the means of representation that facilitate this process [collective remembrance] provide the best information about the evolution of collective memories” (Kansteiner 2002, 190). Clearly, this calls for more research elaborating on the actual reception of audiences. If journalists are said to be an interpretive community (Zelizer 1992) which speaks to different mnemonic communities, the impact of their contribution highly depends on the quality and legitimacy of the newspaper they are working for.

In the light of the comprehensive scholarship that lays the ground for the study of *Le Monde* in the coverage of torture, several conclusions can be made. First, since there is no research currently available on the evolution of an event’s memory in a single highly regarded newspaper, this approach would seem to offer a reasonable way to both analyse institutional and written memory. Second, the existing scholarship has revealed some inconsistencies: while McCormack (2007) studies the question of torture, he begins his analysis of the *Le Monde* in December 2000 whereas the “torture controversy” began in June 2000, while arguing that the controversy fomented a “memory battle” since veterans’ letters show a discrepancy between the journalistic discourse that exposed the massive use of torture and the soldiers’ own memories. If veterans’ letters represent a part of the public reception, McCormack (2007) does not base his conclusions on the broader audience’s interpretation, as expressed through the existing opinion polls made during 2000-01, that reveal an increase of the condemnation of torture in a broader sample of the French population.

As for MacMaster (2002), an error was made in claiming that public opinion changed between 2001-2002 since the polls he based his arguments on were made between 2000 and 2001. In addition, the historian claimed that there was nothing much new in *Le Monde*’s revelations, which occurred in a propitious memorial time. If it is not entirely wrong, it is reductionist since MacMaster did not base his analysis on a rigorous exploration of the newspapers he mentions. As an example, a first exploration of *Le Monde*’s 2000-01 investigation revealed the importance of articles on rape as a means of torture. This had never been documented before and is not addressed in the literature from MacMaster (2002), McCormack (2007), or Henri Rousso (2004). Such a fundamental oversight exemplifies the neglect of journalism as a legitimate site of memory and silences the active role of press institutions in the

shaping of collective memory. It is not certain at all that the existence and extent of the use of torture during the Algerian War would have been thoroughly brought to public attention without *Le Monde*'s contribution, especially in 2000-01. In this respect, this study aims to explore journalism as a concrete and abstract site of collective memory, a material and institutional pool of knowledge constructed from disparate memories and re-enacted by anamnesis, which provides an interactive and durable material that lays the ground for social change.

## **Chapter 3: Methodology**

This chapter outlines the methodology adopted to explore *Le Monde*'s role in documenting, discussing and exposing the use of torture by French troops during the Algerian War (1954-1962). As has been mentioned, there were two distinct instances when *Le Monde*'s journalism engaged issues of torture: during the actual conflict, and at the beginning of the twenty-first century (2000-01).

In order to test the hypothesis that journalism, in its institutional and material essence, is both a vector and an actor of collective memory – in the sense that it contributes to the general knowledge of an event as well as influences the degree of its remembrance – the study deploys a mixed methods research design in a before-and-after comparative analysis. This chapter outlines the reasons behind this choice and details how it was implemented during the different research stages, from the selection of the methodological framework to the process of data collection and analysis.

### **3.1 The Inspiratory Worldview**

The methodological framework of mixed methods, which complements the theoretical framework of collective memory, stems from the Pragmatic Worldview, a paradigm based on efficiency and resolvability. As opposed to other worldviews such as Post-positivism or Social Constructivism, the Pragmatic Worldview does not function as a system of philosophy but seeks concrete and various solutions to the research problem (Creswell 2014, Assmann 1995, Rossman and Wilson 1985). Therefore, it is highly problem-centred, pluralistic and reality-based (Creswell 2014). Pragmatic researchers “look to the *what* and *how* to research, based on the intended consequences— where they want to go with it” (Creswell 2014, 11). Many researchers have already pointed out the strengths and weaknesses of mixed methods design (see for example Creswell, Goodchild, and Turner 1996; Greene and Caracelli 1997; Creswell et al. 2003; Moghaddam, Walker, and Harre 2003). The most prominent advantage of mixed methods design lies in its ability to provide researchers with a greater freedom of choice to better comprehend the research problem, which can be explored through multiple methods of data collection and analysis (Creswell 2014), deploying the procedure of triangulation, which is generally regarded as more persuasive (Priest 2010). Triangulation (Webb et al. 1966) consists in mixing qualitative

and quantitative methods on the basis that combining various research approaches results in more holistic studies. In this regard, mixed methods studies are believed to have a greater strength than either quantitative or qualitative research (Creswell and Clark 2007).

From a personal perspective, the Pragmatic Worldview and its associated mixed methods best suits researchers who seek the structure of quantitative studies, and the flexibility of qualitative ones (Creswell 2014). However, using the mixed methods design is highly time-consuming as it requires longer data collection and analysis. In addition, mixed methods researchers must delineate, explain and justify the structure of their chosen design. Indeed, they “need to establish a purpose for their mixing, a rationale for the reasons why quantitative and qualitative data need be mixed in the first place” (Creswell 2014, 11).

### **3.2 The Research Design and Methods**

This study follows an updated form of the mixed methods sequential explanatory design, which starts with the quantitative analysis before turning to the qualitative one (Creswell et al. 2003). This design therefore defines two distinct phases. First, the researcher collects and analyses the quantitative data (numeric) whose aim is to provide a broad idea of the material under study, as well a general understanding of the research problem; second, the researcher proceeds to the collection and analysis of the qualitative data (text) is deemed to explain, refine and elaborate on the results obtained in the first stage (Ivankova, Creswell, and Stick 2006, 5). This second phase is of more consequence as the qualitative analysis (text) is deemed to explain, refine and elaborate on the results obtained in the first stage (Ivankova, Creswell, and Stick 2006, 5). This study resorts to what I called an “updated” version of the mixed methods sequential explanatory design since I collected all data indistinctively, but carried out the two-phased process during the analysis. More precisely, I identified the texts for the qualitative analysis from information obtained during the first stage, according to the quantitative analysis of the two phases of *Le Monde*’s engagement with the “torture controversy”, a point later developed in this chapter.

As this study deals with a intrinsically taboo topic – since the use of torture in a democratic republic was both prohibited by the French state since 1788 (Cassagnac 1850, 184) and by international law (as a principle inscribed in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights) by the time of the Algerian War , it is concerned with what *Le Monde* could publish and did publish on this aspect of state terrorism during the Algerian War and in 2000-01. In other

words, it regards the production of knowledge within a given society at a given time, namely discourse.

The production of discourse is “controlled, selected, organized and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures, whose role is to avert its powers and dangers, to cope with chance events, to evade its ponderous, awesome materiality” (Foucault 1972, 216). Highly reliant on institutions and other authoritative bodies both for credibility and distribution, what Foucault (1972, 219) calls in a rather Nietzschean fashion “the will to knowledge” exercises power constraints over alternative forms of discourse. In fact, the formation of discourse generates counter discourses that are regulated through prohibition. As Foucault puts it, we as members of a society and consequently of a social order, integrated the fact that “we are not free to say just anything” (1972, 216) as we learned to live in systems that legitimate certain discourses and exclude others. On the three most salient systems of exclusion governing discourse cited in *The Discourse on Language*, two are essential: prohibited words and the will to truth. Journalism is, at least potentially, the social institution fighting against its own prohibition in totalitarian states and its own inhibition in democracies, seeking truth that can challenge the discourse controlled and displayed by official institutions. At the same time, it is an authoritative body that decides what is newsworthy and what is not. This has significant implications for journalism and this case study since amnesties, along with the statute of limitations that continues to apply in France to offences such as torture, were not only defined as a juridical tool to “forget” the war and reintegrate war criminals on both sides, but also to implement an official discourse of oblivion that could not be challenged without serious repercussions.

Indeed, the relative lack of investigation into alleged perpetrators can be explained by French libel law: journalists can still be charged with libel over published accounts of torture, as evidenced by Jean-Marie Le Pen’s 2003 defamation lawsuits against *Le Monde* journalist Florence Beaugé for her investigation into Le Pen’s use of torture during the Algerian War. In other words, this study not only explores the extent to which *Le Monde*, as a legitimate journalistic institution, could inform and warn the French audience on physical abuses perpetrated on Algerian “rebels”, and therefore generate accessible knowledge despite censorship, it also compares and contrasts *Le Monde*’s original coverage with what the newspaper published in 2000-01. Thus, this study scrutinizes the extent of coverage of torture and the discursive patterns or what Foucault (1972, 21) calls the “discursive regularities” of the

two samples. It then incorporates the expertise of specialists to situate, contextualize, contrast, question or elaborate on the memorial agenda-setting strategy and overall impact of *Le Monde*'s 2000-01 coverage of the "torture controversy."

### *Definition of the sample*

In order to undertake such a study, one has to bear in mind the significant changes to *Le Monde*'s socio-political, cultural and generational contexts, as well as different journalistic practices that were introduced in the years spanning 1954 to 2001. Indeed, the Algerian War constituted such a political and imperial crisis that it triggered a drastic revolution of the political system: the collapse of the French Empire (1534-1962) and of the Fourth Republic (1946-1958), and the entry into the Fifth Republic (1958-), largely a result of the conflict, whose sustainability was ensured by policies of "official forgetting" where war atrocities were concerned.

For the first sample (1954-1962), France is, whatever the euphemisms used to describe the conflict, in a state of war in which censorship is active. While censorship was a form of state control, it could not be completely institutionalized as France was not *officially* at war with Algeria. As a result, a free press was still theoretically active if not effective. Indeed, in the case of *Le Monde* this situation was rather functional, as it was relatively less censored than *France Observateur*, *l'Express*, *Témoignage chrétien* and others (Savina 2015, 7). At the same time, the representations of torture disseminated by *Le Monde* might account for the relative freedom it enjoyed during the war, a hypothesis discussed in the following chapter. If the first body of texts (1954-1962) reveals the residue of prohibition, or at least a form of self-censorship that might have impacted the whole of *Le Monde*'s coverage during this time, the second sample (2000-01) begins less than a year after the official recognition that the "events of Algeria" were indeed a war which indicates that *Le Monde* suffered a lesser risk by covering the topic than during the war.<sup>11</sup>

The analysis focuses solely on *Le Monde* for several reasons. First and foremost, it is based on the assumption that some journalistic institutions are more credible and legitimate than others, and *Le Monde* represents the most prominent example of an independent news and opinion leader in the French journalism landscape. It is historically embedded in Republican values; indeed, de Gaulle, who wanted a prestigious newspaper both covering foreign news but

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<sup>11</sup> The term "Algerian War" was adopted in the law no. 99-882 of October 19, 1999.

also the democratic government abroad, helped found it in 1944 (Eveno 1996, 53). Hubert Beuve-Méry (writing under the pseudonym Sirius) accepted its direction despite his aspirations to run a fully independent newspaper. As it turned out, *Le Monde* soon acquired its autonomy during the Cold war and the War in Indochina (1946-1954) (Finkeldei 1993, 61). During the 1960s, the circulation tripled : from 117,000 in 1955 to 355,000 in 1969 (Eveno 2010), a period of growth partially corresponding to the period of the Algerian War.<sup>12</sup> According to L'Alliance pour les Chiffres de la Presse et des Médias (ACPM), when *Le Monde* covered the issue of torture in 2000 its circulation was 392,772, rising to 405,983 in 2001. As the French "journal of record", *Le Monde* can logically be construed as a fairly representative reflection of French society over time, especially as it has remained highly regarded and widely distributed.

Another main reason for choosing *Le Monde*, which lies at the origin of this study, is the fact that it is this specific newspaper that first covered the use of torture during the Algerian War by resurrecting the "torture controversy" in 2000, launching an unexpected debate within the public sphere. It is important to acknowledge the work and commitment of other newspapers, such as *Libération* or *L'Humanité* in 2000-01 and *L'Express*, *Témoignage Chrétien*, *Les Temps modernes*, and *France Observateur* during the original conflict. However, the focus on *Le Monde* can be explained by the very core hypothesis of this study, namely that journalism as an institution, and as embodied in specific institutions, can constitute a site of memory as it documents, draws upon, clarifies and analyzes historical, political and social events. Based on this theory, the analysis of the evolution of a specific newspaper, provided that it enjoys a certain credit, legitimacy and circulation, is considered a justifiable method of exploration of the collective memory of an event, especially when audience reception is taken into account.

As aforementioned, the sample comprises two timeframes, each defining a specific body of stories whose texts are compared and contrasted. The first period ranges from November 1, 1954 (the official beginning of the war) to March 19, 1962 (the cease-fire that officially put an end to the war). The second period begins on June 20, 2000 (the date of the publication of the first article reporting on the use of torture during the Algerian War) to June 20, 2001—exactly

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<sup>12</sup> For completed information on *Le Monde*'s circulation, see the totality of the article by Eveno, "Le Monde, un journal en péril?", October 13, 2010, retrieved from <http://www.inaglobal.fr/presse/article/le-monde-un-journal-en-peril>.

one year after the beginning of the “torture controversy” and at a time when the cycle of public interest in the topic had wound down.

Based on the two defined periods, I looked at the presence of the specific theme of torture with the keywords and “torture (et) guerre (et) Algérie (since the term of “guerre” (war) already appeared in articles written in 1957) in both data sets in *Le Monde*’s web-based archives at *Le Monde.fr*. As using microfilm databases for seven years of war would have produced massive amounts of peripheral data, I reserved microfilm databases to complement the data collection if needed. These microfilm resources were made available during a three-month research excursion to France. The microfilms were useful since I discovered that the online newspaper archives were incomplete, even to the extent of having no record of a famous newspaper article cited by several prominent historians. At any rate, for the sake of accuracy it became necessary to compare the online resource with the microfilm archive. This was made possible through the research resources available at La Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF) located in the Centre Pompidou in Paris.

For the first period sample (1954-1962) particular attention was given to keywords. Indeed, in a context of censorship and general taboo, one could expect that the word “torture” was used very sparingly, if at all, in the newspapers of the time. Initial research into *Le Monde*’s digital database showed that journalists had explicitly referred to “torture” in no fewer than 141 articles. However, given the imposition of state censorship during the war years, I developed other keywords to make sure all articles written about torture, with even less explicit parameters, would be collected. I therefore looked for synonyms for “torture” and “war” such as “sévices” (mistreatments, abuses), “interrogatoire” (questioning, interrogation), and “opérations militaires” (military operations) and used each probability in the online database of *Le Monde.fr* with the additional keyword “Algérie” (e.g. torture (et) interrogatoire; torture (et) guerre d’Algérie; torture (et) operations militaires, sévices (et) guerre, etc.) After a first reading of the articles, I eliminated the articles that did not deal with the topic at all, combining for instance the figurative past participle “torturé” and a reference to Algeria without any link to the actual practice of torture. After this winnowing, the sample for the first period (1954-1962) comprised 169 articles with all the aforementioned keywords, to which I added two other articles accessed through the microfilm database of La Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris. However, when reading my 171

articles defined sample, I realized *Le Monde*'s 1954-1962 articles had mentioned other publications related to torture that my keywords did not cover.

In an attempt to more rigorously garner articles on torture, I used the keyword “torture (et) Algérie” and identified 102 additional articles because of a previous mistake (the use of “guerre d’Algérie” instead of “guerre (et) Algérie”) in *Le Monde* ’s digital database. This produced a further 102 articles. I then undertook a similar search with “sévices” and found 165 more articles. Overall, by eliminating the duplicates and the irrelevant articles, I finally identified a body of 356 articles for the 1954 to 1962 period.

For the second sample, I used the *Eureka* database, accessed through the platform of Concordia University’s library, using the simple keyword “tortur\* (et) Algérie” from June 20, 2000 to June 20, 2001. No additional keywords were necessary since *Le Monde* did not use euphemisms or paraphrase in its reporting on torture at this time. After eliminating published accounts that were peripheral or irrelevant to the study (such as articles dealing with the use of torture during the Algerian Civil War of 1991-2002) I was left with a body of 248 articles for the 12 months spanning 2000 and 2001. Both the first sample (356 articles) and the second sample (248 articles) were saved on one computer, a USB key and a hard drive.

The last body of research covered in the study – the in-depth semi-structured interviews – was delimited by several criteria. First, an interview sample logically depends on the object of study and its intended outcomes, and therefore should reflect the reasons why the researcher chose to interview one participant over another one. Indeed, ethnographers and qualitative researchers often use in-depth interviews with one or more participants in order to better comprehend a problem or describe a phenomenon (Kvale 1996). Such an approach consists of an “open-ended conversational exploration of an individual’s worldview or some aspect of it” (Priest 2010, 17), which can be undertaken with a small number of participants since the interviews are usually lengthy. This interview approach is usually described as “semi-structured” because the interviewer can rely on a list of themes or general questions, an “interview schedule” which only serves as a guideline (as opposed to survey questionnaires in which participants have to answer predefined questions that cannot be rephrased, reacted upon, nor deepened simultaneously). It allows spontaneity of the answers as well as the emergence of themes that were not prescribed by the interviewer, and mostly consists of open-ended questions. The flexibility of in-depth semi-structured interviews comes with (mostly ethical) challenges such as

the personal involvement of the interviewer (Kvale 1996, 109). Regarding the successful performance of in-depth semi-structured interviews, it has been argued that the interviewer should follow ethical codes and guidelines to reduce the possibility of bias while remaining critical about the researcher's role (Kvale 1996, 118).

Based on these criteria, I defined my sample quite logically by resorting to theoretical and convenience sampling. Theoretical sampling consists of selecting a sample of individuals based on theoretical grounds, as the researcher builds on the knowledge he/she develops around the object of study (Corbin and Strauss 1990, 8). As for convenience sampling, it is a type of non-probability sampling in which people are selected based on how convenient is it to access them (Lavrakas 2008). As the purpose of this study was not only to analyse what was contained in journalistic media texts and their potential as well as actual reception, but also to understand the context in which *Le Monde*'s 2000-01 investigation took place and the potential memorial agenda behind the “torture controversy”, I wanted to interview at least two types of people from a journalistic perspective: a representative of the editorial board of *Le Monde* in 2000-01 and a journalist who covered the revelations in 2000-01.

Edwy Plenel, chief editor of *Le Monde* from 1994 to 2004, and Florence Beaugé, the journalist who broke the story in 2000 and has followed it since, were respectively chosen. From an historical perspective, I saw the necessity in properly contextualize both the Algerian War, the specific topic of torture within the conflict, and the role of *Le Monde* in both contexts, which led to the input of two historians: one expert on the war itself and one expert on the use of torture during the war. As a result, Guy Pervillé, professor at the University of Toulouse Jean-Jaurès was chosen for his expertise in the Algerian colonization, the Algerian War (1954-1962) and Algerian nationalism (see for example Pervillé 1992, 2008). Likewise, Raphaëlle Branche, professor at the University of Rouen, whose Ph.D. thesis focused on the use of torture by the French state during the Algerian War was selected for her specialized scholarship in this form of state violence (Branche 2001). However, my first intention was to conduct an interview with Benjamin Stora, one of the most (if not the most) prominent scholar of the Algerian War and its collective memory. This was intended to provide a strong analysis on the collective remembrance of the conflict. Despite my insistence, Benjamin Stora declined to answer my numerous invitations for an interview. The last participant, Laëtitia Bucaille, a professor of political sociology at the National Institute for Oriental Languages and Civilizations (INALCO), was chosen based on her

sociological expertise, and more specifically for her work on postcolonial challenges and identities following the Algerian War. Bucaille's work focuses on a different aspect of the Algerian War and its memory, taking the perspective of forgiveness, violence and peace, and colonialism and post-colonialism (see for example Bucaille 2014, 2010, 2009).

Each interview was designed according to the field of the participant but constructed around similar themes: the participant's expertise; the collective memory of the Algerian War; *Le Monde*'s 2000-01 coverage of torture; and the overall relationship between memory and journalism. All of the interviews were conducted face-to-face (in French) in Paris during a three-month research journey. The interviews were recorded both on a digital recording device and a smart phone. Both versions were saved on one computer, a USB key and a hard drive that only I could access. Interviews were transcribed in French in separate files that were translated by me during the analysis process. Some interview segments, whether off-topic or off-the-record, could not be exploited for this study and were discarded. All participants were contacted by email during the summer 2016, and all accepted my invitation to meet the following September or November.

Edwy Plenel, the former *Le Monde* editor in chief, scheduled the meeting in the headquarters of *Médiapart*, an independent news outlet co-funded by Plenel. It was a rather short interview, lasting approximately 40 minutes. His answers oscillated between very brief, and very long, which made it necessary for me to refocus the conversation several times. He suggested that I should talk to Florence Beaugé to garner information on the investigation of torture, sometimes insinuating he was not best suited to give expert opinions after sixteen years, especially because torture was, obviously, not the only topic covered by *Le Monde* in 2000-01.

The next interview was conducted with Laëtitia Bucaille in an empty classroom at INALCO the same week. Mrs Bucaille appeared a bit tense, and responded with short answers. The third interview, with Raphaëlle Branche, was conducted on October 10, in a small café-boulangerie chosen by Mrs Branche. She was quite responsive to my questions and my project in general. The interview lasted one hour. Indeed, Raphaëlle Branche showed great interest and enthusiasm in talking about her historical work on the use of torture during the Algerian War, elaborating on the impact of *Le Monde*'s 2000-01 coverage and how, in her opinion, the story could have been developed more fully. Dr. Branche provided a detailed account of the 2000-01

*Le Monde* investigation — one that detailed the possible intentions behind the newspaper's interest in the story, the memorial agenda, and the lived reception of the coverage.

My interview with Florence Beaugé was conducted in a café near Montparnasse on October 14. Her manner was friendly, she was extremely open and accessible in the two hours that we talked. Florence Beaugé manifested a clear interest in discussing her work at *Le Monde*, revealing why and how she became interested in covering issues of torture; how she had obtained the confessions of some important officials; and the response of readers to her journalism.

The last interview was scheduled on October 26, 2016 in the *Gare Montparnasse*, as suggested by Guy Pervillé who had to catch a train to Bordeaux. The interview lasted a little more than forty minutes. Mr Pervillé elaborated on his historical work, sometimes at the expense of the topic, despite my attempts to refocus the conversation. He also shared his conception of *Le Monde* in a rather critical stance. Mr Pervillé referred me to a chapter of his upcoming book he had sent me before our meeting, in case I wanted to know more about his experience with *Le Monde*. I was under the impression that the respondent was quite in a hurry to get it done, and had exhausted what he had to say on the topic.

The interviews were treated separately from the two bodies of primary-source material collected from *Le Monde*'s archive. This was intended to avoid the interviews to permeate the analysis of primary-source material, as the answers of the participants could have influenced the results, even unconsciously. Indeed, while the two bodies of news articles were used to determine *Le Monde*'s own representation of torture, the interviews were used to address thoroughly the question of reception, memory and overall perceptions on the place of journalism within memory studies.

### 3.3 Data Analysis

As aforementioned, the analysis of the two bodies of news articles for the first period of *Le Monde*'s reportage (1954-1962) and the second period (2000-01) followed an updated form of the mixed methods sequential explanatory design. This two-phase design consists in first collecting and analyzing the quantitative data before proceeding to the collection and analysis of the qualitative data. This kind of numeric data collection and analysis aims at providing a general idea of the research problem, whereas the textual data and analysis refines the research problem and develops the results found during the first phase (Ivankova, Creswell, and Stick 2006, 5).

This study followed a slightly different version of the mixed methods sequential explanatory design. The data was collected indistinctively and proceeded to the separate quantitative and qualitative treatments once all articles were garnered. Therefore, the rationale of this design, as it was deployed, is that quantitative analysis only serves as a preamble to the qualitative analysis, which represents the core of the study (Ivankova, Creswell, and Stick 2006). The quantitative analysis of the two bodies of work had a threefold purpose: to determine the amount of coverage of torture during the Algerian War and during the “torture controversy” (2000-01); the degree of importance of the topic in the articles containing a reference to torture, in its various formulations; and to point out the level of objectivity under which it was covered, namely the genre under which torture was approached (opinion pieces, press release, investigative pieces, etc.) These three perspectives logically defined three different codes applied to both samples: 1) the number of articles per year (representing the amount of coverage); 2) the degree of focus on torture in the articles and; 3) the level of objectivity of the articles based on the genre under which they were written (See Table 3.1). The codebook was defined as follows:

- 1) Amount of coverage (number of articles)
- 2) Degree of focus on torture, composed of 4 sub-codes. A) Marginal (<one or two single nominal references per article, including the headline>); B) Present but not central (<from two nominal references to a paragraph per article>); C) Central (<from a paragraph to the central theme of the article>)
- 3) D) Factual (< from press releases, press reviews to strictly descriptive reports, to syntheses, to news flashes>); E) Investigative (<from analytical articles to investigative pieces>); F) Hybrid (<the reproduction of an extract of/ entire opinion article from another newspaper>); G) Opinion (<From editorial to op-eds, to columns, letters to the editor>)The code F), corresponding to a “hybrid” form of articles was defined along the analysis, so it was based in grounded-theory.

As the first-phase of the mixed methods sequential explanatory design revealed the existence of entire or partial opinion pieces published by other newspapers such as *L'Express*, *Temoignage Chrétien* or *France-Observateur*, but not presented in press reviews, which could have balanced them, it was decided to create a new category (code F) for this sizeable aspect of the coverage. The first phase therefore highlighted the level of exposure of torture as well as the

nature of the torture employed both during the Algerian War and the later “torture controversy.” Given the amount of collected data, the first phase of the mixed methods sequential explanatory design was used to refine the sample for the qualitative analysis. Indeed, as 1957 turned out to be the most productive year in terms of journalistic activity around the topic of torture (as the use of torture by the French Army gained momentum during the Battle of Algiers from January to October 1957), it was chosen as a sample for the qualitative analysis (106 articles). The sample from the year 1957 included the articles categorized in Code 2 (A), that is to say articles which only marginally referred to torture. Indeed, it seemed logical to include even peripheral occurrences of torture in the context of the war as they could inform more broadly on the ways the marginal representations of torture were articulated with other dominant discourses.

On the contrary, the first phase of the mixed methods sequential explanatory design revealed many marginal references to torture in the sample of 248 articles found for the sole year 2000-01, a process that reduced the sample down to 203 articles. Taking into account the extent of coverage, the freedom of the press, and the investigative nature of the 2000-2001 sample, marginal references were not deemed useful enough to be integrated to the qualitative analysis.

**Table 3.1** Coding book for the quantitative analysis

Code 1 (Amount of coverage)	Number of articles/year			
Code 2 (Degree of focus on torture)	a) Marginal (<one or two single nominal references per article, including the headline>)	b) Present but not central (<from two nominal references to a paragraph per article>)	c) Central (<from a paragraph to the central theme of the article>)	
Code 3 (degree of objectivity of the article)	d) Factual (< from press releases, press reviews to strictly descriptive reports, to syntheses, to news flashes>)	e) Investigative (<from analytical articles to investigative pieces>)	f) Hybrid (<the reproduction of an extract of/ entire opinion article from another newspaper>)	g) Opinion (<From editorial to op-eds, to columns, letters to the editor

The first phase of the mixed methods sequential explanatory design was aimed at revealing quantitatively the role of *Le Monde* in covering, documenting, and exposing torture, and thereby producing a material pool of knowledge shaping the memory of state violence within

French society. While the first phase of analysis (numerical) serves to define *how much* and *how objectively* *Le Monde* reported on torture both during the Algerian War and the “torture controversy”, the second phase (textual) was designed to examine the nature of the *production of information* on torture, namely the discourse applied to produce, shape and disseminate representations of that particular form of state terrorism.

According to Fairclough (2003, 2-3), social scientists following the discourse analysis tradition tend to pay little attention to linguistic analysis; rather, they explore power relationships and social influence expressed in texts, whereas other works focus strictly on textual analysis. Fairclough (2003, 3) tries to reconcile those views by “developing critical discourse as a resource for social analysis and research”, an approach this study adopted through a close analysis of the narrative structure of news content, and the contribution of literary figures, metaphors, frames, and other applicable textual devices. If media scholars acknowledge the inherent differences between “discourse analysis”, “textual analysis” and “rhetorical analysis”, they all agree that these approaches “attempt to deal with messages and meanings in cultural context rather than as isolated elements” (Priest 2010, 109).

Drawing from Foucault, Fairclough (1995, 56) defines discourse as “the language used in representing a given social practice from a particular point of view”, which regards knowledge as constructed. With respect to journalism, it presupposes that journalism reflects both professional practices but also represents and influences society. Baring this in mind, media text analysis should, at the same time, explore rhetoric and linguistic formations, map out the institutional and socio-cultural context and draw upon relations involving power and ideology in order to analyze cultural change (Fairclough 1995, 33). It does so by exploring what Foucault called in *The Archeology of Knowledge* the “discursive regularities” (1972, 21) “in an attempt to show systematic links between texts, discourse practices, and sociocultural practices” (Fairclough 1995, 16-17).

This study follows such an approach in a before-and-after comparative analysis of the representations of torture in *Le Monde*, which first tried to expose the use of torture publicly in order to urge the government to cease its use in 1957 and then to call for official recognition and collective introspection in 2000-01. This draws upon Fairclough’s (2012, 11) consideration of discourse as “meaning-making as an element of the social process”, which he refers to as *semiosis*: the language-related process through which meaning is produced and comprehended in

a specific socio-political context. The meaning does not rely on the intrinsic characteristics of the sign and its relationship with the signifier and the signified; rather, it emphasizes the way that a semiotic system makes sense in a specific context. This study makes the same distinction between discourse as *semiosis* and discourse as *ways of representing* the world. Therefore, critical discourse analysis, as applied to the journalistic production of *Le Monde*, examines the dialectical relations between semiotic and other social constituents such as institutions, social actors, cultural systems of belief, geographical and historical contexts.

As Fairclough (2012) has it, semiosis manifests in three different modalities. First, it is a “facet of action” (Fairclough 2012, 11)— a part of social action. For instance, the practice of journalism is embedded in a certain form of language, which constitutes a “genre”, genres being defined as “semiotic ways of acting and interacting” such as newspapers or television interviews (Fairclough 2012, 11). As an example, hard-news stories differ in structure, rhetorical strategies and tone from opinion pieces. Within these genres of articles, which are highlighted in the quantitative first-phase of this study, there are sub-genres; for instance, stories might be informative or persuasive in tone.

Three types of genre are necessary to proceed to the analysis of discourse types: the schematic view, the sequential and embedded view, and the polyphonic. Drawing from van Leeuwen (1987), Fairclough (1995, 85-90) argues that the social purposes of journalism as well as the social constraints exerted upon the profession, result in generically heterogeneous texts that acknowledges the manner in which voices, modes and styles are mixed. Such texts, for example, might combine technical scientific vocabulary with conversational language in the attempt to democratize knowledge.

Secondly, semiosis is present in representations produced by social actors. These representations concern social instances as well as the field that produces them. For example, journalists construe a certain reality (Tuchman 1978) but news articles reflect their own practices within the field of journalism, such as framing practices, which mainly involve *selection* and *salience* (Entman 1993, 51). As defined by Entman (1993, 52), “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.” Often, as Orgad (2012, 30) points out, meaning is constructed through binary oppositions, which correspond to one aspect of the overall

practice of representation, defined by Stuart Hall as “the production of meaning through language” (1997, 28), namely discourse. Indeed, “while they may be more subtle in newspaper journalism, there too frames are evident in the wording of headlines, the juxtaposition of news stories under common themes, the news angles and themes emphasized and the values and reality judgments taken for granted” (Hackett and Zhao 1998, 119). In other words, both news producers and consumers are influenced by the visual and hierarchical modalities of news products.

Although the Algerian War was considered as a turf conflict at the heart of “L’Algérie Française” (French Algeria), the official discourse was built on the opposition between French soldiers and Algerian rebels, patriotic French citizens versus Algerian nationalists, peace keepers versus terrorists, which was itself part of a larger colonial discourse that opposed the civilized to the barbarian. Such binaries of language are reflected in *Le Monde*. On the contrary, the 2000-01 “torture controversy” coverage reveals that the government attempted to keep at bay references to imperial domination, although official rejection of the colonial past in French society was, and is, far from being completed.

The implications in terms of collective memory are considerable since the media, along with historians, politicians, and intellectuals, shape memory culture (Jarausch 2001). As McCormack insists, the media “frames of memory” (the words used, how events are represented, how memories are formulated) and the scale and essence of media coverage influence the level of remembrance a society has of those events (2007, 136). Framing analysis is therefore particularly relevant when dealing with the theoretical framework of collective memory, as opposed to typical treatments that focus on commemoration and anniversary (Meyers, Neiger, and Zandberg 2009; Robinson 2009; Kitch 2006, 2005, 2002; Bodnar 1994; Wagner-Pacifici and Schwartz 1991; Schwartz 1982; Lang and Lang 1989). As this thesis suggests, daily journalistic production consists of selecting, reporting and disseminating facts that, given time, construct a pool of knowledge that shapes collective remembrance as more facts are accumulated and incorporated. The practice of journalism, particularly around socially traumatic events such as war is, therefore, reflected in discourses that correspond to different social representations, which are “semiotic ways of construing aspects of the world” (Fairclough 2012, 11).

Finally, the third way in which semiosis manifests in society is part of the constitution of identities, which corresponds to “styles” or “ways of being” (Fairclough 2012, 11). The author defines this semiotic aspect of language as follows:

Styles, modes and voices (Bakhtin 1986) are ways of using language associated with particular relationships between producer and audience (writer and reader, speaker and listener). Modes are associated with particular media (spoken or conversational versus written modes). Voices are the identities of particular individual or collective agents.

(Fairclough 1995, 77)

Thus, styles, modes and voices constitute three facets of critical discourse analysis that inform on the way identities are shaped in media texts. Voices are particularly relevant for this study as the inclusion or exclusion of certain voices or events provides a mold for what is deemed to be remembered.

This definition of discourse as meaning-making in a particular socio-cultural context is thus based on, and demonstrated through, linguistics, intertextuality and sociocultural considerations (Fairclough 1995). One relevant dichotomy in critical discourse analysis is “macrostructures” as opposed to “microstructures” (see for example van Dijk 1988a, 1988b, 1991). At the micro-level, the researcher draws on textual and linguistic analysis, whereas at the macro-level the researcher is more concerned with intertextuality and interdiscursivity. Indeed, “[l]anguage use, discourse, verbal interaction, and communication belong to the micro-level of the social order. Power, dominance, and inequality between social groups are typically terms that belong to a macro-level of analysis” (van Dijk 2003, 354).

Critical discourse analysis, in its fullest application, therefore combines textual analysis and other discursive regularities to provide a full explanation for the knowledge produced at a particular time. Indeed, certain words, and especially references, stand for very specific ideas whose power and relevance depend on the sociocultural, historical, and geographical context. As a direct example taken from the research, the analogy with the Nazi Regime built out of the mere mention of “Oradour” and “Gestapo” without a single utterance of the word “torture” in *Le Monde*’s editorial of March 13, 1957 speaks directly to French citizens of the time simply because the remembrance of Nazi atrocities is still fresh in France’s collective psyche.

The denunciation of torture through the reference to the Gestapo is inscribed in a macro rhetorical practice whose purpose is to denounce French methods of pacification and to alarm public opinion. Thus, critical discourse analysis acts on the level of the language employed (vocabulary, lexical cohesion, repetitions, syntax, substantives, epithets, metaphors, comparisons,

pejorative, positive or axiological formulations), on the level of intertextuality, and on the level of sociocultural practices. Indeed, as critical analysis is not only about strict categorization but dialogism, this study draws upon the concept of intertextuality and interdiscursivity to analyze how discourses are intertwined and how references are mobilized to appeal to French readers and social actors by revealing simultaneously deployed elements of meaning production.

Intertextuality analysis “aims to unravel the various genres and discourses – often, in creative discourse practice, a highly complex mixture – which are articulated together in the text” (Fairclough 1995, 61). Intertextuality is based on Bakhtin’s (1973) theory of dialogism which poses that all texts are implicitly correlated and therefore polyphonic. Discourses influence each other, and the hermeneutic approach can deconstruct texts to reveal the nature of these discursive connections. Interdiscursivity is part of the concept of intertextuality and explores “the genres, discourses and styles it draws upon, and how it works them into particular articulations” (Fairclough 2012, 12). This sort of analysis is highly dependent on the cultural context in which the scrutinized texts have been produced as any cultural production is indebted to the socio-cultural heritage in which it develops.

Another main purpose of critical discourse analysis is to draw upon the description of texts to explain how meaning is produced. This involves the delimitation of orders of discourse and the exploration of the implicit or explicit links that circumscribe them. An order of discourse is the semiotic dimension of an institution, social field or organization in which genres, styles and discourses are articulated (Fairclough 2012, 11). For instance, politics, education, mass media are orders of discourse. Exploring their semiotic dimensions necessitates determining their relations. This thesis categorizes orders of discourse present in both defined textual samples. This is important because the frequent coverage by *Le Monde* of the National Assembly’s debates in 1957 partially enables the delineation of the political order of discourse, and more precisely the order of discourse of the government. Because media texts contain various orders of discourses (such as the journalistic, the intellectual, and the economic), they reveal matters of dominance and other factors in power relations, what Gramsci (1971) describes under the concept of hegemony: cultural, political, economic and other forms of dominance achieved largely through consent rather than coercion (Fairclough 1995, 67). The media order of discourse can, for instance, be perceived as hegemonic.

Deconstructing discourses through the analysis of social relations and identities is viewed as a method of revealing how power is inscribed in texts. Indeed, “understanding how relations are constructed in the media between audiences and those who dominate the economy, politics and culture, is an important part of a general understanding of relations of power and domination in contemporary societies” (Fairclough 1995, 126). Such relations of power and dominance lead us to examine not only how a certain discourse dominates others, but also how counter-discourses emerge to challenge the hegemonic discourse.

It is important to note, however, that most ideological representations are implicit rather than explicit and can have different manifestations, especially when expressed in independent newspapers (Fairclough 1995, 44-45). A complete analysis of representations present in texts must, for instance, take into account absences. Absences manifest themselves sometimes explicitly (the lack of coverage or the very rare coverage of an event) or in subtler ways (the lack of plural perspectives, the lack of editorials on a topic). Part of critical discourse analysis is to explain how this system of inclusion/exclusion works. Thus, the media order of discourse, especially when originating from independent news outlets, can represent an oppositional discourse that challenges hegemonic discourse at the same time than it reinforces it. For example, *Le Monde*'s 1957 denunciation of the use of torture by the French Army included the dominant official discourse on the rarity of “isolated acts” and the honor of the army was incorporated as part of a counter-discourse exposing torture.

In this respect, this thesis follows the same construction as Bruck's (1989, 119) work on the media coverage of disarmament in the 1980s. Indeed, Bruck identified texts dominant and oppositional discourses in media texts including the discourse of state leaders and the discourse of victims. While this thesis delineates orders of discourse (political, journalistic, and intellectual, for example), it also analyses their constitutive inner discourse, such as the nature of the official discourse during the Algerian War and specifically in 1957 (embedded in colonialism, patriotism and the admiration of the army) and in 2000-01 (still relativizing the extent of the use of torture and still embedded in the admiration of the army); or the counter-discourse during the Algerian War (undertaken by Republican intellectuals who opposed torture, Communists, the Christian community, lawyers who defended Algerian individuals and so forth); and in 2000-01 (undertaken by Algerian victims denouncing officials, embedded in an anti-colonialist rhetoric and the condemnation of French crimes in Algeria, and so forth).

Given that the production of knowledge depends on the society where it is shaped, disseminated and consumed, critical discourse analysis is thus designed to incorporate notions of sociocultural practices and context in order to fully examine the impact of such discourses on collective remembrance. Critical discourse analysis serves here as a tool to explain and discuss how *Le Monde*'s 1957 and 2000-01 news articles were designed, for whatever subsumed reasons, and what these selective processes connote. Intertextuality builds on the communicative network between different voices and genres to explore how texts are interrelated, such as through the use of socially appealing references. Likewise, critical discourse analysis is concerned with representations through discursive and linguistic practices such as the labeling of acts of torture as practiced on Algerian *independentists*, or how some media narratives reflected political and religious antagonisms in 1957 (Communists vs. Republicans, Muslims vs. Christians) that informed the denunciation of torture (Algerian Communists were not considered as credible sources, especially since torture was designed to leave no identifiable marks).

On a meta-level, this method of analysis reveals power relations in the formation and evolution of discourse; that is, that some discourses were not socially acceptable in 1957, such as denouncing the fact that the French democracy had implemented a system of torture and was embedded in a racialized discourse. This stands in contrast to the “torture controversy” era when it became possible to vocally expose and demand the prosecution of French officials involved in the “dirty war” in Algeria. Therefore, critical discourse analysis, precisely because it is critical, provides a methodological framework capable of tracking down these evolutions to recontextualize them and clarify their meaning.

The remaining part of this mixed methods design consist of the in-depth semi-structured interviews whose purposes were mainly to enrich the two media samples (1954-1962) and (2000-01) with professional (journalistic), historical and sociological considerations. The in-depth semi-structured interviews were all designed around four predefined main themes. First, the respondents were chosen according to their profession and expertise of the Algerian War and the use of torture. Secondly, they were asked open-ended questions related to the collective memory of the Algerian War and its treatment in the public sphere before 2000. Thirdly, they were asked to impart their knowledge of the emergence of the “torture controversy” in June 2000 and how they considered the manner in which *Le Monde*'s 2000-01 investigation impacted the collective memory of the Algerian War. Finally, the participants were invited to discuss the role of

journalism as a site of memory and the overall role of the media in shaping collective remembrance.

In order to analyse the in-depth semi-structured interviews, this thesis resorts to an approach based on a modified version of grounded theory (Capurro et al. 2015) in which thematic analysis enables the emergence of new themes that mix the analysis of predefined categories and the analysis of emerging categories (LeCompte 2000). This version of grounded theory does not seek the emergence of the theory through the research (Glaser and Strauss 1967) but rather the emergence of understanding through the analysis (Corbin and Strauss 1990). Indeed, the purpose of this modified version of grounded theory is not “the discovery of theory from data systematically obtained from social research” (Glaser and Strauss 2009, 2) but rather to understand “the perspectival knowledge based on the lived experience of participants” (O'Connor, Netting, and Thomas 2008, 30). The data analysis of the in-depth semi-structured interviews therefore took a twofold approach, beginning with the identification of predefined themes as represented in the questions that subjects were asked. Since the interpretive approach allows themes to emerge from the answers to questions, these themes were categorized as sub-codes. Although the approach to each interview subject was systematic, the sub-codes resonated according to the identity of the participant depending on a number of factors including: whether the participant answered the question; whether he or she provided an exploitable answer; whether the interview subject answered the question but was clearly outside of their field of expertise; and whether the subject was fully informed and at ease with answering the question. For instance, even though all of the participants elaborated on the collective memory of the Algerian War and the use of torture (theme 2) and the theme of history (sub-code e)), not all of them related it to the French colonial past (as part of the sub-code e)).

The codebook is therefore composed of four main codes, themselves divided into thirteen sub-codes, organized as follows (**see table 3.2**):

- 1) The first code describes the participant's identity, and more precisely a) how he/she defines him/herself and b) outlines their expertise with the Algerian War and the use of torture. It aims at indicating the specific input and experience of each participant.
- 2) The second code regards the collective memory of the Algerian War before the “torture controversy” in 2000-01. It is composed of c) official stance on torture, which informs on the official position of France on torture from the war until 2000, so it encompasses

mentions of amnesties, repentance, responsibility, etc. The sub-code d) torture in the public sphere, outlines the ways torture was discussed in society in general and the media in particular from 1954 to 2000, including in *Le Monde*; e) French related history corresponds to references to French past such as WWII, Vichy (standing for French collaboration with the third Reich, colonization, etc.

- 3) The third theme evaluates *Le Monde's* 2000-01 coverage of torture through four sub-codes: f) sociopolitical and memorial context, which outlines the exact context in which the investigation started and was pursued afterwards; g) memorial agenda and other explanations of the timing of the coverage, evaluates the participant's view on the memorial agenda of *Le Monde* in 2000 (its potential memorial intentions to provoke a collective introspection, etc.) as well as other supposed explanations to account for the coverage; h) content of the coverage corresponds to the themes of the 2000-01 coverage, the important actors and main events mentioned by the participants; i) perception of the coverage, regards the own participant's perception of *Le Monde*'s 2000-01 coverage of torture, how he/she discusses and sometimes criticized it; j) reception of the coverage and overall memorial impact, examines the reception of *Le Monde's* 2000-01 investigation based on the participant's personal opinion and experience as well as the existence of the 2000-01 opinion polls revealing a growing number of French people condemning the use of torture during the Algerian War; and k) describes the state of the collective memory of the Algerian War since 2001.
- 4) The last code describes the participant's viewpoint on the role of journalism in collective memory and more precisely as a site of memory. It encompasses l) role of journalism as a site of memory, which evaluates the way journalism is active in collective remembrance and m) limits/criticism, which regards the criticism addressed to journalism with respect to its memorial impact, whether for its lack of real impact or its failure to obtain political recognition.

**Table 3.2** Coding book for interviews

<b>Themes (Codes)</b>	<b>Description of Themes</b>	<b>Subcodes</b>	<b>Description of Subcodes</b>
1) Participants' identity	This code describes the participant's professional/personal	a) Identity b) Expertise on Algerian War and	a) Describes how participants define themselves b) Outlines the participants'

	identity, which informs his/her involvement either in the 2000-2001 coverage or as a scholar; it also describes the respondent's expertise of the Algerian War and the use of torture	torture	expertise of the Algerian War and the exposure of torture with respect to their professional experience
2) Collective memory of the Algerian War and torture before 2000	It outlines the respondents' considerations on the collective memory of the Algerian War in general and the use of torture in particular before <i>Le Monde</i> 's investigation in 2000, from a political, historical, and media perspective	c) Official stance on torture  d) Torture in the public sphere  e) French related history	c) Describes the official political position of France on the use of torture during the Algerian War through the notions of responsibility, amnesties, and recognition  d) Outlines the discourse on torture in the public sphere, that is the media from the war to 2000, including considerations on <i>Le Monde</i> 's 1954-1962 exposure of torture  e) Describes the French historical-cultural context in which the collective memory of the Algerian War is inscribed, such as Vichy, the French Resistance and colonialism
3) <i>Le Monde</i> 's 2000-2001 coverage of torture	This code situates the socio-cultural context of emergence of <i>Le Monde</i> 's investigation in 2000, evaluates its content; as well as it outlines the role of <i>Le Monde</i> with respect to memory (memorial agenda, memorial impact, etc.) and the question of its reception	f) Sociopolitical and memorial context  g) Memorial agenda and other explanations of the timing of the coverage  h) Content of the coverage  i) Perception of the coverage  j) Reception of the coverage and overall memorial impact  k) The Collective memory of the Algerian War nowadays	f) Describes the socio-cultural context of emergence of the coverage and the precise state of collective memory of torture during the Algerian War in June 2000  g) Evaluates the memorial agenda of <i>Le Monde</i> in 2000 (such as the timing of the publication)  h) Outlines the content of the coverage, the journalistic angles, the actors, etc.  i) Describes the participant's opinion and perception of the 2000-2001 coverage of <i>Le Monde</i>  j) Evaluates the reception of the coverage both through the

			<p>results of 2000-2001 opinion polls and the role of <i>Le Monde</i> in that shift, and assesses the overall role of <i>Le Monde</i> in shaping the collective memory of the Algerian War and the use of torture</p> <p>k) Defines the state of collective memory of the Algerian War since 2001</p>
4) Journalism as a site of memory	This code concerns the participant's viewpoint on the overall role of journalism in shaping collective memory, including its limits	<p>l) Role of journalism as a site of memory</p> <p>m) Limits/criticism</p>	<p>l) Outlines the participant's opinion on the role of journalism as a site of memory and an active shaper of collective memory</p> <p>m) Delineates the participant's considerations on the limits of the memorial role of journalism</p>

## **Chapter 4: The Strategic Discourses of 1957**

This chapter outlines the findings of this thesis through the exploration of *Le Monde*'s 1957 and 2000-01 coverage of the use of torture by the French Army during the Algerian War. The findings are informed by in-depth semi-structured interviews of specialists and professionals with respect to torture, and the impact in the French collective memory of the use of torture as a war crime. While, in 1957, *Le Monde* laid the groundwork for the remembrance in French society of torture as a war crime, the scale of its determination to directly confront the responsibility of the government, as expected, was much more pronounced in 2000-01. Comparing and contrasting the two bodies of archival documentation (1957 and 2000-01) made it possible to track the evolution of the discourse on the use of torture during the Algerian War. In addition, it addressed the extent to which *Le Monde* could be regarded as an institutional site of memory with respect to the practices of state terror in the conflict. The in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted in support of scholarly and archival source materials helped to unveil the absence of a memorial agenda in *Le Monde*'s coverage at the beginning of 2000. Overall, the research materials made it possible to explore the ways that the coverage impacted the collective memory of the Algerian War. This has implications for the manner in which journalism can disrupt widely held narrative embedded in collective memory.

### **4.1 Quantitative Analysis**

The first phase of the mixed methods sequential explanatory design uncovers, quantitatively, the extent that *Le Monde* reported on the use of torture by the French Army during the Algerian War. The first code applied, which counted the number of articles on torture, reveals principally two things. First, *Le Monde* extensively covered the use of torture by the French army despite censorship. Over a period of nearly seven years, from 1 November 1954 to 19 March 1962, *Le Monde* published 356 articles mentioning torture, principally by using the terms “torture”, “abuses” or “police interrogation.” More than a hundred such articles (106) were published in 1957, corresponding to the Battle of Algiers when torture was systematically implemented (see **Appendix 1**).

Secondly, *Le Monde* waited until 1957 to investigate and extensively cover the use of torture even though the paper's editorial board had been aware of the practice for some time.

Only 13 articles mention the use of torture from the end of 1954 to the end of 1956. Often the articles use euphemisms or mention torture very peripherally: six of the articles published during the period correspond to marginal mentions.

The hypothesis that *Le Monde* purposefully waited 1957 to cover torture is supported by two external sources. Indeed, the use of torture in the “events of Algeria” was denounced as early as January 1955 by *Le Monde*’s competition: Claude Bourdet, founder and editorialist at *France Observateur*, and François Mauriac a columnist at *L’Express*. *Le Monde* did not publish an editorial denouncing torture before March 13, 1957.<sup>13</sup> The second indication that *Le Monde* waited to report on torture is to be found in the personal correspondence of Hubert Beuve-Méry, founder of *Le Monde*, part of which was published on May 21, 2000 by *Le Monde* itself. Beuve-Méry’s letters show that *Le Monde*’s founder wrote to Robert Lacoste (Resident Minister in Algeria) in October 1956 to urge him to take action. In his correspondence, Beuve-Méry claims that the practice of torture was confirmed to him by “a very high-ranking official” (“d’un très haut fonctionnaire”) in the government. It also reveals that in the absence of first-hand information, he had no other choice but to relay the articles published by *Le Monde*’s competition.

In order to gauge the level of exposition of torture and the involvement of *Le Monde* in its coverage, a second code corresponding to the degree of focus on torture was applied to the material under study. As shown in **Appendix 1**, approximately 44 per cent (156 articles) of the stories published between 1954 and 1962 correspond to articles in which torture was a central topic. However, 34 per cent (120 articles) only marginally focus on torture. The rest of the articles, about 22 per cent (80 articles), correspond to articles in which the theme of torture is “present but not central.” Therefore, the first phase of the mixed methods sequential design reveals that *Le Monde* mainly covered torture as a central theme despite censorship (44 per cent) and also significantly as a marginal theme (34 per cent). There are more marginal articles on torture in 1960 and 1961 (see **Appendix 1**). This is likely because the use of torture had already been exposed for several years. It could thus reflect a certain fatigue in treating this war crime as journalistic coverage did not seem to foster political nor military changes.

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<sup>13</sup> *Le Monde* did publish two opinion pieces in 1956, but one of them was an op-ed written by Henri Marrou published on April 5, 1956, and one was an unsigned opinion piece published on October 9, 1956 in which the editorial board informed its readers it asked precisions to Robert Lacoste, then Resident Minister in Algeria, about acts of torture exposed by other newspapers such as *France Observateur*, *l’Express*, *Demain* and *Franc-Tireur*.

Related to the degree of coverage of torture is the nature of its representations. The third and last code was developed to gauge the degree of objectivity in the 1954-1962 coverage. More precisely, the “degree of objectivity” criterium was designed to categorize articles according to their journalistic framing. As showed in **Appendix 2** and **3**, *Le Monde* mainly covered torture in very factual news articles that do not correspond to news articles as they are generally defined today. The sub-code “D) Factual” encompasses news releases, news syntheses, chronologies, the publication of documents such as reports, press reviews and verbatim accounts. Most of this material does not contain subheads, journalistic analysis or anything that lends context to the content; rather, they act simply as the reproduction of a document or a speech.

About 53 per cent of the 356 articles published between 1954 and 1962, and 50 per cent of the 106 articles published in 1957 correspond to press releases, very descriptive chronological pieces and other factual articles. As indicated in **Appendix 11**, the publication of accounts of the National Assembly’s debates and syntheses of events were published verbatim. This was a regular journalistic practice for the time. For the year 1957, 19 per cent of the “factual category” dealt with news releases, chronological accounts, and non-journalistic factual material. Approximately 32 per cent correspond to verbatim reproduction of privileged government debates.

In addition, *Le Monde* also published several documents such as letters from lawyers and official reports that would otherwise have remained secret. For the year 1957, seven long documents were published in their entirety.<sup>14</sup> Interestingly, it was *Le Monde* that published the summary note of the Commission of Protection (“Commission de sauvegarde”). This was a secret report on military repression commissioned by the government of Guy Mollet in April 1957 and obtained and published by *Le Monde* in early December of the same year. It should be noted that the Commission of Protection was widely held to be powerless (Branche 1999).

The second most important type of article on torture published by *Le Monde* during the Algerian War is opinion pieces. Indeed, approximately 28 per cent of the 356 articles published

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<sup>14</sup> In the course of the war (1954-1962), *Le Monde* published letters from committed intellectuals, politicians, or lawyers such as a series of four letters/testimonies published in 1960 on Audin’s case, an Algerian Communist mathematician who was arrested during the Battle of Algiers in 1957, and last seen alive by Henri Alleg. The series of documents published on June 7, 1960 is composed of a letter by Paul Teitgen, Police General Secretary in Algiers who resigned in September 1957 in protest of torture; Henri Alleg, director of *Alger Républicain* and victim of torture in 1958; Robert Delavignette, former member of the Commission of protection (“Commission de sauvegarde”), and Georges Hadjadj, an Algerian Communist also victim of torture.

during the Algerian War correspond to opinion pieces, representing either the views of the professionals employed by the newspaper (editorials, comments, columns and critiques) or the views from external sources (op-eds and letters-to-the-editor). In 1957, 28 per cent of the 106 articles published on torture were opinion pieces. About 34 per cent were op-eds, while 62 per cent were editorials and other commentaries originating from the editorial staff. Only one letter-to-the editor and an interview focusing on the use of torture by the French Army were published in 1957.

The third most recurrent type of articles was defined as “hybrid.” This corresponds to the reproduction of other newspapers’ explicit articles regarding torture, most of them being opinion pieces published elsewhere. As shown in **Appendix 1**, they represent around 11 per cent of the 1954-1962 stories. This is not negligible. Such articles are more numerous than investigative articles. Approximately 69 per cent in this category made torture a central theme or their main angle of focus, as opposed to approximately 38 per cent for “factual articles.” In addition, half of the articles mentioning “torture” in their headlines in 1957 correspond to “hybrid articles.” In other words, it appears that *Le Monde* employed exterior publications to expose the use of torture in the absence of its own investigative reporting.

Finally, the findings from quantitatively measured sources indicate that *Le Monde* did not produce an extensive body of investigative journalism on torture during the war. This may have been the result of negative political pressure, or negative reactions originating in public opinion. Some of the reporters and senior editors responsible for publishing the testimonials of Algerians or French military conscripts were accused of affecting the morals of the nation.<sup>15</sup> Official censorship was also in effect. Factors other than the fear of censorship or public censure might have come into play, such as the lack of financial resources or the intrinsic risks to personal safety that arise from reporting in a conflict zone. Analytical but non-opinionated articles represent approximately nine per cent of the 1954-1962 coverage, and around ten per cent of the articles published in 1957. *Le Monde* did produce two long reports mentioning the use of torture, but the most significant was published once the Battle of Algiers was over.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> As it was the case in 1957 for Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, founder of *L'Express*.

<sup>16</sup> The first long report was part of a dossier on Algeria written by their correspondent in Algeria, Eugène Mannoni : “I-The paras Operation” (I-L’Opération paras”, April 12, 1957) and “II-The peculiar task of the Army” (“La tache singulière de l’armée”, April 13, 1957). From October 31 to November 6, 1957, *Le Monde* also published a six-article dossier written by a former conscript, Gérard Belorgey, under the

## 4.2 Qualitative Analysis

As aforementioned, 1957 was a turning point of the Algerian War and the systematization of torture. As a result, *Le Monde* became more involved in covering torture in 1957 than it was during the first two years of the war. However, the study of “enunciative modalities” (Foucault 1972, 50), that is the mode of enunciation adopted by *Le Monde* in 1957, could be interpreted as cautious, euphemistic, and to a certain extent, ideologically shaped. The difficulty in tracking down the ideological residuals in media texts lies in the fact that they rarely are obvious persuasive discourses such as in propaganda, especially in the case of an independent newspaper. Rather, they manifest in implicit ways, for example, through absences (Fairclough 1995, 45). Compellingly, *Le Monde* seemed reluctant to label torture as such, while torture cannot be replaced by synonyms without some loss of meaning. At the micro-level, this appears through clear omissions and the use of euphemisms in headlines. At the macro-level, this framing practice is embedded in interdiscursivity. Indeed, *Le Monde*’s 1957 coverage is shaped by the ideological rhetoric of the dominant discourse that refused to label the war as such, and that refused to acknowledge torture as such.

The analysis of *Le Monde*’s headlines in 1957 reveals two framing practices: the rare use of the word torture, and a plethora of euphemism. As mentioned previously, only eight out of 106 articles dealing with torture in 1957 contained the word “torture” in their headlines, even when torture was a central theme, or the main angle of the article. For most articles, the reference to torture is carried out by exterior voices – contributors not directly employed by the paper – and only once is torture used as a fully assumed word, in a philosophical column by Jean Lacroix entitled: “La Torture” (November 26, 1957). Indeed, in every article where the headline contains the word “torture” the utterance of the word originates with an exterior voice. As such, *Le Monde* acts as a mere relay of the discourse that both acknowledges and condemns torture.

As a matter of fact, the very first time *Le Monde* employs the word “torture” in a headline or even in the body of the text in 1957, is in an opinion piece that includes the author’s name in the title: “*Against torture*, by P.H Simon” (“*Contre la torture*, de P.H. Simon”, March 13, 1957). It is followed the day after by a factual article entitled “*Against torture*” (“*Contre la torture*”,

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pseudonym of Serge Adour (see **Appendix 11**), which constitutes the main investigative journalism *Le Monde* produced in 1957.

March 14, 1957). Both articles originate in the denunciation of torture in another person's voice, in this case with Pierre Henri Simon in his eponymous essay.

Another strategy used by *Le Monde* is the relay of the indisputable condemnation of torture from other newspapers in "hybrid" articles, whose sources are named and therefore clearly identified in the headline. Thus, typical hybrid stories would have headlines such as: *La France catholique*: there have been cases of severe torture" ("La France catholique : Il y a eu des cas de torture grave", March 25, 1957); "Témoignage Chrétien: torture cannot be a legitimate weapon" (Témoignage Chrétien: La torture ne peut pas être une arme légitime", April 13, 1957) or "The question of torture remains posed, An article by André Frossard<sup>17</sup>" ("La question des tortures reste posée, Un article de M. André Frossard", November 12, 1957). Likewise, the word "torture" is used in headlines once the term is already legitimized by other sources such as a group of people, as in the factual article: "More than six hundred teachers from Lyon region protest against torture in Algeria" (Plus de six cents enseignants de la région lyonnaise protestent contre les tortures en Algérie", June 24, 1957), an article which relays the declaration of teachers opposing torture *per se*.

The hypothesis according to which *Le Monde* was cautious in exposing torture is reinforced by the presence of a euphemistic discourse on torture in headlines. Indeed, one can find a series of euphemistic substantives replacing "torture" in general and even abstract clauses mentioning violence in the Algerian conflict. As such, torture is not framed as an individual subject but is implicated in other atrocities. Such framing practices involve *selection* and *salience* which contribute to construct reality (Entman 1993, 51). The euphemistic discourse, which by definition undermines the gravity of the situation depicted, is revealed in the linguistic analysis. Examples of such euphemistic headlines include:

"A young European woman has been abused by Algiers policemen" ("Des policiers d'Alger font subir des sévices à une jeune européenne", January 23, 1957)

" Several personalities express their concern about certain methods used in Algeria" ("Diverses personnalités font part de leur inquiétude devant certaines méthodes employées en Algérie", March 22, 1957)

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<sup>17</sup> André Frossard was a journalist at the daily newspaper *L'Aurore*.

“Some socialists speak out against the methods of repression” (“Des socialistes s'élèvent contre les méthodes de la répression”, March 28, 1957)

“New forms of infringements of individual liberties have been submitted to its<sup>18</sup> scrutiny” (“De nouvelles formes d'atteinte aux libertés individuelles ont été soumises à son examen”, September 06, 1957)

“A teacher working in Algeria describes the abuses she would have undergone earlier this year” (Une institutrice exerçant en Algérie décrit les sévices qu'elle aurait endurés au début de l'année”, September 29, 1957)

“For a collective action of the mainland opinion against the excesses committed in Algeria” (Pour une action collective de l'opinion métropolitaine contre les excès commis en Algérie”, November 11, 1957)

“The defendants ask that official reports obtained under duress be removed from files” (“Les défenseurs demandent que les procès-verbaux dressés sous la contrainte soient soustraits des dossiers”, December 06, 1957)

These headlines refer to torture either as “abuses”, “excesses”, “certain methods”, “methods of repression”, “infringements of individual liberties”, “reports obtained under duress”, all of them being general and mostly empty signifiers that fail to produce a clear meaning of what is exposed. Likewise, the denunciation of torture is almost constantly identified as originating from another voice, introduced by expositive verbs relating to actions such as “speak out” or “express.” However, the employed signifiers could also be interpreted as inscribed in a connivance discourse with the readership; that is, they act in a suggestive rather than an assertive mode.

Deploying euphemisms could constitute a discursive practice to circumvent censorship. It works on a double level: by not blatantly employing the word “torture” in headlines, *Le Monde* would both accommodate the governmental requirements and still deliver torture-related information to its audience. Nevertheless, euphemisms seem to be part of a conscious framing method as they often are chosen over the noun “torture” even though it is used by the employed sources, which rather suggests a framing code from the editorial board. For instance, in the

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<sup>18</sup> “it” refers here to the Commission of protection (Commission de sauvegarde)

abovementioned article published on March 22, 1957 the socialists express their concern about the “methods of repression, and torture” in a declaration while the word “torture” is suppressed in the headline. Likewise, deploying plural euphemisms and clauses in headlines (through the terms “methods” for instance) symbolically connotes the idea that torture is part of other violent practices constitutive of military strategy, which in turn suggests that conflicts are ontologically repressive and often subversive. By not clearly individualizing the practice, *Le Monde*'s headlines implicitly undermine the significance of torture.

This preliminary examination of headlines thus unveils the incorporation of the dominant discourse of the government in the exposure of torture by *Le Monde*, which constantly seems to be struggling between two positions. On the one hand, the paper is concerned with the moral, ethical, and professional duty of covering this war crime and comprehending the extent to which it is used by the army, and on the other hand, the fear of feeding the enemy's propaganda. This struggle takes place at a moment of great political instability as for the year 1957: three left-wing governments succeeded each other under the presidency of René Coty.<sup>19</sup> As identified in *Le Monde*, the political order of discourse — orders of discourses being “particular configurations of different genres, different discourses and different styles” (Fairclough 1995, 11) — manifests in the genre of political rhetoric (through speeches, official reports, and parliamentary debates) displayed in the persuasive, assertive and offensive/vindictive modes. As such, the official rhetoric constantly undermines the opponents of torture and is embedded in parallel in the demonization of the enemy.

However, this discursive strategy follows different steps. First based on a persuasive denial rhetoric, the political discourse shifts to a discourse relativizing the extent of torture. The assertive discourse on the marginality of torture gives way to a condemning rhetoric, articulated around a punishment semantic. “Torture is exceptional, but if torture there is, there will be consequences” is the governmental discourse. Consequently, the official order of discourse is built on a Manichean dichotomy: the defense of the honor of the army and the criticism of the opponents of torture, portrayed as anti-patriotic. By condemning deviant individuals who torture,

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<sup>19</sup> Guy Mollet's (February 1956 to May 1957), Maurice Bourgès- Maunoury's (June to September 1957), and Félix Gaillard's (November 1957 to May 1958). All of them consisted of a centre-left coalition called the “Republican Front” (*Le Front Républicain*). At first, Guy Mollet opposed French colonialism and believed in the negotiation with the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) but later strengthened his positions and launched a “counter-terrorism campaign” during the Battles of Algiers from January to October 1957.

the government skillfully represents itself as concerned about ethics and human rights, while it evacuates the question of collective responsibility and state terrorism.

Indeed, at the beginning of 1957, the official discourse concerning torture is based on the denial of its existence. At the micro-level, it is often expressed through superlative negation clauses such as: “nothing in the investigation it conducted could bring it to conclude that tortures were committed”<sup>20</sup> (“rien dans l'enquête qu'elle a effectuée ne pouvait l'amener à conclure à des tortures subies”), “none of them has had his/her nails pulled out nor heard that impalement had been inflicted” (“Aucun n'a eu des ongles arrachés ni entendu dire que ce supplice ainsi que celui du pal avaient été infligés”), “I don't have enough information” (“Je n'ai pas d'informations suffisantes”). In addition, the denial rhetoric frequently undermines the credibility of testimonial, as expressed in hyperbolic clauses, general pronouns and epithets in a speech delivered by Robert Lacoste, Resident Minister of Algeria, at the National Assembly in March 1957:

They have said abuses had been committed. But testimonials and denunciations have always been revealed as misleading. That is how the Muslim student Association appealed to the whole world to save one of their own who was supposedly dying in the hands of the paratroopers whereas at the same time pictures showed him fully alive.<sup>21</sup>

The rhetoric consists in taking an example to transform it into a rule: if one Algerian is lying about torture, all of them are. The official ploy is rather simple: using untraceable methods of torture to prevent any investigation from arriving at incriminating conclusions. At a macro-level, Lacoste's discourse is embedded in a rhetoric of demonization of Algerians, who are denied credibility. More generally, it also reflects an imperialist discourse, a point that will be developed further.

After a period of denial, the government shifts its discursive strategy by attempting to annihilate criticisms through a defensive-vindictive mode, placing itself as an advocate of the army against terrorists. It therefore deploys a punishment semantic around a sporadic use of

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<sup>20</sup> “It” refers to the parliamentary commission deployed to investigate allegations of torture.

<sup>21</sup> “On a dit que des sévices avaient été exercés. Or les témoignages et dénonciations ont toujours porté à faux. C'est ainsi que l'Association des étudiants musulmans en appelait à la terre entière pour sauver l'un des siens soi-disant entrain de mourir aux mains des parachutistes alors qu'au même moment des photos le montraient bien vivant.” Speech at the National Assembly, “ Le débat sur l'Algérie se prolonge et s'étend au Maroc et à la Tunisie”, *Le Monde*, March 23, 1957.

torture by deviant individuals, and attacks the opponents of torture by representing them as anti-patriotic and, in the end, traitors. Indeed, the political order of discourse is constructed on the dichotomy between the extensive opinion campaigns on torture and the scarcity of the practice. This is expressed through hyperbolic epithets and adverbs such as: “despicable campaigns launched on a few isolated cases of brutalities” (“odieuses campagnes déclenchées autour de quelques cas isolés de brutalités”) or “extremely rare acts of violence” (“des actes de violence extrêmement rares”).

Likewise, the government advocates for the army by appealing to the French population through deployment of the conversational genre of a We-versus-Us rhetoric. This discourse is inscribed in the contrast between a hyperbolic portrayal of the denunciation of torture, and the simultaneous euphemizing of the practice. This rhetoric appears in Guy Mollet’s use of pronouns, axiological epithets and adverbs of degree: “We will not accept that an awful generalization, using the excuse of a few isolated cases and admittedly reprehensible, discredit the whole French army” (“Nous n’accepterons pas qu'une généralisation affreuse vienne, en prenant prétexte de quelques cas isolés et certes répréhensibles, jeter le discrédit sur toute l'armée française.”).<sup>22</sup> In addition, Mollet deploys metaphoric formulations to emphasize the scarcity of torture and shut down the controversy, claiming that acts of torture “could be counted on the fingers of one hand” (“qui pourraient se compter sur les doigts d'une main”).<sup>23</sup> François Mitterrand, then Minister of Justice, echoes the same euphemizing rhetoric on torture by using the substantives “abuses” (“sévices”) and the periphrasis “regrettable acts” (“faits regrettables”). In April 1957, he implicitly undermines the media coverage of torture by claiming that “there were certainly fewer cases than the press argued” (“il y en a certainement moins que la presse ne l'a dit”).<sup>24</sup>

While minimizing the practice of torture, the government officially ensures the prosecution of deviant individuals from the army or the police, as expressed in the punishment semantic present in the substantives: “sanctions” (“sanctions”), “punishment” (“punition”), “disciplinary measures” (“mesures disciplinaires”) that is widely used in the official discourse. This rhetorical practice serves two purposes. It prevents any leniency-related criticism and it

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<sup>22</sup> Speech to the National Assembly, “M.Guy Mollet: les auteurs de brutalités seront châtiés, mais les diffamateurs ne seront pas épargnés”, *Le Monde*, April 16, 1957.

<sup>23</sup> Speech at the National Assembly, “M.Guy Mollet: les auteurs de brutalités seront châtiés, mais les diffamateurs ne seront pas épargnés”, *Le Monde*, April 16, 1957.

<sup>24</sup> Speech at the National Assembly, “ M.Mitterrand: les sévices commis par la police sont moins nombreux qu'il n'a été dit”, *Le Monde*, April 04, 1957.

diverts attention from governmental repression. Interestingly, the question of sanctions is often alluded to in the potential mode; that is, when there is proof, or at least plausible evidence, that torture has been used. Thus, official representatives deploy hypothetical modals that cast doubts on the use of torture. For instance, when Robert Lacoste is asked in the National Assembly about clarifications on Ali Boumendjel's case, he questions the existence of a case that is already documented: "I don't know this case, provided that it exists" ("Je ne connais pas cette affaire, si tant est qu'elle existe").<sup>25</sup> Likewise, Mr. Tanguy Prigent, Minister of Veterans and War Victims, uses the conditional tense to discredit the denunciation of torture: " If such acts were committed, investigations would be conducted, and if need be, sanctions would be taken" ( Si de pareils actes étaient commis des enquêtes seraient faites et, le cas échéant, des sanctions prises ").<sup>26</sup> Another example is to be found in Guy Mollet's rhetoric, which consists of condemning torture while questioning the existence of the practice: "As for premeditated and deliberate acts of torture, if that was, it would be intolerable" ("Quant aux actes de torture prémedité et réfléchis, si cela était, ce serait intolerable").<sup>27</sup>

In addition, the political order of discourse somewhat justifies the "sporadic" use of torture by emphasizing the ruthlessness of the enemy, namely by affirming that the use of torture is a regrettable consequence arising from terrorist acts. Compellingly, "not only the order and prominence of topics is highly relevant in telling ideologically biased news stories, but so also are the ways these topics become implemented at the 'local' level of meanings of words and sentences, for instance by the addition of irrelevant details that can be interpreted in accordance with prevailing stereotypes and prejudices..." (van Dijk 1991, 69).

When it comes to Algerians, the political discourse never considers them to be the center of the topic even though they are the main victims. On the contrary, it is built on a vindictive rhetoric aimed at demonizing the enemy to implicitly justify the use of torture, while pretending to oppose abuses. Predictably, at the "local" level, Algerian nationalists are thus frequently associated with depreciative and negative substantives such as "terrorists" ("terroristes"), "rebels" ("rébelles"), "massacres" ("massacres"), "atrocities" ("atrocités"), "cruelty" ("cruauté").

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<sup>25</sup> Ali Boumendjel committed suicide after being tortured. Speech at the National Assembly, "Le suicide de Mr Boumendjel est évoqué à l'Assemblée nationale", *Le Monde*, March 28, 1957.

<sup>26</sup> Speech at the National Assembly, "TANGUY-PRIGENT : la dénonciation à sens unique des atrocités est injuste et inquiétante", *Le Monde*, April 02, 1957.

<sup>27</sup> Speech at the National Assembly, "M.Guy Mollet: les auteurs de brutalités seront châtiés, mais les diffamateurs ne seront pas épargnés", *Le Monde*, April 16, 1957.

Alternatively, when addressing the situation of the army, the political discourse is infused with pathos and constructed on axiological epithets, describing the plight of an army stuck in a “dramatic” situation in which “abominable tortures [are] inflicted both to French people of European origin and people of Muslim origin, massacres of women and children perpetrated in awful conditions” (“les tortures abominables [sont] infligées tant aux Français d'origine européenne qu'aux musulmans d'origine, les massacres de femmes et d'enfants perpétrés dans des conditions atroces”).<sup>28</sup>

Although Algerian rebels are conflated with terrorists and liars in the official discourse, the government faces sharp criticism for the use of torture. Part of its rhetoric therefore consists of undermining its opponents, especially when the government's practices are compared to those of the Gestapo. Judged “scandalous” by Guy Mollet, this comparison is used to feed a vindictive/accusative discourse on the biased coverage of the press. Indeed, the press is accused of “harming the morale of the army” (“atteinte au moral de l'armée”) and, in a Manichean formula, put into the same category as the “the enemies of France” and “slanderers.”

Likewise, the vindictive, authoritarian, and accusative rhetoric that equates the political opposition to torture with a connivance with the enemy, a form of treason, is shown in Lacoste's answer to a communist deputy after being accused of approving the practice of torture: “There is something that I don't approve of: it is the behavior of your friends who throw bombs and indistinctly hit men, women and children” (“Il y a quelque chose que je n'approuve pas: c'est l'attitude de vos amis qui jettent des bombes et frappent indistinctement hommes, femmes et enfants”).<sup>29</sup> This example illustrates a rhetorical pattern: those who defend the rights of Algerians to be treated fairly, such as the Communists, are systematically associated with betrayers. The argument denouncing torture is constantly opposed by the argument that Algerian rebels do not follow war rules either, which stems from an “end-justifies-the-means” discursive frame. In the rhetorical political strategy, then, the denunciation of torture is always condemned by the government as biased, and the press constantly accused of ignoring that Algerians rebels also torture.

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<sup>28</sup> Official report of the Protection Commission, “Le rapport de la commission parlementaire d'enquête sur les conditions dans lesquelles ont été interrogés les inculpés d'Oran”, *Le Monde*, March 18, 1957.

<sup>29</sup> Ali Boumendjel committed suicide after being tortured. Speech at the National Assembly, “Le suicide de Mr Boumendjel est évoqué à l'Assemblée nationale”, *Le Monde*, March 28, 1957.

Interestingly, although the French left was originally an opponent of colonialism, the political rhetoric dismisses any criticism on the link between torture and imperial domination, especially when formulated by Communist members of the parliament. Beside Algerian Communists and intellectuals, the communist party is the only instance to vocally link the use of torture with colonialist practices, as torture consists of depriving the individual both of his/her dignity and freedom. One of the only explicit occurrences of colonization in the political order of discourse is therefore expressed by the Communist deputy Marie-Claude Vaillant Couturier when confronting the President of the Council, Bourgès-Maunoury (USDR) at the National Assembly in September 1957:

To those who tell us: “the others also torture”, I answer: we are only responsible for our own actions; in a colonialist war the country which is responsible is the oppressive one, even when the oppressed people defends itself arms in hands” (Noises at the extreme right.) M. BOURGES-MAUNOURY:“ These words are appalling. The government cannot prevent a presenter to speak. It can only observe an absolute silence reflecting a total disregard.<sup>30</sup>

Imperialist and colonial discourses therefore manifest tangentially in the political rhetoric. The communist discourse, embedded in a criticism of imperialism and the defense of the oppressed, is not socially acceptable since independence is not yet conceivable in 1957— especially since the destalinization has started.<sup>31</sup> The counter discourse on the defense of the oppressed is simply rejected with the scornful adjective “appalling”, and clause “total disregard.” At a micro-level, the residuals of a French colonialist discourse still appear in the official discourse. One of the most salient examples is the use of the emblematic epithet “barbaric”, embedded in the

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<sup>30</sup> " À ceux qui nous disent : " Les " autres aussi torturent ", je réponds : on n'est responsable que des actes qu'on commet soi-même ; dans une guerre colonialiste le pays qui est responsable est celui qui opprime, même quand le peuple opprimé se défend les armes à la main. " (Bruits à l'extrême droite.) M. BOURGES-MAUNOURY : Ces paroles sont épouvantables. Le gouvernement ne peut empêcher un orateur de parler. Il ne peut qu'observer un silence absolu témoignant d'un mépris total. (Bruit prolongé à l'extrême gauche.)" “ Speech at the National Assembly, “L'Assemblée nationale a terminé”, *Le Monde*, September 28, 1957.

<sup>31</sup> The distrust of Communism is indeed increased by criticism raised by Nikita Khrushchev on the personality cult and dictatorship of Joseph Stalin, during the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (February 14-25, 1956). This further questions the legitimacy of Communism in the context of the Cold War.

ethnocentric colonialist discourse. The mention of torture is constantly followed by the reference to the FLN's operations, described through hyperbolic, scornful, dehumanizing epithets and substantives such as “the sadic barbarism of cutthroats” (“la barbarie sadique des égorgueurs”), “barbaric mutilations” (“mutilation barbares”) or “mutilations and barbaric treatments” (“mutilations et traitements barbares”). Depicting the actions of the FLN, the government implicitly legitimizes the use of torture as a response to “savage” acts. Likewise, the colonialist discourse also appears in the nominalization of Algerians, often referred to as “the Muslim mass” (“la masse musulmane”) and once as “a poorly advanced indigenous mass” (“population indigene peu évoluée”), which contributes to legitimating the governmental repression in Algeria as it fulfills a “civilizing mission” and is engaged in “peacemaking operations.”

Because of the official rhetoric and the threat of censorship, the counter-discourse, as expressed by a fraction of socialists and communists, the press in general, intellectuals, lawyers, a fringe of committed civilians and the Christian community, is built on the offensive/defensive mode. Social actors try to analyze, expose and warn about torture by acknowledging the importance of re-establishing peace in Algeria and emphasizing patriotism. As such, the counter-discourse is almost entirely interdiscursive, as it constantly builds on a dialogic mode with the official discourse. Indeed, an important part of the counter-discourse is built on memories of the Nazi Occupation and the violent methods of the Gestapo, a strategy of intertextuality. Many of the politicians, active social actors and journalists in 1957 were also former members of the Resistance, including Guy Mollet, Robert Lacoste, Bourgès-Maunoury and Hubert Beauve-Méry.

At a macro-level, the government's repression is at first compared with fascism in an offensive rhetoric constructed on explicit references for the reader of the time: the lexical field of the Nazi regime in nominal references to “Hitler”, Göring<sup>32</sup> (“Goering”), the “Nazis” or the “Gestapo.” Boumendjel's suicide is compared by a Communist to the suicide of “Brossolette”, a French resistance fighter who jumped out of a window while being held captive by the Gestapo.<sup>33</sup> The comparison with the Nazi fascist regime also appears through the metonymy of “Oradour-sur-Glane” and “Buschenwald” and the synecdoche “pulling fingernails out” (“ongles

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<sup>32</sup> Reference to Hermann Göring, founder of the Gestapo (created in 1933).

<sup>33</sup> During a debate at the National Assembly, M.Marrane (Communist) compared Boumendjel to Brossolette, as both committed suicide after being tortured, “Le suicide de Mr Boumendjel est évoqué à l'Assemblée nationale”, *Le Monde*, March 28, 1957.

arrachés”).<sup>34</sup> Likewise, one can find the semantic of the Third Reich in the substantives: “occupation”, “resistance”, “concentration camps”, (“camps de concentration”) and “secret police” (“police secrète”). Comparing French repression in Algeria with Nazi occupation, *Le Monde*’s editorial of March 13, 1957 speaks directly to French citizens of the time. In this article, Hubert Beuve-Méry (writing under the pseudonym of Sirius) builds the analogy with the Nazi occupation out of the mere mention of “Oradour” and “Gestapo”, without a single utterance of the word “torture.” The author refers here to the massacre of Oradour-sur-Glane – sadly known as the greatest massacre of French civilians by the German Army during WWII – and to the Nazi secret police. By doing so, he builds a parallel between one of the deepest traumas of the French collective consciousness and the notoriously violent methods of police interrogation used by the Gestapo. These two metonymies serve a tacit but clear purpose in a context of censorship: reminding the French public of its own oppression under the Nazi occupation and inciting it to rise up for a lawful and fair treatment of Algerian nationalists.

However, this offensive discursive strategy remains sporadic, as opposed to the defensive rhetorical strategy present in op-eds, columns and comments in the media order of discourse, which seeks to expose torture through the nuanced use of intertextuality. Sources are chosen and openly discussed to legitimize a counter-discourse on torture. At the “local” level, this counter-discourse is expressed by the addition of details that produce a certain meaning. For instance, when Michel Legris writes an opinion piece on Pierre-Henri Simon’s essay *Contre la torture* in March 1957, he deploys a legitimizing discourse based on epithets and adverbs that define the political and religious convictions of the author: “On the other hand, he is not driven by any political passion. As a reserve officer, he is by no means antimilitaristic and remains in favor of close ties between Algeria and France. But he is French, Christian, and his whole self rebels against certain methods.” (“Aucune passion politique d'autre part ne l'anime. Officier de réserve, il n'est nullement antimilitariste et demeure partisan du maintien de liens étroits entre l'Algérie et la France. Mais il est Français, chrétien, et son être entier se révolte en face de certaines méthodes”).

The framing of P.H. Simon’s personality clearly focuses on the question of legitimacy. The mention of his religion, antimilitarism and patriotism enables the author of the article to formulate a criticism of torture while circumventing the anti-patriotic and pro-independence

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<sup>34</sup> Reference to the emblematic torture of the Gestapo.

argument. Michel Legris, however, brings nuance to his criticism by showing support for the “peacemaking operations” in Algeria and the overall mission of the army, arguing that “[i]t would be absurd and false to claim that France is engaging in a genocide in North Africa. It remains no less true that racist crimes are committed there in its name and compromise its true mission.” (“Il serait absurde et faux de prétendre que la France entreprend un génocide en Afrique du Nord. Il n'en reste pas moins vrai que des crimes racistes s'y commettent en son nom et compromettent sa véritable mission.”) At the macro-level, it should be noted that the very noun “mission” pertains to the imperialist discourse, colonization being officially represented as a gift of freedom and civilization to under-developed countries.

Consequently, adopting the defensive mode does not mean that the denunciation is absent. On the contrary, the counter-discourse is made possible by a rhetoric that defuses potential criticisms through a dialogic strategy. Indeed, many opinion pieces and most of the investigative journalism produced by *Le Monde* in 1957 function on the mode of prudence while condemning torture through the use of adverbs of degree and assertion. The first article published on torture in 1957 reflects this, as the author attempts to shape a dialogue between the government and the press, by adopting a conversational stance: “By denouncing the abuses she suffered, we by no means intend to justify her behavior.”<sup>35</sup> The author claims that the treatment that the victim – Evelynne Lavalette – underwent is deemed “unjustifiable” (“injustifiable”). Likewise, the practice of torture is on several occurrences defined as “not to be tolerated.” In the course of 1957, *Le Monde* reinforces and legitimizes a counter-discourse on torture through two intertwined discursive strategies, both tributary to a defensive rhetoric. First, it opens its columns to other legitimate orders of discourse such as education, religion and law. They are embodied by credible opponents of torture such as the intellectuals Claude Roy and Gilbert Cesbron, or public figures from the field of justice such as René William-Thorp. In addition, other layers of society such as the Christian community and the student unions have their voices represented. These sources generally situate the debate on the immorality of the practice of torture by opposing the implicit discourse on the efficiency of torture to obtain exploitable information. In turn, this counter-discourse implies that the war should terminate if it can only be won by such reprehensible practices – let alone massacres, summary executions and enforced disappearances.

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<sup>35</sup> “Des policiers d'Alger font subir des sévices à une jeune européenne”, *Le Monde*, January 23, 1957.

Indeed, the mediatic, intellectual and civilian orders of discourse are inseparable from a moral, ethical, philosophical, and metaphysical discourse. This discourse is based on the idea that French civilization, because of its democratic and republican history and its devotion to Christianity, cannot turn a blind eye on the fate of the Algerian population. Secondly, as part of its defensive strategy, the counter-discourse deploys a laudatory discourse on the army. This rhetoric aims at defusing the argument according to which those who vocally condemn torture blame the military forces in their entirety.

The moral semantic is indeed omnipresent in the exposure of torture, whether in opinion pieces, investigative articles, or press releases detailing torture protests. It is expressed through substantives and epithets such as: “imperative of conscience” (“devoir de conscience”), “conscience”, “system of values” (“système de valeurs”), “examination of conscience”, (“examen de conscience”), “human and moral values” (“valeurs morales et humaines”), “scruples” (“scrupules”), “dilemma” (“dilemme”), “intrinsically wrong ways” (“moyens intrinsèquement mauvais”). In addition, one can find a reference to Machiavelli in the expression “reason of State and reason for being” (“Raison d’Etat et raison d’Etre”). This reference reflects the interdiscursivity on which the counter-discourse is based. Indeed, the moral argument counter-balances the discourse on the efficiency of torture. As such, it echoes the comparison with the Gestapo, the Nazi methods considered as the paradigm of immorality. Symbolically, the moralist discourse therefore portrays the government as stuck in its own contradictions: condemning the Nazi’s illegal methods but justifying the same practices when it comes to the fear of decolonization.

Addressing the ethical problem posed by the use of torture, intellectuals, students, professors, lawyers, the Christian community and journalists nevertheless incorporate the official defense, holding that torture is an isolated practice – the name of accused officers are never published – that should not tarnish the aura of France and its mission in Algeria. Exposing torture is thus framed as the defense of French democratic values. As a result, the moral discourse echoes a laudatory and patriotic discourse on the army, almost systematically associated with the substantive “honor” (“honneur”), “renown” (“renom”) and other positive epithets. This explains, for instance, the National Education Union’s claim in April 1957 that the use of torture and other

repressive acts are “incompatible with French honor” (“incompatibles avec l’honneur français”).<sup>36</sup> Likewise the Federation of French Protestants defends its opposition to torture through eulogistic substantives and hyperbolic epithets, and by using the conversational genre to foster emotional appeal: “We are certain that defending the honor and the morale of the whole army, where transpire numerous and magnificent dedications to which we pay tribute, is to repress the abuses that compromise them and not to blame those who denounce those abuses.”<sup>37</sup> Other opponents of torture defend the integrity of the army by insisting on the fact that the nation and its army are “irreproachable”, and by affirming, again through the conversational mode, their faith in the military forces. As André Frossard writes: “We know well that the French army fully deserves the esteem and the trust granted by the whole nation” (“Nous savons bien que l’armée française mérite amplement l’estime et la confiance que la nation tout entière lui accorde”).<sup>38</sup>

However, the discourse exposing torture does not necessarily associate the moral argument with an explicit defense of Algerian individuals who are suffering *from* torture. Indeed, the opposition to torture remains in great part theoretical and conceptual, as it is articulated around the notion of democracy, civilization, law, and morality. As such, the counter-discourse rarely evokes in depth the reality of torture for Algerians, but rather the French public’s denunciative regard in specific cases that have come to embody the reality of the practice. In this manner, under the appearance of a plurality of voices, the counter-discourse concentrates on a few victims that have become “cases”, such as Evelynne Lavalette (a European defined as a “practicing Catholic”), Maurice Audin, assistant professor at the faculty of Algiers, and Djamilah Bouhired, tortured and tried for allegedly placing a bomb in a coffee shop. On few occasions, torture is approached more concretely not by *Le Monde*’s journalists but in op-eds or even in official reports. These accounts mention torture by electric shock, calculated drowning in bathtubs, or “the pipe in the mouth.”

Nevertheless, *Le Monde* takes a more offensive turn at the very end of the Battle of Algiers through an extensive description and analysis of the repressive use of torture in Algeria.

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<sup>36</sup> "Un communiqué des enseignants C.F.T.C. sur les "méthodes de pacification""", *Le Monde*, April 04, 1957.

<sup>37</sup> (" Nous sommes certains que défendre l'honneur et le moral de l'ensemble de l'armée, où se manifestent de nombreux et magnifiques dévouements à quoi nous rendons hommage consiste à réprimer les abus qui les compromettent et non à blâmer ceux qui dénoncent ces abus. "), "Dans un communiqué sur le "drame algérien" la Fédération protestante de France fait appel à la "conscience publique""", *Le Monde*, April 06, 1957.

<sup>38</sup>" La question des tortures reste posée Un article de M. André Frossard", *Le Monde*, November 12, 1957.

It is published in a six-fold investigative series of articles written by a former conscript and published in October and November of 1957. These articles are infused with an alarmist message on the ramifications of the war on the young and the necessity of decolonization. Meanwhile, the series defends the idea that the army is only an instrument controlled by the government. The author, writing under the pseudonym of Serge Adour, deploys the conversational genre to invite dialogue and break down the unrest linked to the topic:

What's the point to ignore it? Torture is frequently used, and everyone knows it. (...) Where and by whom? In gendarmerie posts, in police stations, in the back room of the army's intelligence services (...) <sup>39</sup>

Adour deploys a rhetorical strategy based on complicity with the reader, anticipating the questions of the French audience. At the same time, his empirical discourse serves as a warning for the French audience, depicting French youth as a collateral victim of the war, vainly perverted by the Algerian question since the French empire is dying. Indeed, the author is at the stage of accepting that the harm has been done and that the government is to blame. This is expressed in the enumeration of the ramifications of torture and the responsibility of the French government's policy through carefully selected verbs: the risk is to "have corrupted a great fraction of the French youth" ("d'avoir corrompu une bonne fraction de la jeunesse française"), giving it the "taste of racial domination" ("le goût de la domination raciale"), "familiarizing it with the idea of the legitimacy of bullying and torture" ("la familiarisant avec l'idée de la légitimité des brimades et de la torture"), "having it believing in a colonial power that is out of date" ("en lui faisant croire en une puissance coloniale qui n'est plus d'époque"). One subheading even echoes the counter- discourse describing the members of the government as "the logicians of terror" ("les logiciens de la terreur.") This series of articles corresponds to the only real "insider" view of the practice of torture, and aims at revealing the truth about the reality of the conflict. However, this powerful counter-discourse takes place at the end of the Battle of Algiers, after the use of torture had reached its climax.

Overall, *Le Monde*'s 1957 coverage of torture at the peak of its practice deploys framing and rhetorical strategies designed to avoid censorship while exposing the government' repressive

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<sup>39</sup> "À quoi bon le nier ? La torture est couramment employée, et tout le monde le sait (...) Où et par qui ? Dans des gendarmeries, dans des locaux de la police, dans des officines de services de renseignements de l'armée (...)", "III. - Le renseignement contre la pacification", *Le Monde*, November 11, 1957.

methods. At a macro-level, it is embedded in interdiscursivity. The governmental order of discourse is successively built on denial and the denial of credibility to Algerian victims and their defenders. Although it is expressed by a plurality of social actors, the denunciation of torture incorporates elements of the official discourse such as the defense of the army, making common French soldiers the victims of abusive orders from above. As such, the counter-discourse oscillates between an offensive and a defensive discourse, blaming the practice but mostly refusing to expose it as a utilitarian system. As a result, the counter-discourse is stuck in the interdiscursive justification of its own existence. In addition, the counter-discourse is, in great part, constructed around philosophical and moral questions that concentrate more on the unethical aspect of torture than on its explicit atrocity. Thus, it opposes the argument of morality to the claim of efficiency rather than concretely depicting the raw reality of the practice for Algerian subjects. Lastly, the counter-discourse, in its vast majority, does not link the practice of torture with a reflection on colonialism.

As such, *Le Monde*'s discursive strategies of 1957, embedded in the official denial discourse and the defense of the army, defers from *Le Monde*'s 2000-01 coverage of torture, oriented towards memory, responsibility and the notion of trauma. The following chapter explores the similarities and discrepancies between the two bodies of research, while revealing *Le Monde*'s lack of memorial agenda in 2000.

## **Chapter 5: *Le Monde* in 2000-2001**

### **5.1 Quantitative Analysis**

The quantitative analysis of the 2000-01 body of research mainly sheds a light on *Le Monde*'s extensive coverage of the use of torture during the Algerian War. Indeed, over a period of only one year, the topic appears in 248 articles. In addition, the examination of the degree of focus on torture – systematically mentioned by its name and appearing in almost 40 per cent of the headlines of “central” and “present but not central” articles – reveals the importance of the topic in news accounts. Indeed, in 67 percent (167 articles) of the examined material, torture either represents the main focus of the article, or one of its main themes (see **Appendix 4** and **5**). The second most important category of articles corresponds to the marginal articles (18 percent, 45 articles), in which torture is only alluded to as part of the public debate in France. Finally, articles in which torture during the Algerian War is “present but not central” contribute up to 15 percent (36 articles) of *Le Monde*'s 2000-01 coverage of the topic.

In terms of the typology of the articles, the format under which torture is written about, there is a significant difference when compared with the articles written during the war. Indeed, the most important category, proportionally, corresponds to “opinion” articles. These constitute 39 percent (97 articles) of the entire 2000-01 body of coverage. Editorials, columns, op-eds, interviews and letters-to-the-editor are the dominant prism through which torture is discussed, and consequently documented. As it was the case during the war, *Le Monde* published a significant number of opinion pieces on torture in 2000-01. Interestingly, 35 percent (34 articles) of opinion pieces published in 2000-01 are op-eds, almost as much as in 1957, when op-ed pieces corresponded to 34 percent (10 articles) of the opinion pieces. Opinion pieces from the staff, such as editorials and comments, represent 29 percent (28 articles) of all opinion pieces published in 2000-01, whereas in 1957, it was up to 62 percent (19 articles). However, 36 per cent (35 articles) of the 2000-01 opinion pieces encompass letters-to-the-editor, testimonials, and interviews, against only one letter-to-the-editor and one interview in 1957.

Almost as much content represents “investigative” articles such as features, dossiers and simple news articles: fully 38 percent of the coverage. As opposed to *Le Monde*'s war coverage, investigative journalism occupies a large portion of the 2000-01 journalistic production. As for “factual” articles, derived from press releases, synthesis of existing reportage or documents, they

contribute up to 22 percent of the body of research, much less than during the war. Finally, “hybrid” articles do not correspond to a practice used by *Le Monde* in 2000-01, as the category barely represents 0.5 per cent (only 1 article) of the coverage. If some of this evolution is tributary to the transformation of the practice of journalism in the intervening years it nevertheless leads to three conclusions.

First, *Le Monde* investigated and documented the practice of torture much more thoroughly in 2000-01 through its investigative reportage and with the aid of long dossiers than it did during the war. This is likely attributable to the elimination of risk once state censorship was suspended. Second, while *Le Monde* relied on other newspapers to expose the use of torture during the war, the newspaper took the lead in its 2000-01 reporting, relying just once on exterior sources (on November 7, 2000): a manifesto published by *L'Humanité*, the “appel des douze”, that called for official recognition of the practice of torture. Finally, while opening a public debate on this French war crime at the turn of the twenty-first century, *Le Monde* gave a significant direct platform of expression to civil society through the publication of several letters-to-the editor, op-eds and interviews whose authors range from military officers, historians and intellectuals, to former conscripts and victims.

## 5.2 Qualitative Analysis

When *Le Monde* covers the use of torture in 2000-01, amnesty laws have been in effect for nearly four decades, effectively shutting down the debate on the “dirty war”, especially regarding the question of responsibility. It is specifically on these two aspects – opening a public space for discussion and acknowledging the acts of the French government – that the 2000-01 coverage focuses. *Le Monde* builds a straight-forward, nominative, expositive discourse in 2000-01 that is vastly different from the *Le Monde* of 1957. Predictably, this is illustrated by the language employed in headlines. Indeed, at the micro-level, the root of the word “torture” is present in the first article published, entitled “Tortured by the French army, “Lilac” is looking for her saviour” (“Torturée par l’armée française, “Lila” recherche son sauveur”, June 22, 2000). As aforementioned, “torture” appears in almost 40 percent of the headlines and in all the articles, setting the tone of the coverage from the beginning. The notion of responsibility shapes a great part of the coverage, starting with the French army, locally constructed as the agent of action in several headlines such as:

“The French army and torture” (“L’armée française et la torture”, June 23, 2000)

“Joseph Doré and Marc Lienhard react to general Bigeard’s declarations that justify the use of torture by the French army” (“Joseph Doré et Marc Lienhard réagissent aux déclarations du général Bigeard justifiant la pratique de la torture par l’armée française”, July 15, 2000)

“Some historians highlight the “systematic” use of torture by the French army” (“Des historiens soulignent l’emploi “systématique” de la torture par l’armée française en Algérie”, December 12, 2000).

Associating the army with the practice of torture during the Algerian War – indirectly but symbolically – condemns those responsible at the time: the President (Army Chief), the government, and in turn, the French State. This observation is supported by the use of the metonymy “France” to embody the French government, employed as a personification. Indeed, “France” is the agent of action in a series of testimonials entitled: “When France tortured in Algeria.” These testimonials are published on a symbolically charged date in France: November 11, the national day celebrating the WWI Allied victory over Germany, commemorated by an important military parade.

The choice of the date acts as a meta-discursive practice in the sense that *Le Monde* seems to reveal the practice of torture with the intention of breaking down the *omerta* among the French political class by revisiting a less glorious facet of its past. Drawing from McCormack (2007, 155), legal terminology as well as an “accusatory framework” are indeed present in the headlines, expressed through verbs, nouns and expressions such as “condemner” (“condemn”), “crimes”, “judge the perpetrator” (“juger les tortionnaires”), “justice”, “sanctions”, “commission d’enquête” (“inquiry commission”), “crime against humanity” (“crime contre l’humanité”). Although ignored by McCormack (2007), *Le Monde*’s headlines start to focus on the judicial

theme only in late October 2000, after the Communist newspaper *L'Humanité* published its manifesto signed by 12 intellectuals calling for an “official condemnation” of torture.<sup>40</sup>

Predictably, the “responsibility framework” is intertwined with memory, history and the quest for truth. The headlines indeed illustrate a desire to discuss and debate the historical period and the ramifications of the use of torture in Algeria. One can find numerous references to the French past and the socio-political actors of the Algerian War, especially in May 2001, commemorating the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of socialist President François Mitterrand’s accession to power.<sup>41</sup> Likewise, proper nouns identifying key actors associated with the question of torture during the Algerian War – for example, army officers and the government’s representatives – are mentioned. These include General Massu, General de la Bollardière, Robert Lacoste and Pierre Mendès France.

In addition, *Le Monde*’s 2000-01 headlines are articulated around the question of collective memory and especially the theme of pain and trauma, as expressed in the nouns and epithets used in the headlines of opinion pieces such as: “The bruised memory” (“La mémoire meurtrie”, June 24, 2000), “The tortured memory” (“La mémoire torturée”, December 04, 2000), “Common memory” (“La mémoire commune”, December 11, 2000), “Wounded memories” (“Mémoires blessées”, December 28, 2000), “The clash of histories” (“Le choc des mémoires”, January 19, 2001). Such past participles contribute to the personification of memory, suffering but alive, striving to reach closure, and ultimately healing.

Finally, the linguistic analysis of headlines also reveals the quest for truth through a public debate, itself representative of different residual memories in French society. Indeed, the framing of the headlines illustrate the ongoing dialogic dialectic, namely the debate on torture, which arises in French society. The unrest linked to state terrorism is present in substantives such as “the controversy” (“la polémique”) or “the debate” (“le débat”). These nouns connote the opening of a difficult conversation in the public realm. In addition, the chosen verbs convey the

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<sup>40</sup> “L’appel des 12” is published by *L'Humanité* on October 31, 2000, echoing the 1960 “Manifest of the 121” which denounced the practice of torture during the Algerian War. “L’appel des 12”—among whom Henri Alleg, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Gisèle Halimi and Germaine Tillon— explicitly asks the President of the French Republic, Jacques Chirac and his Prime Minister, Lionel Jospin, to publicly condemn the practice of torture during the Algerian War, and exhort witnesses to speak out. It is followed, on May 16, 2001 by a second manifesto.

<sup>41</sup> The role of former president François Mitterrand is addressed in a long dossier entitled “François Mitterrand hesitated between silence and the exposure of torture” (“François Mitterrand a hésité entre le silence et la dénonciation de la torture”), *Le Monde*, January 14, 2000.

difficulty of publicly discussing the practice of torture and its groundbreaking dimension, both for France and Algeria. Examples of these headlines include:

“Louisette Ighilahriz’s testimonial reopens the debate on torture in Algeria”

(“Le témoignage de Louisette Ighilahriz rouvre le débat sur la torture en Algérie”, June 23, 2000)

“The debate on torture shakes Trimbach” (“Le débat sur la torture en Algérie secoue Trimbach ”, July 21, 2000)

“Public opinion is ready for a lucid debate on torture” (“ L'opinion est prête à un débat lucide sur l'usage de la torture ”, November 29, 2000)

“The controversy on torture and breaches committed by the French army is gradually settling in in Algeria” (“La polémique s'installe peu à peu en Algérie sur les tortures et exactions de l'armée française”, December 27, 2000).

If the headlines indicate the presence of the themes of responsibility and memory, they do not necessarily reflect the plurality of voices that engage in the debate/denunciation of torture. The polyphonic nature of the debate is intensified not only through opinion pieces but also investigative journalism. In fact, the 2000-01 debate is articulated around collective introspection led, paradoxically, by traditionally opposed actors such as “enemy” war victims and military officers, “enemy” war victims and former conscripts, or committed intellectuals and the government. These dichotomies in the coverage can be broken down into clusters; that is to say, specific communicative events that occupy a significant part of the journalistic treatment of torture. These include: Louisette Ighilariz’s testimonial, the consequent denial of general Bigeard and the regrets of General Massu from June through July 2000; *L'Humanité*’s manifesto and the testimonials of conscripts from October through December 2000; the “duty of memory” debate from January through April 2001; and the release of a book published by General Aussaresses, entitled *Services Spéciaux, Algérie 1955-1957: Mon témoignage sur la torture* in which he justifies the use of torture.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> *Services spéciaux, Algérie 1955-1957 : Mon témoignage sur la torture*, (*Military police, Algeria 1955-1957 : My testimonial about torture*), Éditions Perrin, 2001.

These clusters embody orders of discourse, beginning with the victims and the army. Interestingly, former conscripts participate frequently in the construction of the discourse of victims, along with Algerians nationalists, both groups having suffered from post-war trauma long after the war's end. The Algerian victim's discourse is mostly shaped by investigative articles that individualize them, as well as a few opinion pieces; whereas the discourse of former conscripts is mostly constructed through letters-to-the-editor, as well as individual testimonials. Predictably, the tone is highly emotional.

As in 1957, the 2000-01 coverage begins with an article depicting the physical abuse of a female victim.<sup>43</sup> The article, written by Florence Beaugé, was intended to reach out and discover the whereabouts of a French military officer named Richaud who had rescued Louisette Ighilahriz during the Battle of Algiers. Rape as a means of torture is regularly addressed in the discourse on torture revealed by Algerian victims such as Ighilahriz. Yet in her first-person account, as quoted by *Le Monde* (June 22, 2000), the practice is not labelled as such but is described by the victim in meticulous and chilling detail:

I was lying down naked, always naked. They could come once, twice or thrice a day. As soon as I would hear the noise of their boots in the corridor, I would start shaking. Then, time seemed endless. Minutes felt like hours, hours like days. The hardest was to hold up in the first days, to get used to pain. Then, you mentally detach yourself, as though the body started to float.<sup>44</sup>

Beaugé's choice of quotes is used to depict the mundane repetitiveness of rape-as-torture through the repetition and accumulation of words-as-actions, for example: "once, twice or thrice a day" ("une, deux ou trois fois par jour") and the epanorthosis "naked, always naked" ("nue, toujours nue"). The victim in this account is individualized by her *nom de guerre*, "Lilac", which conveys vulnerability. Her traumatic experience at the 10<sup>th</sup> Parachute Division is emphasized by

<sup>43</sup> *Le Monde*'s 1957 coverage of torture started with an article depicting an act of torture on a young European female in Algeria. "Des policiers d'Alger font subir des sévices à une jeune européenne", *Le Monde*, January 23, 1957.

<sup>44</sup> "J'étais allongée nue, toujours nue. Ils pouvaient venir une, deux ou trois fois par jour. Dès que j'entendais le bruit de leurs bottes dans le couloir, je me mettais à trembler. Ensuite, le temps devenait interminable. Les minutes me paraissaient des heures, et les heures des jours. Le plus dur, c'est de tenir les premiers jours, de s'habituer à la douleur. Après, on se détache mentalement, un peu comme si le corps se mettait à flotter."

the laconic sentence: “She was twenty years old.” (“Elle avait vingt ans”). Other raw descriptions reveal the plight of the victim through depictions of rape-as-torture’s effects on the lower body, with Beaugé describing in unflinching detail that Lilac would surely have died in “a flow of urine, blood and excrement” without the intervention of Richaud.

The theme of rape reappears in depth in the story of Mohammed Garne, the first individual to be granted the status of war victim because his mother, Kheïra, was raped and severely beaten while pregnant with him, leading to a life of mental instability despite his adoption. A long feature, an editorial and an article by Beaugé are dedicated to his case, which echoes the responsibility debate since Garne sued the French state in 2000.

Beaugé depicts the reality of rape during the Algerian War in “The story of Kheïra, raped my military men” (“L’histoire de Kheïra, violée par des militaires français”, November 09, 2000). As shown in the following paragraph, the narrative construction (tenses, epithets, passive form, and rhetorical question) conveys the fear, the pain, and the ongoing trauma linked to this experience. The mention of the young age of the victim, the accumulation of torture acts and the rhetorical question contribute to foster emotion in the reader:

His mother, Kheïra, had been picked up in the mountain by French soldiers in August 1959. She was fifteen and a half. She was brought to their barracks, was tortured with electricity, with water, and then raped. She had just spent the night sheltered in a tree, terrified, trying to escape the fights that were raging in the area... How many raped her? As soon as one raised the topic, Kheïra breaks down in tears. “There was not just one, but a lot.”<sup>45</sup>

In addition, the ramifications of rape are documented by Beaugé through the perspective of experts. Among them are Alice Cherki, a psychiatrist and psychoanalyst, and the historian Claire Moss-Copeau. In an article published on December 28, 2000, Cherki is quoted on the necessity of speaking out, both for torturers and victims, as opposed to the imposed silence of society (especially for rape, deemed an extreme taboo in Algeria).

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<sup>45</sup> “Sa mère, Khéïra, avait été ramassée dans la montagne par des soldats français en août 1959. Elle avait quinze ans et demi. Ils l’ont amenée à leur caserne, torturée à l’électricité, à l’eau, puis violée. Elle venait de passer une nuit entière réfugiée dans un arbre, essayant d’échapper, épouvantée, aux bombardements et aux combats qui faisaient rage dans tout le secteur... Combien sont-ils à l’avoir violée ? Khéïra pleure et s’effondre dès qu’on évoque ce sujet. ‘Il n’y en avait pas un seul, mais des tas.’”

An interview, an editorial and a long feature are dedicated to Cherki's work, which estimates that 350,000 out of the 1.7 million former conscripts deployed in Algeria suffer a trauma linked to the war from witnessing and participating in violent acts such as torture. The feature, also published on December 28, 2000, mentions the generalization of torture and the impossibility of opposition to the practice by military personnel. In this case, the psychologist Marie-Odile Godart is quoted: "The conscripts feared the consequence of their resistance or refusal, especially regarding torture ... All of them, absolutely all of them have, at the very least, heard or seen torture used. Their great tragedy, as they tell me now, is to have been unable to say no back then. To have been twenty years old and have been unable to react."<sup>46</sup> The mention of the relative youth of the conscripts contributes to the portrayal of the soldiers as inexperienced and easily manipulated.

Interestingly, the theme of rape also appears in the former conscripts' discourse. In a testimonial published on November 11, 2000, rape is described as part of a certain atmosphere associated with life that has become unmoored, where alcohol was omnipresent and was used by the conscripts to oblige their moral conscience: "when we drank, all our values, our culture, everything we were holding on to would fall" ("quand on avait bu, toutes nos valeurs, notre culture, tout ce à quoi on tenait, tombaient"). The author depicts his experience with his fellow soldiers with the pronoun "we", and the imperfect tense, which emphasizes the notion of collective habit in these practices. More generally, the victims' order of discourse – as expressed both by the victims of torture and the conscripts – is infused with pathos and revolves around the theme of violence and inextricable pain. This is present in the substantives and epithets such as: "traumatism" ("traumatisme"), "buried unhappiness" ("malheur enfoui"), "pain that crushes them" ("douleur qui les écrase"), "the horrors of torture" ("les horreurs de la torture"), "unbearable ... pains" ("douleurs ... insoutenables"), "weight of the past" ("poids du passé"), "I feel like a bastard" ("Je me sens comme un salaud").

Contrary to the discourses of 1957, a major order of discourse is voiced by the military. This is composed of individual officers and regular soldiers who were key actors in the Battle of Algiers. The debate on torture is opened here through a judiciary frame instigated by Louisette

<sup>46</sup> ("Les appelés redoutaient les conséquences de leur résistance ou de leur refus, surtout à l'égard de la question de la torture ... Tous, absolument tous, ont au minimum entendu ou vu pratiquer la torture. Leur grand drame, me disent-ils aujourd'hui, c'est de n'avoir pas su dire non à l'époque. D'avoir eu vingt ans et de n'avoir pas su réagir"), "Alice Cherki, psychiatre et psychanalyste ; ancienne sympathisante du FLN " Ce n'est qu'en parlant qu'on lève le déni et que tout se dénoue ", *Le Monde*, December 28, 2000.

Ighilahriz who confronts Generals Bigeard and Massu, with having participated in her torture, directly or indirectly, by issuing orders.

From the beginning, the military order of discourse reveals itself to be heterogenous. Some actors are open to discussion, others recreate the denial and demonization discourse found in the accepted political rhetoric about the war. In an interview published on June 22, 2000, General Bigeard deploys a vindictive rhetoric aiming at discrediting the testimony of Louisette Ighilahziz, as shown in the lexical field of lie and manipulation: “a tissue of lies” (“un tissu de mensonges”), “Everything is fake, this is a maneuver” (“c'est une manoeuvre”), “unbelievable” (“inimaginable”). In addition, Bigeard’s rhetoric is infused with outrage and grandiloquence, and tends to portray Ighilahriz as an inferior and illegitimate witness compared to him who spent his life in the service of France. Likewise, he uses a third order pronoun to speak about himself while accusing and blaming the interviewer, Florence Beaugé, through a victimization discourse: “you hurt a guy who lives for his country” (“vous faites du mal à un type qui vit pour son pays”), “[y]ou are punching the heart of an eighty-four years old man” (“[v]ous êtes en train de mettre un coup de poing au coeur d'un homme de quatre-vingt quatre ans”).

In contrast to Bigeard, General Massu, in an interview published on June 22, 2000, deploys a nuanced rhetoric through the genre of confession. Acknowledging the practice of torture, Massu confesses it was “not necessary” (“pas indispensable”), and cautiously but sincerely formulates his regrets by using the conditional tense: “we could have done things differently” (“on aurait pu faire les choses différemment”). However, his discourse implicitly casts doubt on Louisette Ighilahriz’s testimonial through adverbs of degree and adverbs conveying uncertainty: “[p]erhaps her narrative is a little bit excessive, but it isn’t necessarily, and in that case, I truly regret it” (Peut-être que son récit est un peu excessif, mais il ne l'est pas nécessairement et, dans ce cas, je le regrette vraiment”). Massu’s discourse evolves as the “torture controversy” develops during the year 2000, increasingly becoming infused with emotions as he deploys epithets such as “sorry” (“désolé”) or “hard to cope with” (“dur à vivre”). Meanwhile, Massu accepts the government’s role and responsibility while defending the army and the soldiers who found themselves in an uncontrollable situation where they had to follow orders. He also supports the manifesto of the 12 intellectuals who have demanded official recognition of the use of torture in Algeria. In an interview published on November 23, he confesses:

I would like that one avoids accusing the army. An unpleasant mission was imposed on it – the restoration of public order – it did the best it could. When it comes to defining the responsibility of the political powers, I hardly see how this is possible. The only thing I can tell you is that they would often come to Algiers, at the 10<sup>th</sup> Parachute Division, visit the regiments and control the intelligence service's work. They would come even in my absence. There was always one in the area...<sup>47</sup>

Massu's discourse therefore oscillates between the defense of the army and an implicit denunciation of the government in power in 1957. The adverbs employed ("often", "even in my absence", "always") connote the frequent involvement of wartime political leaders in collecting information obtained through torture. Later in the interview, Massu agrees to the interviewing journalist saying torture was institutionalized, while insisting on his lack of personal responsibility.

Interestingly, in an interview published the same day, General Aussaresses transfers blame to the government, along with Massu's *mea culpa*, in an interview reflecting the colonial discourse of the war.<sup>48</sup> The involvement of Robert Lacoste, Resident Minister in Algeria from February 1956 to June 1957, is made clear in a narrative reflecting the normalization of the use of torture during the war, where members of the National Assembly, who were investigating the use of torture, were sent to Massu and lured into thinking it was a myth. Using a humorous tone, Aussaresses relates how members of the Assembly attended the interrogation of an Algerian, recreating the dialogue between an officer presenting a suspect and a parliamentary member. The parliamentary member would "listen to what [his] prisoner had to say" ("écoute ce que [son] prisonnier a à dire") by "making him swear on the Koran!" ("le fais jurer sur le Coran!"). Aussaresses defines the Algerian prisoner as a "fellagha", a term used to designate an Algerian or Tunisian under French domination who seeks independence. In addition, he cynically lampoons an anecdote in which the prisoner would have

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<sup>47</sup> " J'aimerais qu'on évite de mettre l'armée française en accusation. On lui a imposé une mission désagréable - le rétablissement de l'ordre -, elle l'a effectuée du mieux qu'elle a pu. Quant à définir la responsabilité du pouvoir politique, je ne vois pas comment ce serait possible. Tout ce que je peux vous dire, c'est qu'ils venaient régulièrement à Alger, à la 10e division parachutiste, et qu'ils allaient visiter les régiments et contrôler le travail de renseignement. Ils venaient même quand je n'étais pas là. Il y en avait toujours un dans le secteur... "

<sup>48</sup> " Je me suis résolu à la torture... J'ai moi-même procédé à des exécutions sommaires... ", *Le Monde*, November 23, 2000.

shouted: “Well, yes, it’s an electrical Koran!” (“[s]ur un Coran électrique, oui!”), a story “which made [him] laugh a lot!” (“qui [l]’a fait beaucoup rire!”).

The day after these interviews, a *CSA/L’Humanité* survey revealed that 57 per cent of those surveyed judged torture to be condemnable (whereas 33 per cent believed it was not reprehensible given the situation on the ground). Fifty-nine per cent of those surveyed supported an official recognition of torture from the authorities while 30 per cent opposed such recognition, and 11 per cent were neutral (Bezat 2000). The surveys were published in *Le Monde* on November 29, 2000. They were interpreted as representing a change in public opinion, a readiness to address this part of the French past.

A few months later, on May 3, 2001, General Aussaresses delivers new revelations about the implication of the government and his own point of view on torture. He also confesses that he ordered the assassination of Ali Boumendjel, who had “officially” committed suicide, as reported in *Le Monde* on March 28, 1957. In this interview, Aussaresses portrays himself as a combatant and executioner who has tortured people to death. He claims to have decided to write about his experience despite the threat of prosecution. Aussaresses deploys a discourse of justification constructed around the notion of danger. He uses substantives and epithets to declare that, for him, the use of torture was not reprehensible in wartime. These include: “risks” (“risques”), “explosive situation” (“situation explosive”), and “threats of attacks” (“menaces d’attentats”).

The use of torture is also legitimized by Aussaresses by its efficiency when compared to lengthy legal procedures. The victims’ identities are erased by the use of the general pronoun in a straightforward, emotionless statement expressed as a general truth: “Torture is efficient, most people give in and talk. Then, most of the time, we would kill them” (“C’est efficace, la torture, la majorité des gens craquent et parlent. Ensuite, la plupart du temps, on les achevait”). The same week, directly following Aussaresses’s admissions, a *CSA-Le Parisien-Aujourd’hui en France* survey revealed that 70 percent of the population condemned the use of torture during the Algerian War.

The final contribution to the military discourse derives from soldiers and former conscripts, as expressed in op-ed pieces and testimonials. Their discourse is heterogenous. Officers such as General Claude Le Borgne (November 18, 2000), or General Alain Le Ray (December 11, 2000) show reproach for the repentance-oriented debate and warn against conflating the army with torturers, thereby refuting the institutionalization of torture. This discourse conveys outrage through

chosen substantives and epithets such as “scandal” (“scandale”) or “disgraceful enterprise” (“entreprise scandaleuse”). It condemns the practice of torture as unethical even if it considered it to be efficient under the circumstances. Likewise, it reproaches the media coverage with ignoring the use of torture in the exact context to the war, that is the necessity to obtain information to prevent casualties.

Other members of the military, such as Caporal Chef Jean-Charles Beucher (November 25, 2000) or conscript Marcel Mettey (December 11, 2000), deploy a discourse of condemnation. The language used mobilizes matters of dishonor such as the “shame to be French” (“la honte d’être français”), or places the onus on higher-ups who “obliged their men to torture” (“contraignaient leurs hommes à torturer”). In general, they are opposed to a vindictive discourse on torture. This discourse emphasizes the benefit of a memorial discourse based on the need to learn from history and avoid reproducing uncontrollable entanglements such as the Algerian War. This dichotomy between the refusal of repentance and the need to recognize shapes the discourse of former conscripts in their letters-to-the-editor, which partially explains why McCormack (2007) argued that *Le Monde* did not reconcile disparate memories. These discourses stem from the non-reconciliation of two main – yet not contradictory – re-vindications: torture was systematic but not all soldiers tortured.

While the discourse of the army oscillates between denial, recognition and condemnation, the media order of discourse as present in editorials, columns and articles, concentrates on the recognition that torture was a system implemented and kept largely secret by the regime. It includes the notions of responsibility and memory. The media discourse is built on expositive and straightforward discursive regularities. As opposed to the language found in *Le Monde* in 1957, the media order of discourse employs epithets and adverbs such as “generalized” (“généralisé”), “institutionalized” (“institutionnalisé”), “applied systematically” (“appliquée systématiquement”), “systematic use” (“pratique systématique”) to describe torture. An article on the work of historian Raphaëlle Branche, who revealed the systematization of torture in Algeria, reinforces such a discourse.

The notion of responsibility and the characterization of torture as a crime is directly linked to the regrets of Massu and the re-vindication of condemnation repentance by the manifesto of the twelve intellectuals in October 2000. Regarding these public utterances and debates, the official discourse is sporadic and testifies to the government’s discomfort with engaging in a memorial

process on torture. Indeed, there was concern that recognizing the state's complicity in torture could potentially lead to a debate on the whole matter of French colonization and result in possible war crime prosecutions, the very outcomes that the amnesty laws were created to prevent. The official discourse in 2000-01 is thus embedded in a hegemonic discourse around the innocence of the French government in the practice of torture, the subsumed claim that others bore responsibility because they had made the decisions on torture during the war and then covered up their complicity by enacting amnesty laws.

The socialist prime minister of the time, Lionel Jospin, implicitly refers to the practice of torture in Algeria when inviting President Jacques Chirac to explore “other moments of our national history” (“d’autres moments de notre histoire nationale”) than French participation in the Holocaust.<sup>49</sup> Shortly after, he opposes the opening of a parliamentary investigation on torture demanded by the French Communist Party. The conservative president, Chirac, remains silent on the question of torture until December 2000, when he develops a nuanced political rhetoric oscillating between a euphemistic representation of facts and a refusal to engage in official condemnation. As reproduced in an article on December 15, 2000, Chirac’s discourse is not founded on complete denial – he makes references to atrocities – but polished by the mention of the violence “from both sides” (“des deux côtés”). In addition, French soldiers are acknowledged for their integrity and devotion as Chirac claims that he “[will] never do anything that could hurt their image or besmirch their honour” (“[fera] jamais rien qui puisse abîmer leur image ou salir leur honneur”). The priority is thus given to the action of history itself, as expressed in the personification: “let history do its work” (“laisser l’histoire faire son travail”), a position that clearly reflects the refusal to create a new collective memory agenda with respect to the Algerian War.

Interestingly, the official discourse from the Algerian side is also portrayed as problematic. President Abdelaziz Bouteflika seems embarrassed to engage in the memorial debate. The epithets and substantives used by Bouteflika, such as “embarrassed silence” (“silence gêné”), “prudence”, “mutism of officials” (“mutisme des officiels”), “unease” (“malaise”), make it clear that he is uncomfortable with the topic.

Overall, however, the French political discourse is based on the refusal to recognize the obligation to repent, reflecting the ongoing opposition between the Socialists, the right-wing Rally

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<sup>49</sup> As quoted in “ Torture en Algérie : deux généraux français affrontent leur mémoire ”, *Le Monde*, November 23, 2000.

for the Republic party (RPR) and the Communists. Indeed, one of the reasons given by the government to justify the refusal to convene an investigative parliamentary commission is that it would lend credence to “make a Russian Soviet-type history.”<sup>50</sup> As a result, the very hypothesis of a need for a parliamentary commission is rejected under the claim that it should not be left to the government to decide who makes history. It should therefore be noted that the official discourse suggesting that historians should shed light on the reality of torture is a blatant attempt to cast doubt on its systematization by shifting responsibility into a nebulous past and entirely away from current political actors. It is a rhetorical strategy intended to de-escalate the “torture controversy” and distract the public’s attention.<sup>51</sup>

If the official discourse attempts to evacuate the question of a new collective memory, the media order of discourse specifically focuses on the question of memory and history. Interestingly, *Le Monde* becomes introspective and questions its wartime journalistic practices. This is accomplished through a portrayal of Hubert Beuve-Méry, the founder of *Le Monde*, as conveyed through three letters he wrote to Robert Lacoste, Guy Mollet and Pierre Mendès France in October 1956, as well as a letter from a reader, not published during the war, who confirms the general use of torture. While the article on Beuve-Méry, published on May 21, 2001 acknowledges that *Le Monde* “informed in its own time” (“informé en son temps”) its readers on torture, the letters to his contemporaries clearly reflect his hesitation at dealing with the torture file. This is expressed through the accumulation of questions and the use of hypotheticals in the language used with respect to torture, for example, “they seem to become generalized” (“il semble qu’elles aient tendance à se généraliser”), “it seems to me that … very strict orders should be given to the police and intelligence services” (“il me semble que … des consignes très strictes devraient être données aux services de police et de renseignement”).

In addition, Ricoeur’s notion of a “duty of memory” is directly reflected in the language of the 2000-01 coverage and is particularly useful here because it speaks to the opening of archives in the process of re-vindication. More generally, the media order of discourse focuses on the recognition of French crimes in society. This is, for example, accomplished through the recurrent

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<sup>50</sup> “Lionel Jospin écarte l'idée d'une commission spéciale sur la guerre d'Algérie”, *Le Monde*, November 11, 2000.

<sup>51</sup> Pierre Vidal-Naquet published an essay on the State use of torture during the Algerian War in 1972 (*La Torture dans la République : essai d'histoire et de politique contemporaine (1954-1962)*, Minuit, 1972). Torture was already documented by *The Question* (Henri Alleg, Les Éditions de Minuit, 1958). The access to the Algerian War’s archives is itself difficult in 2000.

metaphor of the light of truth as opposed to the darkness of silence: France needs to “shed a light on the obscure area of its history” (“faire la lumière sur les zones obscures de son histoire”).<sup>52</sup>

The numerous references to the “duty of memory” illustrate the memorial and moral stance of the 2000-01 coverage, which advocates for an official recognition of torture. However, the media order of discourse is not focused on the question of repentance, as the discourse on an official apology is not carried out in editorials, but mostly in op-eds or testimonials. Tangentially, the idea that a self-conscious memory is being formed at the moment that the coverage on torture is conveyed through the lexical field of work and difficulty. Memory is portrayed as a painful-but-necessary ongoing social process through substantives, epithets and carefully selected verbs: “memory work” (“travail de mémoire”); “the memory of the Algerian War ... awakens” (“la mémoire de la guerre d’Algérie ... sursaute”); “work of memory and truth” (“travail de mémoire et de vérité”); and “close this historical chapter” (“tourner cette page d’histoire”).

This discourse on the pressing need to revisit the memory of the Algerian War is also shaped by a civil society order of discourse, composed of historians, lawyers and citizens and expressed through op-eds, interviews and letters-to-the-editors. Predictably, the official discourse and the discourse of historians and sociologists are antagonistic. Indeed, scholars recognize the systematization of torture as a fact rather than as a hypothesis, as they oppose the term “minority” (“minoritaire”) to define the use of torture. Likewise, a part of the civil society order of discourse construes torture as inseparable from colonization, as expressed in the correspondent lexical field: “colonization” (“colonisation”); “global process of reduction and inferiorization of Algerian Muslims” (processus global de minoration et d’infériorisation des musulmans algériens”); “colonial paternalism” (“paternalisme colonial”); and “racism” (“racisme”). As such, most op-eds published in 2000 and 2001 consist of a persuasive, expositive discourse that constructs the *de facto* official recognition of torture in Algeria.

Questioning the existence of a real debate —deemed “elitist”— in *Le Monde* ’s 2000-01 journalistic production, McCormack (2007, 157) nevertheless admits that “in a Halbwachsian perspective memories are constructed collectively, and in a sense the debate did evolve and give a voice to readers, particularly in December 2000.” If the coverage focuses on a few representatives of memory such as Louisette Ighilahriz, generals Massu, Bigeard and Aussaresses, it however reflects the memorial dialogic intention of a large part of French society to break down the taboo of torture

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<sup>52</sup> See “Mémoires blessées”, *Le Monde*, December 28, 2000.

in Algeria by providing citizens with a platform of expression. Indeed, the plurality of voices, themes and genres sheds a new light on the impact of this war practice not only on Algerian victims but also on the generation of soldiers who either witnessed or practiced torture, for which they often suffered long-term trauma. While the discourse of the government remains cautious and euphemistic, the discourse of and on the army, as expressed through the testimonials of well-respected military officers and unknown former conscripts, emancipates itself from the official discourse. Polyphony logically contributes to the heterogeneity of the discourse, which partially explains the dichotomy between the discourse on the institutionalization of torture and the one on the integrity of the army. Overall, *Le Monde*'s 2000-01 coverage of torture is seen to challenge the hegemonic discourse on torture to its very limits through the journalistic construction, empirically shaped, of a new discourse that synthesizes and interrogates multiple points of view including those of the military, the victims from both sides, and civil society in general.

Therefore, the findings of this thesis highlight the discursive similarities and discrepancies between *Le Monde*'s 1957 coverage of torture and its representation in 2000-01. In both cases, the newspaper draws on rhetorical strategies to confront the government to its responsibility. In the two bodies of text, *Le Monde* is clearly engaged against torture in Algeria. Nevertheless, the findings provide compelling evidence of discursive discrepancies between the two periods. *Le Monde*'s 2000-01 coverage exposes to a greater extent the responsibility of the government and military actors, while building on a larger dialogic polyphony between torturers, victims and witnesses. On the contrary, *Le Monde*'s 1957 journalistic production on torture reveals a euphemistic discourse, as well as the constant struggle between the necessity to alert French opinion and the fear of censorship.

The following concluding chapter will inform the findings of this thesis with the in-depth semi-structured interviews of experts of the collective memory of the Algerian War. They provide evidence of the contingency of *Le Monde*'s 2000-01 memorial milestone and paradoxically, they reveal the importance of human agency in sustaining a memorial discourse. Predictably, they also emphasize the discrepancy between the historian's vision of *Le Monde*'s double coverage of torture and the journalistic professionals'. As discussed in the following chapter, the interviews reveal the importance of memorial journalism through a different prism than commemoration, which suggests further exploration of journalism's numerous research avenues in the realm of memory.

## **Chapter 6: Journalism and Memory: Concluding Remarks**

All memories, even the memories of eyewitnesses, only assume collective relevance when they are structured, represented, and used in a social setting. As a result, the means of representation that facilitate this process provide the best information about the evolution of collective memories, especially as we try to reconstruct them after the fact.

(Kansteiner 2002, 190).

According to Kansteiner, journalistic institutions can both be construed as organizational structures that facilitate the transmission of memory through an organized, codified discourse and a system of material production that forms, sustains and revises collective memories over time. Regardless of their nature, all memories — whether autobiographical or historical — therefore rely on mediation. This explains why memory in general is inseparable from its means of representation, and most importantly the social standards of plausibility and authenticity that legitimate certain discourses over others (Kansteiner 2002, 185). As such, the memory of marginal social groups can only achieve collective remembrance “if they command the means to express their visions, and if their vision meets with compatible social or political objectives and inclinations among other important social groups, for instance, political elites or parties” (Kansteiner 2002, 187). In other words, collective memory is shaped by power relations that frame, select, and legitimate national memory. In that process, journalism both exerts social pressure and provides social support, while it produces most of our collective representations (Schwartz 2014, 212).

As such, collective memory is conceptualized as a non-consensual interdependent and interactive threefold process involving the intellectual and traditional representations of the past; memory makers who select and manipulate those traditions; and the memory consumers who use, reshape, or ignore these traditions based on their own interests (Kansteiner 2002, 180). Those power relations rely on the production of knowledge through discourse, and above all, on institutions and authoritative bodies for credibility and distribution (Foucault 1972, 219). One of the major levers of hegemonic discourses such as those deployed by the State, is to impose domination through prohibition, whether silent or manifest (Foucault 1972, 216). One way to circumvent prohibition consists of counteracting the dominant discourses by adopting the

strategies deployed by those dominant discourses; that is, by building on legitimacy, credibility and distribution. Journalism traditionally has represented that counter-power in society. This thesis contends that the same applies to the domain of memory.

Indeed, the exploration of the journalistic production of a legitimate newspaper such as *Le Monde* in French contemporary history can be used as a first-account method to inform on the dominant discourses deployed to silence criticism of state repression during the Algerian War. Furthermore, such journalistic material reflects the evolution of French public opinion and remembrance of torture during and after the conflict. By comparing and contrasting *Le Monde*'s 1957 and 2000-01 discursive strategies, this thesis reveals significant discrepancies between the two periods. In 1957, *Le Monde* deployed a euphemistic, carefully crafted discursive strategy reflected in its own journalistic practice: the genre of factual news prevailed, and only a few investigations were published during the Battle of Algiers.

However, an analysis of *Le Monde*'s published accounts can only take us so far. Interviews with scholars and journalists who are deeply familiar with the Algerian conflict and the ramifications for public understanding are introduced here as a way to contextualize the role of *Le Monde* in exposing state terrorism during the Algerian War.

Two participants in particular, Edwy Plenel and Raphaëlle Branche, elaborated on the notion of responsibility of public authorities during the war, elucidating the part played by censorship and consensus among political elites. Plenel, *Le Monde*'s former editor in chief, compared the government's embrace of torture in Algeria with the decision to collaborate with the Nazis in 1940, arguing: "in much the same way, the majority of the elites, and in this instance, it was a left-wing party, so it was not the far-right, it was the SFIO ruling the country ... accepted something that seriously bruised Algeria and France." In contrast to the official version of events, Plenel emphasized the fact that the repression led by the French government – through the "enormous responsibility" of Robert Lacoste, Resident Minister in Algeria from February 1956 to June 1957 and Maurice Bourgès-Maunoury, Prime Minister from June to November 1957 – is what provoked the radicalization within the FLN.

Likewise, sociologist Laëtitia Bucaille underlined the internal conflict the question of torture triggered in Algerian Wartime France as it "tore the resistance apart" and "divided the French population." While Plenel claimed that only "a minority" of people denounced torture, both he and Branche admitted that the general press, including *Le Monde*, waited 1957 to

properly document it. The historian specifically mentions the fact that Hubert Beuve-Méry “d[id] not want to endanger the government” in 1956-1957 and thoroughly th[ought] about whether or not the issue of torture should become public. In addition, Branche pointed out that while there was “a great emotion” in 1957, it quickly faded despite five more years of war and torture. As concordant with the findings of this thesis, Branche clearly reflected on governmental dissimulation strategies and the facticity of the two Commissions of Protection (one in 1957 and a second conducted later in the war), which investigated torture, although they were composed of “serious people who really wanted to get the job done.” The first commission was designed, according to Branche, to “stop the fire” and a report produced to “smoke the media” and prevent them from reporting on torture. The second was “de Gaulle’s vision to better control the army.”<sup>53</sup> As such, the interviews, particularly Branche’s contribution, contradict one of the first assumptions of this thesis; that is, the clear and determined commitment of *Le Monde* in exposing torture during the Algerian War.

However, the findings of this thesis reveal that the discursive strategies adopted by *Le Monde* in 1957 lie within a specific contextual frame. They are embedded in a commitment to reveal that imperialist domination and state oppression were not held to be legitimate in the French wartime public sphere. Indeed, the 1950s correspond to the infancy of postcolonial theory, greatly indebted to Frantz Fanon, an intellectual from Martinique, who was also a declared sympathizer of the FLN.<sup>54</sup> One could argue, then, that *Le Monde*’s somewhat constrained 1957 discourse on torture, by relying on strict factual journalism – through the publication of official reports and verbatim of debates embedded in the political rhetoric of euphemizing, rather than on investigative journalism – was stuck in the hegemonic discourse of the scarcity of torture in a context of “rebellion.” French colonial history, and especially in the context of nationalist uprisings, did not give voice to Algerian nationalists because this was neither culturally conceivable nor socially acceptable. *Le Monde*’s 1957 production of knowledge on torture thus embodies the inextricable conflicts of the war: exposing torture without failing as a patriot, defending Algerians without being accused of fomenting the enemy’s propaganda, condemning the government’s military strategy without putting the blame on the army.

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<sup>53</sup> As aforementioned, *Le Monde* published the report of the Commission of Protection (Commission de sauvegarde) on December 14, 1957.

<sup>54</sup> Frantz Fanon’s books *Black Skin, White masks* (*Peau noire, masques blancs*), published in 1952 and *The Wretched of Earth*, (*Les Damnés de la Terre*) published in 1961, have considerably influenced post colonialist theorists such as Edward Saïd, Homi Bhabha, and Gayatri Spivak.

Revisiting the topic in 2000, *Le Monde*'s journalist Jean Planchais, who covered the issue of torture in 1957, insists on the indifference of the public regarding the fate of Algerians during the war even though information about torture was in circulation: “the public opinion, in its vast majority, refused to mobilize. Was it the refusal to acknowledge a painful truth or the silence of conscripts and reservists on a past they wanted to forget?”<sup>55</sup> If *Le Monde* deployed a euphemistic discourse on torture in 1957, it would nevertheless be unfair to say it failed to expose torture, as the figures confirm (see **Appendix 1**). In fact, the findings of this thesis show that *Le Monde* built on an ethical rhetoric that sought to convince the government and the French public to act regarding the question of torture.

By deploying a discourse on the immorality of the practice rather than an accusative discourse blaming the army, *Le Monde* managed to circumvent censorship while awakening the general public to reprehensible, illegal military stratagems. As this thesis suggests, the newspaper legitimized the exposure of torture precisely by building on the official eulogistic discourse toward the army and the nation. *Le Monde*'s 1957 media order of discourse therefore welcomed experts and intellectuals to legitimate its position on torture, which accounts for the polyphonic nature of its discourse within the limits of the French socio-cultural wartime context. It is therefore not surprising to find almost no testimonial from Algerian individuals in 1957.

During the years following the war, and more precisely since the *Évian Accords* of 1962, the collective memory of the Algerian War was defined by amnesty laws and the politics of official oblivion, which reproduced the wartime political order of discourse. As reflected in the interviews, scholars disagree on the state of the collective memory of the Algerian War until 2000. Indeed, historian Guy Pervillé subscribes to Henry Rousso's theory that the collective memory of the Algerian War was characterized by “*hypermnesia*” following the Algerian civil war of the 1990s. Pervillé argues for the “close similitudes between the return of memory linked to WWII and the memory of the Algerian War” and the turning point of Papon's trial in 1997-1998.<sup>56</sup> According to Pervillé, the notion of amnesty ceased to be admitted as a small number of officials who had collaborated with the Nazis were ultimately prosecuted. As a result, the

<sup>55</sup> “L'opinion, dans sa grande majorité, refusa de se mobiliser. Refus d'admettre une vérité pénible, silence des appelés et rappelés sur un passé qu'ils voulaient oublier ?”, Jean Planchais, “Une opinion informée mais largement indifférente”, *Le Monde*, December 4, 2000.

<sup>56</sup> In 1997-1998, Maurice Papon was judged for crimes against humanity for its collaboration with the Nazis under the Vichy Regime. Papon also held a dominant administrative position during the Algerian War.

discrepancy between the domination of WWII and the insignificance of other wars, such those in Indochina and Algeria, began to collapse.

While Branche considers the memory of Vichy and Papon's trial as milestones, she refutes Henry Rousso's theory of "*hypermnesia*." She claims that the collective memory of the Algerian War only reached the level of "*hypermnesia*" from 2000 on. In fact, the historian underlines the absence of the question of torture in the public sphere before 2000. Although Edwy Plenel does not elaborate on the notion of collective memory, he argues that for "his generation", the high stakes did not lie so much with the judiciary – whose hands were effectively tied by "the official oblivion of amnesties" – but with the official recognition of French crimes in Algeria. Despite the lack of visibility of torture in the public sphere, and the overall lack of collective memory of the Algerian War before 2000, the interviews suggested that the use of torture was known but its extent was ignored.

Indeed, from an historical viewpoint, Branche argued that it was not a public topic in the decade 1960-1970 because residual amnesty laws and the silence of victims prevailed. Only when General Massu and Pierre Vidal-Naquet relaunched the debate in 1971 and 1972 was the matter of wartime torture revived.<sup>57</sup> Even so, according to Branche, torture "was not at all of public interest since the 1980s" when Michel Rocard accused the right-wing politician, Jean-Marie Le Pen, of having practiced torture in Algeria.<sup>58</sup> Meanwhile, from a sociological perspective, Bucaille considers that the discourse on silence around torture is "a little bit cliché" as it was occasionally portrayed in the French cinema and documented by Benjamin Stora. However, she admits that when the question emerged in 2000 it "came after a pretty quiet period."

With respect to the collective memory of torture, all participants but Pervillé recognized that there was public knowledge that torture had occurred, even while the majority of French

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<sup>57</sup> General Massu published *La Vraie Bataille d'Algier* (Plon, Evreux 1971), where he admitted the use of electric shock torture, and two years later Pierre Vidal-Naquet published an essay on the use of torture during the Algerian War (*La Torture dans la République: essai d'histoire et de politique contemporaine (1954-1962)*, Minuit, 1972). Pierre Vidal-Naquet (1930-2006) was an activist historian, a member of the Comité Audin and a vocal opponent to the use of torture during the Algerian War. Maurice Audin was an Algerian mathematician, member of the Communist Party and anti-colonialist activist, who officially disappeared in 1957 but is thought to have been summarily executed after being tortured.

<sup>58</sup> On February 2, 1992 in a TV show called "7/7", Michel Rocard confronted J.M Le Pen on his participation to torture in Algeria.

people did not know it was a systemic practice.<sup>59</sup> From the journalistic perspective, Edwy Plenel, claims that “we [the French population] knew, it was already documented.” According to Beaugé, if torture was known, “the general public did not know it was institutionalized: no, actors knew and historians had already written about it.” As for Bucaille, torture was “a generally accepted thing even though it was not recognized” among French society, and denial originated from military officials. Compellingly, Branche spoke of a “diffuse memory”, arguing that “people most likely knew about torture … without having knowledge about it. We knew about electric shock torture, and all this. There was a kind of diffuse knowledge: we did not really know who had done what, but we knew it had happened.”

Yet, even in 2000 the extent of the use of torture by the French army in Algeria was not widely known and Algerian victims were rarely heard on mainstream media. In this context, *Le Monde*'s 2000-01 discursive frames and strategies clearly differ from the ones it deployed in 1957. They shed a new perspective of torture in the public sphere by building on a forward-looking, truth-and-memory oriented discourse. This is likely because journalistic practice had changed in France, a practice that was founded on the same humanist vision but with greater freedom of the press. The newspaper's 2000-01 journalistic practice thus relies more on opinion pieces and investigative articles than it was the case during the war, opening a welcoming public space for traditionally unrepresented individuals: Algerian victims, career military men, and former conscripts.

Indeed, the findings of this thesis reveal that *Le Monde*'s 2000-01 treatment of torture, by reporting on the practice of torture not through a governmental lens but through the recounting of individual lived experience, followed the path of subaltern history. It is in great part through the eyes of non-élite Algerian fighters and French soldiers, both victims of a system, that the question of torture is framed and analyzed. It is by pointing out the transnational trauma of French and Algerian generations, and not by turning a blind eye to the wartime and contemporaneous political attitudes that *Le Monde* discussed the ramifications of the Algerian War. This accounts for the polyphonic nature of *Le Monde*'s 2000-01 coverage of torture, as well as the predominance of the questions of recognition and memorial duty within powerful influential spheres; that is the military and the executive branch of government. The stakes were not so much to discuss whether torture could be used during armed conflicts despite international

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<sup>59</sup> The respondent did not answer the question.

laws and moral values, as was the case in 1957, but to proceed to a collective introspection of the French colonial past.

As aforementioned, this collective enterprise is reflected through the polyphonic nature of the 2000-01 coverage. However, as some would have it, this “work of memory” was unsuccessful because of its controversial sensationalist angle, the terrible revelations about the use of torture (McCormack 2007, 147). If controversy implies a lack of consensus, this thesis nevertheless contends that collective memory is a long-term process that only occurs under the pressure of social groups that are somehow motivated to express their own versions of a common history. Collective memory is, therefore, intrinsically tributary to competing versions of the past that add to the public pool of knowledge. As such, this phenomenon is ontologically linked to unrest, illegitimate pressure to forget and obscure, and often long-lasting memorial scleroses. Therefore, the findings of this thesis suggest that *Le Monde*'s 2000-01 investigation should not be placed in the category of “memory battles” simply because it gave a platform to discordant voices. On the contrary, the findings point out the importance of polyphony in the very shaping of collective memories.

As such, *Le Monde*'s 2000-01 coverage of torture was framed to provoke a political reaction and a memorial event. It is clear by now that this was not carried out by the executive power, which continued to resist the realities of torture in Algeria and its own complicity. The memorial event did happen for a significant part of the rank-and-file within the army which recognized its own participation in acts of torture. Indeed, if the two bodies of text reveal clear discrepancies in framing, discursive and linguistic practices, their analysis paradoxically underlines the sclerosis of the denial discourse carried out by public authorities, what Florence Beaugé refers to as “a conspiracy of silence.”<sup>60</sup>

This questions the very impact of journalism in forming and sustaining collective memories. While the findings of this thesis discussed the representations of torture both in 1957 and 2000-2001, the interviews reflected on a major question: did *Le Monde* have a memorial agenda in 2000? Elaborating on this aspect of the coverage, Branche, unlike the historian Neil MacMaster (2002), did not believe the topic of torture appeared in the public sphere in 2000 because it was a propitious moment, despite the official recognition of the term “Algerian War” in 1999, which “changed a lot of things.” The historian Guy Pervillé directly linked the beginning

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<sup>60</sup> “As mentioned during our face-to-face interview.

of *Le Monde*'s 2000-01 investigation to a memorial and political agenda, a consequence of a discourse of Algerian president Abdelaziz Bouteflika at the French National Assembly on June 14, 2000. Pervillé considers this discourse as "a relatively discreet way to express the re-vindication of repentance which had been present in Algeria for a few years."<sup>61</sup> Consequently, he explicitly shared his interrogations regarding the level of independence of *Le Monde*, as he argued that the newspaper "seem[ed] to obey the orders of Algiers" by "launching a campaign to change opinions", while admitting he has no evidence about it.

From yet another perspective, sociologist Bucaille identified three different causes for the emergence of the torture debate in June 2000. While admitting that "it is always very difficult to identify the reasons behind the emergence of new strata of debate", the sociologist argues that "we live in an era where people ask for recognition, where victims want their voices heard." A second reason lies, said Bucaille, in the fact that "people talk before they die", which would explain the confessions of Generals Massu and Aussaresses. The last reason given by Bucaille to explain the beginning of *Le Monde*'s coverage is "a rather contingent fact; that is, the relation between Florence Beaugé and Louisette Ighilahriz." In fact, this last argument reflects the journalistic viewpoint on the context in which the investigation began. Beaugé had previously met Louisette Ighilahriz in the private sphere, and felt her story needed to be heard. Both Edwy Plenel and Florence Beaugé recalled that *Le Monde*'s first article about Ighilahriz had been a "professional mistake" – that the story was not to be published as it was submitted – and that the investigation that resulted from this mistake was an unintended consequence. Therefore, Plenel, the former editor in chief, claimed that the memorial intention actually originated from this professional mistake, which put the newspaper at risk and triggered a crisis within the newsroom and had little to do with intentional journalistic enterprise. Indeed, said Plenel, in an attempt to avoid lawsuits, he asked Beaugé to interview Generals Massu and Bigeard and obtain their own version of events. Plenel identified this moment at the first thing he thought to do, followed by a second moment when he realized the memorial impact these revelations could have. In Plenel's

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<sup>61</sup> It was the first time that a president of independent Algeria expressed himself at the French National Assembly in French. In his speech, Abdelaziz Bouteflika explains that "colonisation opened [Algeria] to modernity" but "was imposed by intrusion", adding that he nevertheless brings "a message of peace, so that it be a real message of reconciliation." During his speech, Bouteflika also called the French government to better portray "certain episodes of colonization in textbooks." [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3JVq\\_wSuuog](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3JVq_wSuuog)

own words: “Then, there was this second time when I sa[id] that the fact that victims testify [was] not new. On the contrary, and this is the definition of a democracy, even when it welcomes the ferments of totalitarianism within its midst, the fact that torturers recognize, this w[ould] be new. This w[ould] definitely be an event in terms of memory.” Beaugé shared this view and pointed out that what *Le Monde* did in 2000-01 had never been done before.

In other words, *Le Monde* did not have a conscious memorial agenda when it started covering torture but defined one during the investigation that came about because of a journalistic accident. In fact, Beaugé claimed that the context was not propitious at all, and the investigation was due to “[her], it was [her] and Edwy who wanted it” even though there were only “sealed, muzzled memories.” Compellingly, Beaugé, the journalist, insisted that despite Le Pen’s attempt to discredit her by claiming that she was working for the Algerian government, the Algerian authorities were “very reluctant” to accommodate her work and “never have been grateful” for the investigation. This, said Beaugé, is because it embarrassed both the French and the Algerian governments which had been struggling for years to establish peaceful diplomatic relations. Beaugé also identified contingency as part of the memorial process, explaining that General Aussaresses confessed his acts because of her journalistic methods combined with an element of chance. In addition, the journalist confessed that her gender and her status as a mother likely influenced the nature of the coverage, as she personally believed the war practice of rape needed to be exposed and developed empathy for the victims.

Regarding the novelty and overall content of the coverage, interviewees provided insightful answers, some of which support the findings of this thesis. Two main positive elements were raised: the focus on female victims, and the confession of military officers. Indeed, Branche claimed that “one of the effects of *Le Monde*’ revelations, [was] the female victims, this [was] new”, as she argued that it was “absolutely not known by the general public” even though the question appeared in the case of Djamila Boupacha in 1960.<sup>62</sup> As for Bucaille, she considered this choice of journalistic angle as similar to the “war in former Yugoslavia’s effect”, since the question of rape “was very present during this war—it shocked a lot.”

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<sup>62</sup> Djamila Boupacha was arrested in 1960 for attempting to bomb a café in Algiers in 1960, ad confessed after being tortured and raped by the French Army. Simone de Beauvoir defended her in an op-ed untitled “For Djamila Boupacha” (“Pour Djamila Boupacha”), published in *Le Monde* on June, 2<sup>nd</sup> 1960). See the study by Kunkle, Ryan (2013). “We Must Shout the Truth to the Rooftops:” Gisèle Halimi, Djamila Boupacha, and Sexual Politics in the Algerian War of Independence.” *Iowa Historical Review*. 4 (1).

Conversely, Florence Beaugé recalled that she was not aware of sexual abuses during the Algerian War, nor consciously influenced by the presence of this war crime in media reports from the Yugoslavian war. The journalist also recalled that she only discovered the application of torture in Algeria when she met Louisette Ighilahriz, although Ighilahriz had not explicitly mentioned that she had been raped. This is why the perpetration of rape-as-torture is not explicitly mentioned in the first article published by *Le Monde*. To achieve a fair and historically accurate journalistic account, the journalist called upon Pierre Vidal-Naquet, renowned historian of the Algerian War and the institutionalization of torture and Henri Alleg, victim of torture during the Algerian War and author of *The Question* to proofread her copy. Confronting testimonials to historical facts enabled the journalist to test their plausibility and ensure the publication of credible articles. As for the novelty of military officers' confessions, Branche admits that the words of Massu recognizing torture was not indispensable were "a very positive aspect of the investigation" as Massu "embodies a lot of things (...) such as the faithful military man, obedience, the one who publicly defended it [torture] in the 70s."

However, as seen in the work of McCormack (2007), *Le Monde*'s 2000-01 investigation remained controversial and certainly did not inspire public consensus around who bore responsibility for what was undoubtedly a war crime. Describing their own perceptions of the coverage, the interviewed historians mostly criticized *Le Monde*'s approach. Raphaëlle Branche's criticism focuses on two elements: the moral aspect of the coverage and the focus on torturers rather than on the institutionalization of torture by the State. Indeed, the historian argues that *Le Monde* had the same "historical moral position" as that of Hubert Beuve-Méry (*Le Monde*'s founder), insisting that individual torturers had acted without State knowledge or sanction during the Algerian War. Pervillé shares the same view on the "moral posture" adopted by *Le Monde*, which revealed "a lack of lucidity" and gave a one-sided picture of torture, as the practice was also used by the FLN during the war. This corresponds to the main memorial opposition to the remembrance and recognition of torture during the Algerian War: that French journalists should better reflect about the overall context of the war and the FLN's lawless methods. Nevertheless, as the findings of this thesis suggest, *Le Monde*'s 2000-01 re-vindication of political responsibility should not be labelled as "moralist" and should not be equated with claims of repentance. In fact, the coverage was framed as a means to free unheard voices, to understand torture's ramifications and, ultimately, to obtain the symbolic recognition of a despicable French

war crime. Analyzing their own journalistic work, both Plenel and Beaugé disagreed that the coverage focused on condemning torturers. They refuted claims of moral bias in the coverage and believed their true objective had, to a certain extent, been achieved: to portray the French State's knowledge of torture as a systematized act in Algeria and its culpability in implementing its use.

But one crucial question remains: what was the exact contribution of *Le Monde* to the collective memory of the question of torture during the Algerian War? According to Plenel, Beaugé, and Branche, what *Le Monde* did in 2000-01 was to break a deep-rooted silence. According to the former editor in chief, *Le Monde* provoked a dialogue within families such that “the grand-son would ask his grandfather, and his grandfather would start telling him things.” Beaugé related the same experience in her own family. Likewise, Branche acknowledged that *Le Monde*'s 2000-01 investigation “freed the word”, adding that from 2000 on, there was “an explosion of testimonies” and historical productions on the Algerian War. Only Pervillé argued that *Le Monde* contributed to memorial sclerosis by ignoring the actions of the FLN.

If the exact contribution of *Le Monde* is difficult to gauge, journalist Florence Beaugé provided an interesting point that elaborated on the role of journalism in institutional memory. Indeed, she strongly argued that the impact of the coverage stemmed both from the legitimacy of *Le Monde* as the opinion leader and the fact that society was, at last, “receptive.” She claimed: “*Le Monde* was the leader. It was dictating, after the AFP, it [was] *Le Monde*, at the televised evening news broadcast and all, it [was] *Le Monde* … among political newspapers, it was the most respected and the most recognized.” Concluding, the journalist claimed that the question of torture would not have had such an impact if covered by other major daily newspapers such as *La Croix*, *Le Figaro* or *Libération*.

Therefore, one of the main findings of the interviews, which is tangentially expressed, is that all interviewees remembered *Le Monde* 2000-01's coverage, whether vividly or partially, which is itself representative of the impact of the newspaper in the question of torture during the Algerian War. As such, the interviews, along with opinions polls, tackled the question of memory consumers. While reception was explored through letters-to-the editors in the 2000-01 coverage, Florence Beaugé emphasized the impact of *Le Monde* on the French audience by relating her own experience as a journalist, as she recalled receiving a substantial number of thank-you letters in tribute to her memorial work. According to her, only one out of ten letters contested the findings of the 2000-01 investigation.

As mentioned, opinion polls from the time show an evolution of the collective consciousness on the question on torture between November 2000 and May 2001, a period corresponding to the intense, sustained memorial work in *Le Monde*. Interestingly, the opinion polls did not only ask if the participants were *aware* of the use of torture, but if they find it to be *reprehensible*. If 57 per cent condemned the use of torture during the Algerian War in November 2000, 70 per cent condemned it after a year of confessions from the military, the victims, and former conscripts. In short, there was a significant shift in public opinion.

In terms of the reception of the coverage, both Beaugé and Branche admitted a link between *Le Monde*'s 2000-01 coverage and the change in public opinion, while pointing out the role of other newspapers in the process. Indeed, both Beaugé and Branche saluted the work of *L'Humanité*. In addition, they mentioned that the “torture controversy” was also very present on major French radio stations such as *Europe 1*, *France Culture*, *RMC* and on major television channels such as *France 2* and *France 3*. In contrast, Pervillé estimates that *Le Monde*'s investigation only had an impact on its audience; that is, “the French people who consider themselves as leftist and read *Le Monde*.” Discussing the impact of *Le Monde*'s investigation on a larger scale – the overall collective memory of the Algerian War – all participants agreed that *Le Monde* failed to obtain official recognition of the use of torture, and that French society remains divided on the memory of the Algerian War. Indeed, Plenel insisted on the reality of this blockage, arguing that: “We [French society] still are [is] twitchy about this, because we [French society] let all this macerate. Historically, it is obvious that the French obstinacy toward the will of the sovereign people led to catastrophes. It needs to be recognized. But this discourse did not happen.” As for Florence Beaugé, she shared the position of *Le Monde*'s former editor in chief, adding that even if the newspaper pursued its work on the Algerian War during the years when Edwy Plenel was still in charge and when she was covering Algeria (until 2010), the newspaper stopped pursuing its *memorial* work. Beaugé considered that this “silence provoked a rupture” and was a “serious professional mistake.” The journalist concluded that “it [the Algerian War in general] remains a trauma transmitted over generations.” Compellingly, Branche explained that “memory is not cumulative” and has regressed despite the incorporation of recent scholarship in French textbooks. Finally, Bucaille argues that French society still doesn't know how to discuss

the Algerian War except through a divide between different sides, “as if one could not recognize that the French army tortured Algerians and that Algerians, for instance, massacred the *Harkis*.<sup>63</sup>

Therefore, one of the major findings of the interviews, which partially contradicts this thesis, is that journalistic memorial work can only fully and permanently achieve collective memorial status when supported by official recognition. So far, although the French government recognized in 2005 the suffering undergone by expatriates, the civilian and military casualties from its former colonies (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Indochina and to territories previously covered by French Sovereignty), it has never officially recognized the systematic legitimization of torture on behalf of the French State in Algeria or anywhere else, nor has it developed a condemning discourse on its numerous colonial crimes.

But does this mean that journalism, and particularly legitimate newspapers, cannot be regarded as both a concrete and abstract site of memory, along with memorials, events, archives, museums, and even widely held cultural symbols and systems of belief? This thesis contends that it can, while acknowledging its own limits.

With respect to the question of representation, memory making and consumption of journalistic production, one is left with limited methodologies. If Kansteiner (2002) rightly advocated for a better incorporation of reception in collective memory studies, he did not provide tools to achieve this goal. Besides collective representations as portrayed in *Le Monde* during the two periods under analysis, this thesis suggests that three other sources of evidence – available opinion polls, letters-to-the-editor, and empirical information collected in interviews – are of considerable value. While both memory and journalism studies call for more methodological innovations on how to gauge the impact of daily news on collective memory, neither field suggests incorporating such peripheral material. This thesis makes the case that the process of analysis should, as a matter of course, include the voices of journalistic professionals equally with those of historians, sociologists and, indeed, anyone else who can legitimately elucidate the context for written journalistic accounts.

Questioned about the importance of journalism with respect to memory, all interviewees included in this thesis recognized that journalism plays a role in collective memory. According to Plenel, the role of journalists is to ascertain the facts by “the production of information of public interest for citizens to be free and autonomous”, including the embarrassing ones. Because this

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<sup>63</sup> See note 4, 18.

information relies on socially accumulated knowledge and codes, as Plenel claims, it not only regards the present but is “itself encumbered by the past.” Interestingly, if Beaugé argues that the impact of journalism depends on the legitimacy of the newspaper, she also strongly claims that this memory is often carried out by one single person within the newsroom, namely Beaugé herself (guided by Plenel) at *Le Monde* during the 2000-01 reporting on the “torture controversy.” This goes to the heart of journalistic practice because, as Beaugé would assert, going out on the field and writing long features had more impact than hard news journalism because it offers a better picture of reality. Elaborating on the place of journalism within memory studies, Beaugé’s position is reflective of Edy’s (1999) theory that journalists write the first draft of history, Beaugé arguing that “journalists and historians complement each other: journalists start by alerting and collecting information that historians later seize.” Taking the example of General Aussaresses’ confession of his use of torture during the Algerian War, the journalist insisted that “no one has forgotten it” even nowadays as it shocked the French public consciousness. Likewise, both Branche and Bucaille agree that journalism plays a role in collective memory, although each is nuanced in their analyses. For Branche, journalists have “an enormous power”, which requires enormous responsibility. Criticizing Florence Beaugé for an article where she wrote that nine out of ten Algerian women arrested were raped, Branche warns that journalistic responsibility comes directly from the power to shape memory.<sup>64</sup> As an historian, she also insists on the notion of context and the latency of certain societal elements because history “is in fact made out of coincidences.” In terms of collective memory, the notion that journalism is a vector of memory “appears obvious” to Branche, but the visions behind the vectors need to be analyzed because there are also memorial oppositions within newsrooms that do not necessarily reflect the collective memory of a country. Regarding journalism as site of memory, Branche adheres to the archival character of journalism but mostly defines institutional memory as being that of the organization that produces a newspaper. This arises from the idea that “the journal of record, which itself becomes an institution, and as such must assume its own memory, its own past ... and cannot say everything, has to take a stance ... This is very interesting in terms of the social image of a newspaper.”

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<sup>64</sup> Confronted to this figure during our interview, Beaugé claimed that her source was Gisèle Halimi, lawyer who (among others) defended Djamil Bouacha. See note 59, 97.

Likewise, Bucaille adheres to the theory that journalism can be considered as a site of memory because of its archival nature but points out that archives are not widely accessible. She also makes the point that journalism, and the news media in general, “play a very important role as they have affairs resurface.” However, from her perch as a sociologist, Bucaille claims that the memory produced by journalism is “less tangible”, and a double-sided process. As such, the memory produced by journalism is “hardly identifiable” because it is inscribed in an abstract and more malleable site, as opposed to monuments, which are intended to be concrete and enduring. In addition, the news media decide what is newsworthy by sometimes “making the choice not to offer certain information.” As an example, she recalls how a 1998 hunger strike by *Harkis*’ children was not relayed by French news organizations.

Finally, while Pervillé acknowledges the importance of journalism as a major agent and vector of memory, the historian emphasizes the memorial responsibility of newspapers. In the case of *Le Monde*, Pervillé concludes that “what one can expect from a great newspaper such as *Le Monde*, after half a century since the end of the Algerian War, is that they help the French people … to see things from a further perspective, from above, that is with a larger vision, so that it helps the French public opinion to move from the stage of memory to the stage of history.”

In conclusion, this thesis suggests that collective memorial processes are themselves highly debated, and when it comes to incorporating such an ephemeral and abstract site as journalism it is highly unlikely that consensus will be achieved. However, this thesis contends that memory studies must take journalism into account because journalism as an undeniable vector of memory, however contentious, simply cannot be ignored. The very basis for this thesis is that collective memory cannot be equated with an agreed-upon memory about past circumstances and events, otherwise we would still be living with the absurd State-imposed view of “official forgetting” as it applied to torture in Algeria. Indeed, collective memory consists of the distribution of what *individuals* consider to be true, and how they relate to the past to shape their own judgment and identity (Schwartz 2014, 212). It is this distribution that interferes with consensus and, by doing so, forces us to consider and reconsider the truth of memory. It justifies the importance of lingering over the means of collective representation.

In addition, the pool of knowledge provided by journalistic production is not only shaped by systems of belief – which enables researchers to track down accounts and use them to understand the evolution of collective memories – but also represents a barometer of social

consciousness. Ironically, while the French government endeavored to develop “untraceable” methods of torture, both literally and in the denial rhetoric that officials deployed in the media, journalism production remains a major key to the collective memory of torture during the Algerian War.

In fact, this thesis suggests that *Le Monde*’s coverage of torture in 1957 and in 2000-01 reproduces the power relations and social mechanisms of the two periods. In the first period, French society – for which Algeria was indisputably a part of France – marginally and timidly raised criticism against reprehensible practices in the context of “peacemaking operations.” In the second period, French society appears ready to discuss the ramifications of the war. By 2000-01 critical discourses on colonialism and state crimes was socially accepted, especially since the 1995 official recognition of France’s responsibility for deporting Jewish citizens during the German occupation.

Comparing *Le Monde* 1957 and 2000-01 coverage of torture, the discursive regularities and discrepancies can therefore be organized as follows:

<b>1957</b>	<b>2000-2001</b>
<b>Mainly factual articles</b>	<b>Mainly opinion and investigative articles</b>
Pragmatism-oriented (ending torture)	Truth oriented (recognition)
Euphemistic/ defensive/ intertextual	Expositive/ straight-forward/pathos
Ethics, moral	Memory, responsibility
Torture is not systematic	Torture is systematic
Patriotism/ defense of the army/ Nazi occupation	Trauma of victims (women, conscripts) and condemnation of military officers and the State
Polyphonic within French legitimate society (Christian community, intellectuals)	Polyphonic (Algerian and French voices, relay of the Communist newspaper <i>L’Humanité</i> )

As such, this thesis contends that all journals of record – and *Le Monde* may certainly be regarded as a leader in this category – can be regarded as concrete sites of memory since “[m]emory seems to reside not in perceiving consciousness but in the material: in the practices and institutions of social or psychic life, which function within us, but strangely, do not seem to require either our participation or our explicit allegiance” (Terdiman 1993, 34). As a site of material memory whose relevance relies on legitimacy, credibility and distribution, *Le Monde*’s journalistic production can therefore be construed as a major and reliable primary record of the practice of torture during the Algerian War.

More generally, this thesis argues that journalism enables communicative memories to become cultural memory, and potential memory to become actual memory.<sup>65</sup> Communicative memory consists of everyday communications that do not rely on a material support and are consequently not indefinitely sustainable (Kansteiner 2002, 182). Cultural memory “comprises that body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose ‘cultivation’ serves to stabilize and convey that society’s self-image” (Assmann 1995, 132). Therefore, by collecting empirical evidence on events and reporting it as fact, journalism builds a pool of material memory that can be used to empirically analyze the evolution of collective remembrance. Meanwhile, because cultural memory of all kinds is often stored in traditional sites of memory such as archives or museums it often fails to make the leap from “potential” to “actual” simply because it does not circulate widely. For potential memories to become actual memories, these representations need to be “adopted and given a new meaning in new social and historical context” (Kansteiner 2002, 182). This conceptualization therefore holds that even if memory depends on materiality and mediation it mostly depends on agency, and journalists are nothing if not agents who are motivated by the quest for empirical fact and its independent representation in the public sphere. This has obvious and important ramifications for an enhanced inclusion of journalism within the field of memory studies.

The findings of this thesis indeed substantiate the hypothesis that journalism can be construed as an active shaper of collective memory: a vector and a symbolic site in which memory is *reactivated* by human agency. Indeed, as Kansteiner (2002, 180) makes apparent, collective memory is “a collective phenomenon but it only manifests itself in the actions and

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<sup>65</sup> “Communicative memory”, “cultural memory”, “potential memory” and “actual memory” are concepts coined by Jan Assmann (1995) in “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity”, *New German Critique* 65.

statements of individuals.” Among them is the community of journalist who re-enact memory through the production and democratization of memory. Although a substantial amount of scholarship has reflected on this aspect of memory, most studies have analyzed the memorial power of journalism through the prism of commemoration and anniversary journalism.<sup>66</sup> But commemoration already implies political consent and official recognition – the often-imposed choice of special dates, the organization of collective symbolical events such as military parades, or the mere selection of a memorial site. However, as the example of *Le Monde* in 2000-01 demonstrates, not only was there no memorial agenda when the investigation started, but the government had not previously deviated from the denial discourse deployed on the use of torture during the Algerian War. This further exemplifies the need to better incorporate journalism within memory studies and to reconcile the notions of agency and contingency. As this thesis suggests, it is necessary to “accept the introduction of chance as a category in the production of events” (Foucault 1972, 231) – in this case the private relationship between journalist Florence Beaugé and Algerian victim Louisette Ighilahriz that led to an unexpected outcome. This is certainly not to say that the journalistic memorial production should be reduced to a set of coincidences that enable the enactment of new memorial discourses on traumatic events within the public sphere. One has to acknowledge the fact that it was *the French journal of record*, although it was not the most widely read, which obtained the confessions of highly ranked military officers, awakened the memory of former conscripts (whether they disagreed with the coverage or not), and offered a place for Algerian victims to discuss the ramifications of their experience of torture in Algeria.

If they belong in the category of memory makers, journalistic professionals and legitimate newspapers shape what sociologist Laëtitia Bucaille calls “a less tangible” and shifting memory.<sup>67</sup> Although it represents a material and institutional memory, journalistic production is not embodied in a fixed place. It is not constructed from the materials used in monuments. But should that deny journalism a meaningful status as a legitimate site of memory? This thesis concludes that it should not. On the contrary, it contends that journalism should be construed as an active shaper of collective memory, and ultimately, as site of memory and “the main site for public anticipation of memory” (Kitch 2008, 311). However, this does not preclude the need

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<sup>66</sup> See for example Meyers, Neiger, and Zandberg (2009); Robinson (2009); Kitch (2006, 2005, 2002); Bodnar (1994); Wagner-Pacifici and Schwartz (1991); Schwartz (1982).

<sup>67</sup> In our face-to-face interview.

for further reflection on the very definition of sites of memory in order to advance scholarship. Indeed, any site of memory, whether a symbol, a monument or an archive, is ontologically and paradoxically unfixed and subject to permanent loss. The fact that memories are made collective because they are embodied in sites does not mean that they will be remembered in perpetuity. They need to be reinvested with life and meaning, which is the very reason why commemorations exist. Why else would they exist if memorial sites were self-sufficient?

Journalism does not escape that definition: its own memory and the memory it shapes and distributes in the public sphere is characterized by instability. The institutional power of journalism lies both in its ability and social responsibility to sustain a memorial activity regardless of commemorative practices, precisely because memory, as a non-cumulative process, demands frequent reactivation. Thus, this thesis paves the way for further serious explorations of the role and impact of journalism in memory. As such, it begins the much-needed process of welcoming journalism into the unfinished pantheon of collective memory.

## Appendices

### Appendix 1

Presence of the topic of torture per journalistic format in *Le Monde* from 1954-1962

Year	Marginal				Present but not central				Central				Total
	Factual	Investigative	Hybrid	Opinion	Factual	Investigative	Hybrid	Opinion	Factual	Investigative	Hybrid	Opinion	
1954	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1955	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
1956	3	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	1	2	10
<b>1957</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>106</b>
1958	9	2	1	5	3	2	1	1	16	2	5	6	53
1959	5	3	2	3	6	0	0	3	12	0	7	9	50
1960	20	1	3	9	6	0	1	8	13	0	3	4	68
1961	16	3	0	4	7	0	0	2	5	2	0	7	46
1962	4	4	0	1	1	0	0	0	3	1	1	5	20
Total/sub-category	68	17	7	28	48	3	5	24	71	11	27	47	356
Total/category	120				80				156				356

### Appendix 2

Number of articles on torture per journalistic format in *Le Monde* from 1954 to 1962

Years 1954-1962	
Factual	187
Investigative	30
Hybrid	39
Opinion	100
<b>Total</b>	<b>356</b>

### Appendix 3

Presence of the topic of torture per journalistic format in *Le Monde* for the year 1957

	Year 1957			
	Marginal	present but not central	Central	total
Factual	9	23	20	52
Investigative	3	1	6	10
Hybrid	1	3	10	14
Opinion	6	10	14	30
<b>Total</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>106</b>

## Appendix 4

Presence of the topic of torture per journalistic format in *Le Monde* for the year 2000-2001

Year	Marginal			Present but not central			Central				Total
	factual	investigative	opinion	factual	investigative	opinion	factual	investigative	hybrid	opinion	
2000	7	9	11	3	6	6	18	40	1	31	132
2001	4	7	7	5	10	6	18	37	0	22	116
Total/sub-category	11	16	18	8	16	12	36	77	1	53	248
Total/category	45			36			167				248

## Appendix 5

Number of articles on torture per journalistic format in *Le Monde* for the year 2000-01

Year 2000-01	
Factual	56
Investigative	107
Hybrid	1
Opinion	84
<b>Total</b>	<b>248</b>

## Appendix 6

First editorial published by Sirius (Hubert Beuve-Méry) to condemn torture in Algeria, *Le Monde*, March 13, 1957.

GÉDAS de l'Assemblée. Ce serait une nouvelle condition préalable satisfaites après celles de l'O.N.U. — et avant celle des trois mois qu'aurait demandés M. Lacoste.

JACQUES FAIVET.

Il nous va sans dire que les hommes qui s'appellent les Nations unies n'ont pas d'une solidité éprouvée, et peut-être vont-ils mieux, en attendant, trouver une solution amiable par l'entremise diligente de M. Hammarskjöld.

compétition déchaînée. Syrd s'y lance dès son retour. Premier échec : l'avion s'écrase au sol et l'équipage est blessé.

L.P.  
(Lire la suite en 11<sup>e</sup> page, 2<sup>e</sup> colonne)

# Sommes-nous les « vaincus de Hitler » ?

Témoins ou victimes d'atrocités commises en Algérie par des Français, des lecteurs s'affligen de la relative discréetion qu'observe le *Monde* à ce sujet. Pour d'autres au contraire toute information qui peut être exploitée contre nous est déjà une trahison.

Le dilemme est redoutable. Parler c'est courir des risques qui ne doivent pas être assumés à la légère. Il n'est pas facile d'établir avec certitude, en tenant compte de toutes les circonstances, ce qui s'est passé au fond d'une cave ou dans une meche perdue. Il faut prendre garde de ne pas blesser au plus profond de l'âme ceux, policiers et soldats, qui font simplement et honnêtement leur devoir. Il est fâcheux enfin de contribuer, si peu que ce soit, à pourvoir l'arsenal de la propagande adverse. Mais se taire c'est être complice d'actes qui sont, comme l'écrit Pierre-Henri Simon, « non seulement fautes morales, mais erreurs politiques dont la nation

s'abstient un double dommage : dans l'intégrité de sa conscience et dans la force de sa position ».

P.-H. Simon a la tranquille audace de rappeler les principes et de citer parmi d'autres quelques faits. Son livre devrait être pour tous les Français, mais surtout pour nos combattants, nos chefs militaires, nos ministres, qu'obéissent trop de soucis immédiats, un grave motif de réflexion et d'action.

Si profond qu'il soit, après l'occupation et la résistance, après la guerre d'Indochine et deux ans de guérilla algérienne, le mal ne paraît pas incurable. Nous ne sommes pas encore, comme le redoute P.-H. Simon, « les vaincus de Hitler ». Mais il était grand temps de donner l'alarme. Dès maintenant les Français doivent savoir qu'ils n'ont plus tout à fait le droit de condamner dans les mêmes termes qu'il y a dix ans les destructeurs d'Oradour et les tortionnaires de la Gestapo.

## CONTRE LA TORTURE, de P.-H. Simon

Le courageux petit livre de vingt-cinq pages de M. P.-H. Simon aborde sous « celui de faire » quelques-uns des thèmes de l'opposition de François (1). Peut-on, malheureusement, l'assurer sans trop de risque d'être en l'opposition des théologiques ? Si l'on demande aux autres politiques, l'un est de l'autre. Quelques détails à ce sujet, mais également quelques réflexions sur la question de la torture, sont intéressants. L'autre, c'est de l'autre. Quelques détails à ce sujet, mais également quelques réflexions sur la question de la torture, sont intéressants.

G.

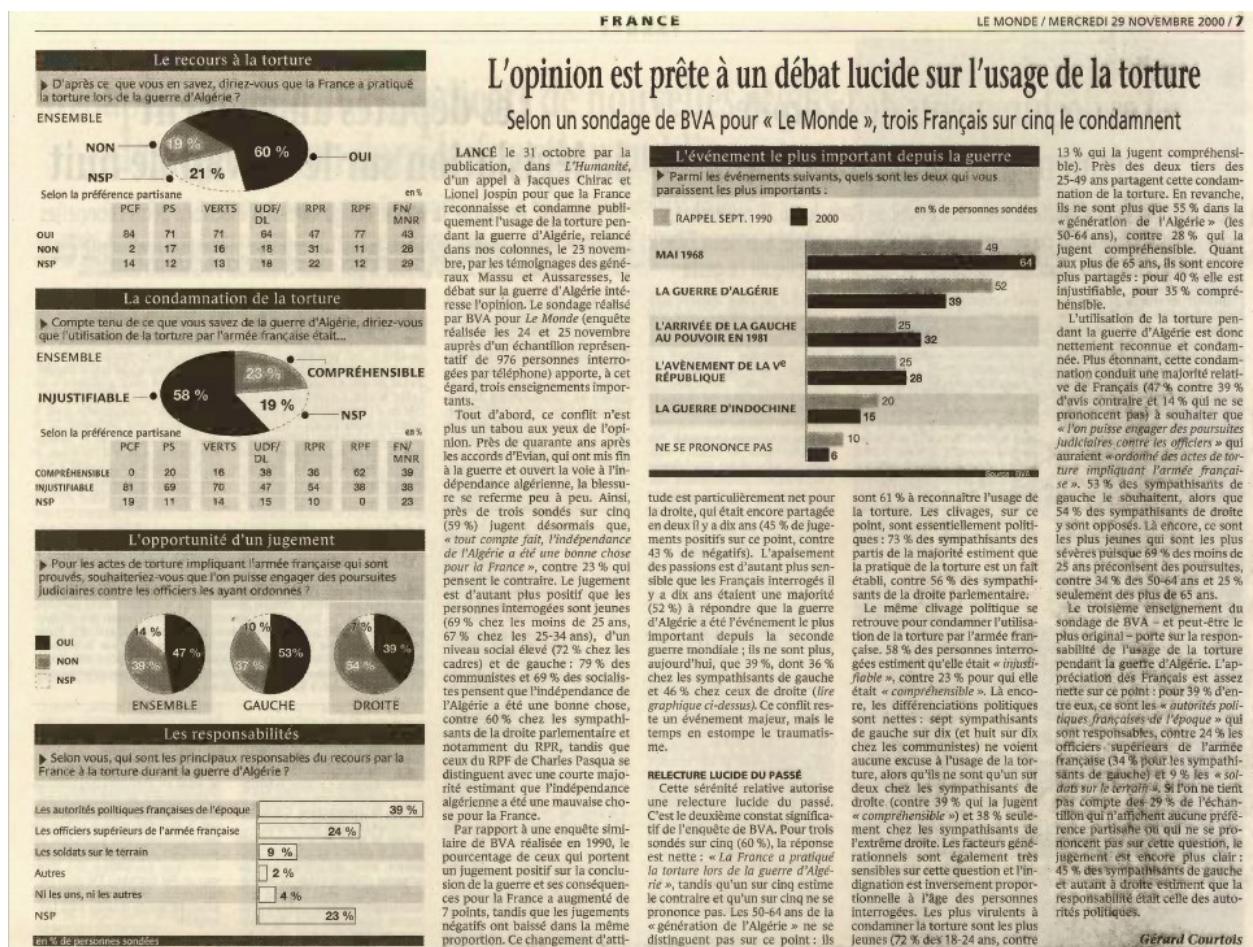


## Appendix 7

The article that ignited the “torture controversy”, *Le Monde*, June 20, 2000.

## Appendix 8

Article on the BVA-*Le Monde* survey showing the shift in the public opinion regarding the use of torture in Algeria, *Le Monde*, November 29, 2000.



## Appendix 9

## Sample of *Le Monde*'s editorial, May 7, 2001.

## Appendix 10

Sample of *Le Monde*'s memorial journalism, December 19, 2000.



## Appendix 11

Articles used for the 1957 qualitative analysis, organized by date, keyword, headline, genre, author and focus

Year 1957						
No.	Date	Keyword	Headline	Genre	Author	Focus
1	23 Jan. 1957	"sévices"	Des policiers d'Alger font subir des sévices à une jeune européenne	Opinion/comment	No author	central
2	29 Jan. 1957	"sévices "	Le cas de Mlle Evelyne Lavalette	investigative/article	No author	central
3	04 Feb. 1957	"sévices "	M.Mendès- France : ce qui compte aujourd'hui ce sont les actes du gouvernement	Factual/letter (doc)	No author	marginal
4	13 March 1957	"Beuve-Méry"	Sommes nous les vaincus d'Hitler?	Opinion/editorial	Hubert Beuve-Méry (Sirius), Founder of <i>Le Monde</i>	central
5	13 March 1957	"torture "	Contre la torture, de P.H-Simon	Opinion/comment	Michel Legris (journalist)	central
6	14 March 1957	"torture "	"Contre la torture"	Factual/press review	No author	central
7	16 March 1957	"torture"	Trois commentaires sur le livre de M.P.- Simon	Factual/press review	No author	central
8	18 March 1957	"torture" "sévices"	Le rapport de la commission parlementaire d'enquête sur les conditions dans lesquelles ont été interrogés les inculpés d'Oran	Factual/ doc	No author	central
9	20 March 1957	"sévices"	"Atteinte au moral de l'armée"	Opinion/comment	Jean Planchais (journalist)	marginal

10	22 March 1957	"torture "	Diverses personnalités font part de leur inquiétude devant certaines méthodes employées en Algérie	Factual/letter (doc)	No author	central
11	23 March 1957	"torture" "sévices"	Les modérés n'acceptent pas la déclaration du 9 janviers Les orateurs demandent plus de fermeté au Maroc M. Guy Mollet n'interviendra que mercredi	Opinion/editorial	Jacques Fauvet (journalist)	present but not central
12	23 March 1957	"torture" "sévices"	Le débat sur l'Algérie se prolonge et s'étend au Maroc et à la Tunisie	Factual/verbatim	André Ballet (journalist)	present but not central
13	25 March 1957	"torture"	La France catholique: Il y a eu des cas de torture grave.	hybrid	No author	central
14	26 March 1957	"torture" "sévices"	De la Légalité	Opinion/op-ed	Maurice Garçon ( Académie Française)	present but not central
15	28 March 1957	"interrogatoires" "torture"	Le suicide de Mr Boumendjel est évoqué à l'Assemblée nationale	Factual/verbatim	André Ballet (journalist)	central
16	28 March 1957	"torture" "sévices" "interrogatoire"	Les socialistes et le M.R.P s'inquiètent de la légalité des instructions en Algérie	Opinion/editorial	Jacques Fauvet (journalist)	present but not central
17	28 March 1957	"torture"	Des socialistes s'élèvent contre les méthodes de la répression	Factual/synthesis	No author	marginal
18	29 March 1957	"torture", "sévices"	M.Guy Mollet a invité l'Assemblée à se prononcer clairement pour ou contre la confiance	Opinion/comment	Jacques Fauvet (journalist)	present but not central

19	02 April 1957	"torture" "sévices"	M.Tanguy- Prigent: la dénonciation à sens unique des atrocités est injuste et inquiétante	Factual/declaration	No author	central
20	04 April 1957	"torture"	Un communiqué des enseignant C.F.T.C. sur les "méthodes de pacification"	Factual/press release	No author	present but not central
21	04 April 1957	"sévices"	M.Mitterrand: les sévices commis par la police sont moins nombreux qu'il n'a été dit	Factual/verbatim	No author	central
22	05 April 1957	"torture"	Le gouvernement s'interroge sur les mesures à prendre à l'égard des généraux Faure et de Bollardière	Opinion/comment	Jacques Fauvet (journalist)	central
23	05 April 1957	"torture"	Raison d'Etat et raison d'Etre	Opinion/op-ed	Claude Roy (writer)	marginal
24	06 April 1957	"sévices"	Une commission permanente de sauvegarde des droits et des libertés individuelles est créée auprès du ministre résidant <b>AU CONSEIL DES MINISTRES</b>	Opinion/editorial	Jacques Fauvet (journalist)	present but not central
25	06 April 1957	"torture" "sévices" "interrogatoire"	Dans un communiqué sur le "drame algérien" la Fédération protestante de France fait appel à la "conscience publique"	Factual/press release	No author	present but not central
26	09 April 1957	"torture"	L'Union des étudiants fait état de nombreux témoignages de rappelés	Factual/press release	No author	central

27	09 April 1957	"sévinces"	M.Mendès-France: frapper ceux qui témoignent ne peut qu'aggraver le mal	Factual/verbatim	No author	central
28	12 April 1957	"sévinces"	I-L'opération "paras"	investigative/reportage	Eugène Mannoni (press correspondent in Algeria)	central
29	13 April 1957	#torture Algérie	Témoignage Chrétien: La torture ne peut pas être une arme légitime	hybrid	No author	central
30	13 April 1957	"sévinces"	M.Lanza del Vasto poursuit son jeûne de vingt jours	Factual/synthesis	No author	central
31	13 April 1957	"torture" "sévinces"	II- La tâche singulière de l'armée	investigative/reportage	Eugène Mannoni (press correspondent in Algeria)	central
32	16 April 1957	"torture" "sévinces" "interrogatoire"	M.Guy Mollet: les auteurs de brutalités seront châtiés, mais les diffamateurs ne seront pas épargnés	Factual/verbatim	No author	central
33	17 April 1957	"torture" "sévinces"	Le complot	opinion/op-ed	Pierre-Henri Simon (writer)	central
34	19 April 1957	"torture"	Soixante professeurs affirment à leur tour leur solidarité avec MM. Peyrega et Capitant	Factual/report	No author	central
35	20 April 1957	"torture" "sévinces" "interrogatoire"	En attendant la Constitution de la Commission de sauvegarde	Opinion/editorial	Jacques Fauvet (journalist)	central
36	24 April 1957	"torture"	L'Arrière	Opinion/op-ed	Maurice Schumann (politician)	marginal
37	25 April 1957	"sévinces"	Le bureau du parti radical s'élève contre l'attitude de M.Lacoste à l'égard de sa	Factual/doc	No author	present but not central

			"commission de sauvegarde"			
38	27 April 1957	"torture"	"La Nation Française" : la force dans la justice peut seule mettre fin aux horreurs de la guerre	hybrid	No author	central
39	29 April 1957	"sévices"	M. Ferhat Abbas avait écrit au pape : "Le christianisme et l'Islam peuvent coopérer pacifiquement au progrès de la même communauté humaine"	Factual/report	No author	present but not central
40	06 May 1957	"sévices"	M.Mendès France: la politique actuelle conduira finalement à l'abandon	Factual/verbatim	Raymond Barrillon (journalist)	present but not central
41	07 May 1957	"torture"	Quels seront les pouvoirs de la commission de sauvegarde des droit et libertés?	Opinion/comment	No author	present but not central
42	11 May 1957	"torture" "sévices" "interrogatoire"	Un Algérien accuse publiquement la police d'exercer de graves sévices puis se dérobe à l'enquête ouverte sur son témoignage	opinion/court reporting	No author	central
43	24 May 1957	"torture"	Débat houleux sur le livre de M.P.H Simon	Factual/report	No author	central
44	25 May 1957	"torture" "sévices"	Deux hebdomadaires opposent en correctionnelle les témoignages contradictoires d'un ministre et	Factual /report	B. P.-D (journalist)	marginal

			d'un rappelé			
45	27 May 1957	"torture" "sévices"	M. René Capitant se prononce pour l'indépendance algérienne , M. Thierry Maulnier estime certains excès inévitables	Factual/report	No author	central
46	30 May 1957	"torture" "sévices" "interrogatoire"	Situations exceptionnelles	Opinion/op-ed	Pierre-Henri Simon (writer)	central
47	05 June 1957	"torture"	L'impossible silence	Opinion/comment	Maurice Duverger (jurist, sociologist, politician)	marginal
48	06 June 1957	"sévices"	Des socialistes algérois dénoncent les conséquences de la "pacification"	factual/synthesis	No author	marginal
49	07 June 1957	"sévices"	L'Humanité : L'homme de la répression	hybrid	No author	central
50	08 June 1957	"sévices"	Les Socialistes d'Alger accusent M.Lacoste d'avoir dénaturé la politique de M.Guy Mollet	Factual/synthesis	No author	marginal
51	15 June 1957	"torture"	Le Syndicat des transport F.O proteste contre l'attitude de la G.I.S.L sur l'Algérie	factual/syn]	No author	marginal
52	24 June 1957	"torture"	Plus de six cents enseignants de la région lyonnaise protestent contre les tortures en Algérie	Factual/declaration	No author	central
53	29 June 1957	"torture"	Lieutenant en Algérie	Opinion/literary critique	Jean Planchais (journalist)	marginal
54	01 July	"torture"	Nous ne sommes pas formidables	Opinion/op-ed	Yves Florenne	central

	1957				(Literary critique)	
55	05 July 1957	"torture" "sévices" "interrogatoire"	La célèbre Jeanne d'Arc	Opinion/op-ed	Gilbert Cesbron (Catholic writer)	central
56	15 July 1957	"torture" "sévices" "interrogatoire"	Pas de nouvelles certaines de douze Nord-Africains récemment arrêtés à Strasbourg	investigative/long article	No author	present but not central
57	17 July 1957	"torture" "interrogatoire"	Le R.P. Delarue a été blâmé par ses supérieurs ecclésiastiques mais il demeure aumônier à la 10e division de parachutistes	factual/synthesis	No author	central
58	26 July 1957	"sévices"	Trois executions capitales à Alger	factual/synthesis	No author	marginal
59	27 July 1957	"torture" "sévices" "interrogatoire"	Les délégués de la commission contre le régime concentrationnaire publient leur rapport sur l'Algérie	factual/doc	Dr Georges André, Lise Borsum, Ms Van Rij (members of an international investigative committee)	present but not central
60	29 July 1957	"torture" "sévices"	Le rapport de la commission contre le régime concentrationnaire	factual/synthesis	No author	present but not central
61	01 Aug. 1957	"sévices" "interrogatoire"	L'action de l'Eglise "va incontestablement humaniser cette guerre que sa nature même porte à dégénérer en luttes inhumaines"	hybrid	No author	marginal
62	03 Aug. 1957	"torture" "interrogatoire"	Une lettre à la presse de l'ancien directeur d'"Alger républicain"	Factual/letter (doc)	Mme Alleg (wife of Henri Alleg)	present but not central

63	10 Aug. 1957	"torture" "sévices" "interrogatoire"	Le dr Georges André commente l'enquête menée en Algérie par la commission internationale contre le régime concentrationnaire	factual/report	No author	present but not central
64	14 Aug. 1957	"sévices" "interrogatoire"	Interrogatoire sur le fond au procès des leaders du M. N. A.	factual/synthesis	No author	marginal
65	17 Aug. 1957	"torture" "sévices" "interrogatoire"	M. Louis Martin-Chaussier ajoute son témoignage personnel aux conclusions des délégués	hybrid	No author	central
66	19 Aug. 1957	"torture"	FINANCIAL TIMES (Londres, organe de la City) : le problème économique mondial est le manque de réserves financières.	Factual/press review	No author	present but not central
67	22 Aug. 1957	"torture"	Rétablissement le régime républicain	Opinion/comment	Olivier Pozzo Di Borgo (intellectual)	present but not central
68	28 Aug. 1957	"torture" "sévices"	La disparition de Maurice Audin	Opinion/comment	No author	marginal
69	03 Sept. 1957	"torture"	Mme Lise Boersum estime que les délégués ont pu recueillir toute la vérité	factual/synthesis	No author	present but not central
70	06 Sept. 1957	"torture" "sévices" "interrogatoire"	De nouvelles formes d'atteinte aux libertés individuelles ont été soumises à son examen.	Opinion/comment	No author	present but not central
71	17 Sept. 1957	"torture"	Le drame algérien et la justice	Opinion/op-ed	René William-Thorp (lawyer and	present but not central

					politician)	
72	23 Sept. 1957	"torture" "sévices"	Les officiers de corps de troupe pourront exercer des fonctions de police judiciaire	factual/report	No author	present but not central
73	27 Sept. 1957	"torture"	Controverses sur l'Algérie à l'Assemblée	factual/report	No author	present but not central
74	28 Sept. 1957	"torture"	La disparition de M. Maurice Audin	Factual/declaration	No author	marginal
75	28 Sept. 1957	"torture"	L'Assemblée nationale a terminé	Factual/Synthesis	André Ballet (journalist)	present but not central
76	28 Sept. 1957	"torture" "sévices"	Une institutrice exerçant en Algérie décrit les sévices qu'elle aurait endurés au début de l'année	hybrid	No author	central
77	07 Oct. 1957	"torture"	La discipline militaire et la torture	hybrid	No author	central
78	17 Oct. 1957	"sévices"	Saisie de "Libération"	factual/synthesis	No author	central
79	19 Oct. 1957	"sévices"	Un " colloque sur les libertés individuelles " se tient pendant trois jours à Dijon	investigative/long article	Claude Julien (journalist)	central
80	22 Oct. 1957	"torture"	Les résolutions adoptées	Factual/verbatim	No author	present but not central
81	30 Oct. 1957	"sévices"	M. Mohammed Tabra qui porta plainte contre des policiers strasbourgeois reste incarcéré à Alger	Opinion/comment	No author	present but not central
82	31 Oct. 1957	"torture" "interrogatoire"	UNE DÉCLARATION DES AVOCATS PARISIENS ayant défendu des accusés devant les	Factual/press release	No author	central

			tribunaux algériens			
83	31 Oct. 1957	"torture"	I. - La politique française et ses partenaires	investigative/reportage	Serge Adour (pseudonym of Gérard Belorgey, conscript in Algeria)	marginal
84	02 Nov. 1957	"torture" "sévices" "interrogatoire"	III. - Le renseignement contre la pacification	investigative /reportage	Serge Adour (pseudonym of Gérard Belorgey, conscript in Algeria)	central
85	05 Nov. 1957	"torture"	V. - Les limites de la pacification	investigative /reportage	Serge Adour (pseudonym of Gérard Belorgey, conscript in Algeria)	marginal
86	06 Nov. 1957	"torture"	VI. - Dépassionner - Démystifier - Décoloniser	investigative /reportage	Serge Adour (pseudonym of Gérard Belorgey, conscript in Algeria)	marginal
87	08 Nov. 1957	"sévices"	M. SOUSTELLE : la partie ne sera définitivement gagnée qu'à Paris	hybrid	No author	present but not central
88	11 Nov. 1957	"torture" "sévices"	Pour une action collective de l'opinion métropolitaine contre les excès commis en Algérie	Opinion/letter to the editor	Jean-Jacques Mayoux (Prof at the Sorbonne)	central
89	12 Nov. 1957	"torture" "sévices"	La question des tortures reste posée Un article de M. André Frossard	hybrid	No author	central
90	13 Nov. 1957	"torture" "sévices" "interrogatoire"	L'AURORE : des procédés indéfendables.	hybrid	No author	central

91	14 Nov. 1957	"torture"	L'Assemblée nationale renouvelle les pouvoirs spéciaux pour l'Algérie	factual/verbatim	André Ballet (journalist)	present but not central
92	19 Nov. 1957	"torture" "sévices"	Le cas de Djamilia Bouhired	hybrid	No author	present but not central
93	25 Nov. 1957	"sévices"	M. Anxionnaz : rien ne peut être fait sans le rétablissement du droit	Factual/verbatim	No author	present but not central
94	25 Nov. 1957	"sévices"	Le congrès radical : pas de redressement financier sans une solution politique du problème algérien	Factual/synthesis	Raymond Barrillon (journalist)	present but not central
95	26 Nov. 1957	"sévices"	Le congrès radical réclame une négociation avec le Maroc et la Tunisie	factual/synthesis	Raymond Barrillon (journalist)	present but not central
96	26 Nov. 1957	"torture"	La torture	Opinion/philosophical column	Jean Lacroix (Philosopher)	central
97	30 Nov. 1957	"torture" "sévices"	Le général Billote répond au général Massu	hybrid	No author	present but not central
98	30 Nov. 1957	"sévices"	Le discours du président du conseil	Factual/verbatim	André Ballet (journalist)	present but not central
99	02 Dec. 1957	"torture" "sévices"	M. Mongi Slim : l'offre de bons offices du Maroc et de la Tunisie était sincère	Factual/synthesis	No author	present but not central
100	06 Dec. 1957	"torture" "sévices"	Les défenseurs demandent que les procès-verbaux dressés sous la contrainte soient soustraits des dossiers	Factual/synthesis	Marcel Thiebault (press correspondent in Algeria)	central

101	11 Dec. 1957	"torture" "sévices"	Nous assistons en Algérie à une décomposition de l'État déclare M. Robert DELAVIGNETTE	factual/report	No author	central
102	12 Dec. 1957	"sévices"	M. LACOSTE SE FÉLICITE de la motion votée à l'O.N.U.	factual/synthesis	No author	present but not central
103	14 Dec. 1957	"torture" "sévices" "interrogatoire"	LE RAPPORT DE SYNTHÈSE DE LA COMMISSION DE SAUVEGARDE DES DROITS ET DES LIBERTÉS INDIVIDUELS	factual/doc	No author	central
104	16 Dec. 1957	"torture"	LE " TIMES " CONSACRE UN ÉDITORIAL A CETTE " VILAINE HISTOIRE "	hybrid	No author	central
105	16 Dec. 1957	"torture" "sévices" "interrogatoire"	Les atteintes au bon renom de l'armée ont été sanctionnées, Des punitions ont été infligées pour des actes de violence	investigative/interview	Marcel Thiebault (press correspondent in Algeria)	central
106	18 Dec. 1957	"torture"	RÉFLEXIONS SUR LE RAPPORT DE LA COMMISSION DE SAUVEGARDE	Opinion/op-ed	René William-Thorp (lawyer and politician)	central

## Appendix 12

Articles used for the 2000-01 qualitative analysis, organized by date, keyword, headline, genre, author and focus

Year 2000						
No.	Date	Keyword	Headline	Genre	Author	Focus
1	20 June 2000	"torture"	Torturée par l'armée française en Algérie, " Lila " recherche l'homme qui l'a sauvée	investigative/article	Florence Beaugé (journalist)	central
2	22 June 2000	"torture"	" Le témoignage de cette femme est un tissu de mensonges. Tout est faux, c'est une manœuvre "	investigative/interview	Florence Beaugé (journalist)	central
3	22 June 2000	"torture"	La " gangrène " au coeur de la République	investigative/article	Bernard Philippe (journalist)	central
4	22 June 2000	"torture"	" La torture faisait partie d'une certaine ambiance. On aurait pu faire les choses différemment "	investigative/interview	Florence Beaugé (journalist)	central
5	22 June 2000	"torture"	Le général Massu exprime ses regrets pour la torture en Algérie	investigative/article	Florence Beaugé (journalist)	central
6	22 June 2000	"torture"	Le remords d'un général	opinion/editorial	no author	central
7	22 June 2000	"torture"	Torture en Algérie : le remords du général Jacques Massu	factual/synthesis	no author	central
8	23 June 2000	"torture"	Le témoignage de Louisette Ighilahriz	opinion/op-ed	Bernard Philippe (journalist)	central

			rouvre le débat sur la torture en Algérie			
9	23 June 2000	"torture"	L'armée française et la torture	investigative	Jacques Isnard	central
10	24 June 2000	"torture"	La leçon de dignité de Louisette et l'amnésie suspecte de Bigeard	opinion/op-ed	Alain Maillard de la Morandais (Ph.D in Moral theology and History)	central
11	24 June 2000	"torture"	La mémoire meurtrie	opinion/op-ed	Brahim Senouci (Physics Professor in Sarcelles)	central
12	26 June 2000	"torture"	" J'obtiens la justice par la vérité, je ne demandais rien d'autre "	investigative/interview	Florence Beaugé (journalist)	central
13	28 June 2000	"torture"	Ça, oui; ça, non	opinion /column	Bertrand Poirot Delpech (journalist at <i>Le Monde</i> since 1951)	present but not central
14	03 July 2000	"torture"	Mohamed Duval	opinion/letter-to-the-editor	André Noziere	central
15	03 July 2000	"torture"	Merci aux paras	opinion/letter-to-the-editor	Jean-Marie Beyssade	central
16	05 July 2000	"torture"	GUERRE D'ALGÉRIE : le général Bigeard et la pratique de la torture	factual/press release	no author	central
17	15 July 2000	"torture"	GUERRE D'ALGÉRIE : Mgr Joseph Doré et Marc Lienhard réagissent aux déclarations du général Bigeard justifiant la pratique de la torture par l'armée française	factual/press release	no author	central

18	21 July 2000	"torture"	Le débat sur la torture en Algérie secoue Trimbach	investigative/article	Jacques Fortier (journalist)	central
19	22 July 2000	"torture"	Jules Roy contre la torture	opinion/letter-to-the-editor	Jean-Louis Roy	central
20	01 August 2000	"torture"	Le " cycle infernal "	investigative/article	Thomas Ferenczi(journalist)	present but not central
21	11 Sept. 2000	"torture"	Germaine Tillion, fausse Candide	investigative/portrait	Catherine Simon(journalist)	present but not central
22	11 Sept. 2000	"torture"	Une femme d'Histoire	factual/synthesis	no author	present but not central
23	06 October 2000	"torture"	Mitterrand, ombre et lumière	column politique	Thomas Ferenczi (journalist)	present but not central
24	31 October 2000	"torture"	Un appel à la condamnation de la torture pendant la guerre d'Algérie	factual/synthesis	no author	central
25	07 Nov. 2000	"torture"	L'appel des 12 intellectuels	hybrid	no author	central
26	07 Nov. 2000	"torture"	M. Jospin soutient l'appel pour condamner la torture lors de la guerre d'Algérie	investigative/article	Pascale Robert Diard (journalist)	central
27	08 Nov. 2000	"torture"	Polémique sur l'Algérie entre Lionel Jospin et le Recours	factual/synthesis	no author	present but not central
28	09 Nov. 2000	"torture"	Les crimes et la mémoire	opinion/editorial	no author	central
29	09 Nov. 2000	"torture"	L'histoire de Khéïra, violée par des militaires français	investigative/article	Florence Beaugé (journalist)	central
30	11 Nov. 2000	"torture"	Quand la France torturait en Algérie André Brémaud,	factual/synthesis	no author	central

			ancien appelé			
31	11 Nov. 2000	"torture"	Quand la France torturait en Algérie " Nous étions obligés d'être complices	opinion/testimony	Florence Beaugé (journalist)	central
32	11 Nov. 2000	"torture"	Quand la France torturait en Algérie Georges Fogel, ancien appelé	factual/synthesis	no author	central
33	11 Nov. 2000	"torture"	Quand la France torturait en Algérie Pierre Alban Thomas, lieutenant-colonel 1 en retraite	factual/synthesis	no author	central
34	11 Nov. 2000	"torture"	Quand la France torturait en Algérie" Oui, l'électricité, la baignoire, je l'ai vu "	opinion/testimony	Bernard Philippe (journalist)	central
35	11 Nov. 2000	"torture"	Quand la France torturait en Algérie " Il n'y avait pas de limites, jamais de rappel à l'ordre " B	opinion/testimony	Florence Beaugé (journalist)	Central
36	18 Nov. 2000	"torture"	Repentance pour l'Algérie ? Assez !	opinion/op-ed	Claude LeBorgne (general, "Cadre de réserve")	central
37	20 Nov. 2000	"torture"	La torture en Algérie	factual/synthesis	no author	central
38	23 Nov. 2000	"torture"	Dire, enfin	opinion/editorial	Pierre Georges (deputy director)	central

39	23 Nov. 2000	"torture"	Torture en Algérie : deux généraux français affrontent leur mémoire Huit années d'un engrenage irrépressible	factual/chronology	no author	central
40	23 Nov. 2000	"torture"	Le général Paul Aussaresses, coordinateur des services de renseignement à Alger en 1957 " Je me suis résolu à la torture... J'ai moi-même procédé à des exécutions sommaires... "	investigative/interview	Florence Beaugé (journalist)	central
41	23 Nov. 2000	"torture"	Torture en Algérie : deux généraux français affrontent leur mémoire	investigative/article	Bernard Philippe (journalist)	central
42	23 Nov. 2000	"torture"	Le général Jacques Massu, vainqueur de la bataille d'Alger " Si la France reconnaissait et condamnait ces pratiques, je prendrais cela pour une avancée "	investigative/interview	Florence Beaugé (journalist)	central
43	23 Nov. 2000	"torture"	Torture en Algérie : l'aveu des généraux	factual/synthesis	no author	central
44	24 Nov. 2000	"torture"	Le PCF réclame une commission d'enquête sur la torture pendant la guerre d'Algérie	investigative/article	Jean-Michel Bezat (journalist) and Jean-Louis Saux (journalist)	central

45	25 Nov. 2000	"torture"	Lionel Jospin opposé à une enquête des députés sur la torture en Algérie	investigative/article	Jean-Michel Bezat (journalist)	central
46	25 Nov. 2000	"torture"	Oui, parlons de repentance !	opinion/op-ed	Jean-Charles Beucher (Caporal chef in Algeria from April 1956 to September 1957, and former Mayor of Coudray (Mayenne)	present but not central
47	25 Nov. 2000	"torture"	Milan-Strasbourg, les tribulations du "Grand tableau antifasciste collectif"	investigative/article	Philippe Dagen (journalist)	present but not central
48	27 Nov. 2000	"torture"	La torture durant la guerre d'Algérie Jean-Marie Le Pen perd en cassation	factual/synthesis	no author	central
49	27 Nov. 2000	"torture"	L'idée d'une commission d'historiens sur la torture durant la guerre d'Algérie fait son chemin	investigative/article	Jean-Michel Bezat (journalist)	central
50	28 Nov. 2000	"torture"	Le PCF réitère sa demande d'une condamnation par l'Etat de l'usage de la torture en Algérie	investigative/article	Jean-Michel Bezat (journalist)	central
51	28 Nov. 2000	"torture"	Pierre Vidal-Naquet, historien Un universitaire engagé	investigative/portrait	Bernard Philippe (journalist)	central

52	28 Nov. 2000	"torture"	Pierre Vidal-Naquet, historien " Il se manifeste une gigantesque envie de vérité à propos de l'Algérie "	investigative/interview	Florence Beaugé (journalist) and Bernard Philippe (journalist)	central
53	28 Nov. 2000	"torture"	Torture en Algérie, l'envie de vérité	factual/synthesis	no author	central
54	29 Nov. 2000	"torture"	La guerre d'Algérie L'opinion est prête à un débat lucide sur l'usage de la torture	investigative/article	Gérard Courtois (journalist)	central
55	29 Nov. 2000	"torture"	La guerre d'Algérie Les anciens combattants accusent les gouvernements de l'époque	investigative/reportage	Alexandre Garcia (journalist)	central
56	29 Nov. 2000	"torture"	Lionel Jospin écarte l'idée d'une commission spéciale sur la guerre d'Algérie	investigative/article	Jean-Michel Bezat (journalist) and Ariane Chemin (journalist)	central
57	29 Nov. 2000	"torture"	La guerre d'Algérie Les politiques d'accord pour le travail de mémoire mais pas sur la repentance	investigative/article	Jean-Michel Bezat (journalist) and Jean-Louis Saux (journalist)	central
58	29 Nov. 2000	"torture"	Les Français face à la torture en Algérie	factual/synthesis	no author	central
59	30 Nov. 2000	"torture"	Lionel Jospin veut faciliter l'accès aux archives de la guerre d'Algérie	investigative/article	no author	central
60	30 Nov.	"torture"	Histoire sélective	opinion/letter-to-the-editor	Eric Vigne	central

	2000					
61	30 Nov. 2000	"torture"	Torture, mémoire, Algérie	opinion/op-ed	Gilles Martinet (French ambassador, former director of L'Observateur and co-founder of the Unified Socialist Party)	central
62	01 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Algérie : la torture et ses exceptions	opinion/op-ed	Jean-Pierre Meyer (Retired Associate Professor of German)	central
63	01 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Ce ne fut pas si simple	opinion/op-ed	Pierre Dabézies (Former Ambassador of Gabon, paratrooper colonel, professor emeritus at the Sorbonne)	central
64	02 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Les responsables algériens gardent un silence géné sur la torture Trois questions à...WILLIAM BOURDON	investigative/interview	Claire Trean (journalist)	central
65	02 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Les responsables algériens gardent un silence géné sur la torture Les "DOP" étaient chargés des interrogatoires " musclés "	investigative/reportage	Jacques Isnard (journalist)	central
66	02 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Les responsables algériens gardent un silence géné sur la torture	opinion/comment	no author	central
67	02 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Guerre d'Algérie : juger les tortionnaires ?	factual/synthesis	Claire Trean (journalist)	central

68	04 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Guerre d'Algérie et mémoire	factual/synthesis	no author	central
69	04 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Des historiens soulignent l'emploi " systématique " de la torture par l'armée française en Algérie Jean-Marie Le Pen et les " interrogatoires musclés "	investigative/article	no author	central
70	04 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Des historiens soulignent l'emploi " systématique " de la torture par l'armée française en Algérie	investigative/dossier	Florence Beaugé (journalist)	central
71	04 Dec. 2000	"torture"	L'ordre règne à Alger	investigative/dossier	Jean Planchais (journalist at <i>Le Monde</i> since 1945)	central
72	04 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Une opinion informée mais largement indifférente	investigative/dossier	Jean Planchais (journalist at <i>Le Monde</i> since 1945)	central
73	04 Dec. 2000	"torture"	La mémoire torturée	opinion/ mediator	Robert Sole ("mediator" at <i>Le Monde</i> , acts as a intermediary between the editorial board and the audience)	central
74	06 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Ambiance de krach	opinion/comment	Bertrand Poirot Delpach (journalist at <i>Le Monde</i> since 1951)	present but not central
75	07 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Les signataires de " l'appel des douze " invitent Jacques Chirac à se manifester et Lionel Jospin à aller " plus loin "	investigative/article	Bernard Philippe (journalist)	central

76	07 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Guerre d'Algérie : une thèse souligne la généralisation de la torture	investigative/article	Bernard Philippe (journalist)	central
77	08 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Torture en Algérie : les " douze " veulent être reçus par MM. Chirac et Jospin	factual/synthesis	no author	central
78	08 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Conscience chrétienne et torture en Algérie	opinion/comment	Henri Tincq (journalist)	central
79	11 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Un moyen efficace	opinion/letter-to-the-editor	Alain Le Ray (former general)	central
80	11 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Le premier pas	opinion/letter-to-the-editor	Marcel Mettey (former conscript)	central
81	11 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Hypocrisie	opinion/letter-to-the-editor	Alexandre Cortez	central
82	11 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Mémoire commune	opinion/letter-to-the-editor	Jean-Pierre Mettas	central
83	14 Dec. 2000	"torture"	La joie et l'agacement	opinion/op-ed	Roger Monié (retired lieutenant)	central
84	14 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Souvenirs, souvenirs	opinion/op-ed	Victor René Pilhes (writer)	central
85	14 Dec. 2000	"torture"	L'avenir en panne	opinion/op-ed	Paul Thibaud (writer)	central
86	14 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Les morts-vivants	opinion/letter-to-the-editor	Edmond Sanquer	present but not central
87	14 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Les enfants aussi	opinion/op-ed	Jacques Charbi (comedian)	central
88	14 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Le mythe des archives	opinion/op-ed	Kari Rahem (Ph.D. in Medicine and Ph.D. Student in Anthropology at EHESS, born in France after the Algerian War from an Algerian father)	central

					and a French mother)	
89	14 Dec. 2000	"torture"	La torture en Algérie, aujourd'hui comme hier	opinion/op-ed	Ahmed Aït Hocine (president of the Algerian Socialist Front Forces)	central
90	14 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Le débat sur la torture en Algérie	factual/synthesis	no author	central
91	15 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Grandeur et décadence des intellectuels français	investigative/dossier	Roger Pol Droit (journalist)	present but not central
92	15 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Les chrétiens militant contre la torture écrivent à Jacques Chirac	factual/synthesis	no author	central
93	16 Dec. 2000	"torture"	L'INTERVENTION DU PRÉSIDENT DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE Algérie : " Ne pas créer d'événement qui pourrait raviver les plaies du passé "	investigative/article	Florence Beaugé (journalist)	central
94	19 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Guerre d'Algérie : des avocats contre l'aveuglement	opinion/op-ed	Roland Rappaport (lawyer)	central
95	19 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Deux visages de l'Algérie	investigative/dossier	Michel Guerrin (journalist)	central
96	20 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Dans la presse	factual/press review	no author	present but not central
97	23 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Conversations avec Isabelle Adjani	investigative/interview	Annick Cojean (journalist)	present but not central
98	23 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Report de l'indemnisation de M. Garne, né d'un viol pendant la	investigative/article	Franck Johannes (journalist)	central

			guerre d'Algérie			
99	25 Dec. 2000	"torture"	La préfecture de police de Paris ouvre ses archives sur la répression anti-FLN	investigative/article	Ariane Chemin (journalist)	present but not central
100	27 Dec. 2000	"torture"	La polémique s'installe peu à peu en Algérie sur les tortures et exactions de l'armée française	investigative/reportage	no author	central
101	28 Dec. 2000	"torture"	MEMOIRE 350 000 anciens d'Algérie souffriraient de troubles psychiques liés à la guerre Alice Cherki, psychiatre et psychanaliste; ancienne sympathisante du FLN " Ce n'est qu'en parlant qu'on lève le déni et que tout se dénoue "	investigative/interview	Florence Beaugé (journalist)	central
102	28 Dec. 2000	"torture"	350 000 anciens d'Algérie souffriraient de troubles psychiques liés à la guerre	investigative/article	Florence Beaugé (journalist)	central
103	28 Dec. 2000	"torture"	Mémoires blessées	opinion/editorial	no author	present but not central
104	29 Dec. 2000	"torture"	La torture, enfant naturel de la guerre	opinion/op-ed	Micislas Orlowski (President of the national society " The Military medallists" (" Les	central

					Médaillés militaires")	
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**Year 2001**

No.	Date	Keyword	Headline	Genre	Author	Focus
105	01 Jan. 2001	"torture"	La mémoire de la torture pendant la guerre d'Algérie refait surface	factual/chronology	no author	central
106	04 Jan. 2001	"torture"	IL NY A PAS DE GUERRE PROPRE	opinion/letter-to-the-editor	B Furet	present but not central
107	15 Jan. 2001	"torture"	La torture en Algérie	factual/synthesis	no author	central
108	15 Jan. 2001	"torture"	Torture	factual/correction	no author	central
109	19 Jan. 2001	"torture"	Le choc des mémoires	opinion/comment	Luc Rozenweig (journalist)	central
110	26 Jan. 2001	"torture"	Torture	Factual/synthesis	no author	central
111	30 Jan. 2001	"torture"	Mobilisation pour une prise de position officielle contre la torture	factual/synthesis	no author	central
112	08 Feb. 2001	"torture"	Jacques Chirac demande une journée nationale d'hommage aux harkis	investigative-article	Raphaëlle Bacque (journalist)	present but not central
113	08 Feb. 2001	"torture"	Les harkis et la mémoire	opinion/editorial	no author	present but not central
114	09 Feb. 2001	"torture"	Torture : la question ne sera pas posée	opinion/op-ed	Jean -Paul Hebert (research engineer in defence economy at the Interdisciplinary Research center for peace and strategical studies -Cirpes-EHESS)	central

115	15 Feb. 2001	"torture"	Alger juge la coopération avec la France insuffisante	investigative/article	Florence Beaugé (journalist)	present but not central
116	17 Feb. 2001	"torture"	Les carnets d'Algérie du sénateur Jean Faure	opinion/testimony	Jean Faure (senator, fought in Algeria)	central
117	17 Feb. 2001	"torture"	Journal d'un soldat en Algérie	factual/synthesis	no author	present but not central
118	24 Feb. 2001	"torture"	Sur la toile	factual/synthesis	no author	central
119	06 April 2001	"torture"	MASSACRES COLONIAUX, 1944-1950 : la IVe République et la mise au pas des colonies françaises, d'Yves Benot	opinion/critique book	André Meury (journalist)	present but not central
120	28 April 2001	"torture"	Les recherches historiques sur la guerre d'Algérie seront facilitées	investigative/article	Bernard Philippe (journalist)	present but not central
121	03 May 2001	"torture"	L'accablante confession du général Aussaresses sur la torture en Algérie Crimes contre l'humanité et crimes de guerre	analysis/investigative	no author	central
122	03 May 2001	"torture"	L'accablante confession du général Aussaresses sur la torture en Algérie Membre des services spéciaux	factual/synthesis	no author	central

123	03 May 2001	"torture"	L'accablante confession du général Aussaresses sur la torture en Algérie Malika Boumendjel, veuve de l'avocat Ali Boumendjel : " Mon mari ne s'est pas suicidé, il a été torturé puis assassiné "	opinion/testimony	Florence Beaugé (journalist)	central
124	03 May 2001	"torture"	L'accablante confession du général Aussaresses sur la torture en Algérie Pierre Vidal-Naquet : " Il faut prendre ce livre pour ce qu'il est, les mémoires d'un assassin	articles/investigative	Florence Beaugé (journalist)	central
125	03 May 2001	"torture"	L'accablante confession du général Aussaresses sur la torture en Algérie	investigative/interview	Florence Beaugé (journalist)	central
126	03 May 2001	"torture"	Les aveux du général Aussaresses	factual/document	no author	central
127	03 May 2001	"torture"	La France face à ses crimes en Algérie	opinion/comment	no author	central
128	04 May 2001	"torture"	La majorité des députés restent opposés à une commission d'enquête sur la guerre d'Algérie	investigative	Elie Barth (journalist)	central
129	04 May 2001	"torture"	Des poursuites contre Paul Aussaresses se heurteraient à	investigative/article	Cecile Prieur (journalist)	central

			plusieurs obstacles juridiques			
130	05 May 2001	"torture"	Affaire Aussaresses : Lionel Jospin laisse la justice décider d'éventuelles poursuites	investigative/article	no author	central
131	05 May 2001	"torture"	Pour la France	opinion/column	Pierre Georges (columnist)	central
132	05 May 2001	"torture"	Plus de décos pour Aussaresses et ses pareils	opinion/op-ed	Michel Tubiana (President of the human rights league)	central
133	05 May 2001	"torture"	Crimes de la guerre d'Algérie : divulguer pour ne pas répéter	opinion/op-ed	Georgette Elgey (historian)	central
134	07 May 2001	"torture"	Le juge Bérard, un magistrat ayant eu accès à des dossiers sensibles	investigative/article	Franck Johannes (journalist)	present but not central
135	07 May 2001	"torture"	Le général Aussaresses L'impeccable carrière du "commandant O."	investigative/portrait/investigative	Bernard Philippe (journalist)	central
136	07 May 2001	"torture"	Jacques Chirac demande des sanctions contre le général Aussaresses VERBATIM Le communiqué de l'Elysée	factual/press release	no author	central
137	07 May 2001	"torture"	Les déclarations du premier ministre	Factual /report declarations	no author	central

138	07 May 2001	"torture"	Le général Aussaresses Les hésitations du futur chef de l'Etat, militaire puis fonctionnaire à Alger	investigative/article	Raphaëlle Bacque (journalist)	central
139	07 May 2001	"torture"	Le général Aussaresses Raymond Forni juge " inutile " une commission d'enquête	investigative/article	Elie Barth (journalist) and Michel Noblecourt (journalist)	central
140	07 May 2001	"torture"	Jacques Chirac demande des sanctions contre le général Aussaresses	investigative/article	Raphaëlle Bacque (journalist)	central
141	07 May 2001	"torture"	AU COURRIER DU "MONDE"	factual/synthesis	no author	present but not central
142	07 May 2001	"torture"	Le cas Aussaresses	opinion/editorial	no author	central
143	07 May 2001	"torture"	Comment juger nos crimes en Algérie ?	investigative/article	no author	central
144	08 May 2001	"torture"	Les aveux du général Aussaresses La gauche favorable à des suites judiciaires	investigative/article	no author	central
145	08 May 2001	"torture"	Les aveux du général Aussaresses suscitent une grande émotion en Algérie	reportage/investigative	no author	central
146	08 May 2001	"torture"	La torture en Algérie entre tabou, occultation et mémoire	investigative/article	Nicolas Weill	central
147	09 May 2001	"torture"	Le parquet saisi de plusieurs plaintes après	investigative/article	Franck Johannes (journalist)	central

			les révélations du général Aussaresses			
148	10 May 2001	"torture"	La veuve de Maurice Audin, torturé en Algérie, va déposer plainte pour crimes contre l'humanité	investigative/article	Bernard Philippe (journalist)	central
149	12 May 2001	"torture"	L'honneur d'un commissaire	opinion/op-ed	Roselyne Gévaudan (journalist) and Amand Gévaudan (pediatrician)	central
150	12 May 2001	"torture"	M. Chirac, M. Jospin, parlez !	opinion/op-ed	Malika Boumendjel (widow of Ali Boumendjel)	central
151	12 May 2001	"torture"	Un passé de tortures qui ne passe pas	opinion/op-ed	Mohammed Harbi (historian, former leader of the FLN)	central
152	12 May 2001	"torture"	Amère victoire	opinion/op-ed	Pierre Vidal-Naquet (historian)	central
153	14 May 2001	"torture"	François Mitterrand a hésité entre le silence et la dénonciation de la torture La mémoire défaillante de François Mitterrand sur le cas Fernand Iveton, premier Européen exécuté	investigative/article	Franck Johannes (journalist)	central
154	14 May 2001	"torture"	François Mitterrand a hésité entre le silence et la dénonciation de la torture Le dossier du juge Bérard dévoile un magistrat à l'action ambiguë et contestée	investigative/article	Bernard Philippe (journalist)	present but not central

155	14 May 2001	"torture"	François Mitterrand a hésité entre le silence et la dénonciation de la torture Un soutien à Gaston Defferre contre l'éviction du général de Bollardière	investigative/article	Bernard Philippe (journalist)	central
156	14 May 2001	"torture"	La torture en Algérie Les "regrets sincères "du général Aussaresses	factual/synthesis	no author	central
157	14 May 2001	"torture"	La torture en Algérie Vers des sanctions disciplinaires contre le général Aussaresses	factual/synthesis	no author	central
158	14 May 2001	"torture"	" Le nombre des exécutions dépend plus du rapport de forces entre belligérants que des personnalités au pouvoir "	investigative/interview	Franck Johannes (journalist)	central
159	14 May 2001	"torture"	La torture en Algérie François Mitterrand a hésité entre le silence et la dénonciation de la torture	investigative/dossier	Bernard Philippe (journalist) and Franck Johannes (journalist)	central
160	14 May 2001	"torture"	Première ligne	opinion/mediator	Robert Sole (mediator)	central
161	14 May 2001	"torture"	De Papon à Aussaresses	opinion/op-ed	André Monjardet (former conscript and former director of associations)	central

162	14 May 2001	"torture"	Torture en Algérie : que savait et qu'a fait, en 1957, le garde des sceaux François Mitterrand ?	factual/synthesis	no author	central
163	15 May 2001	"torture"	Sondage sur la responsabilité de l'Etat dans le recours à la torture pendant la guerre d'Algérie	factual/synthesis	no author	central
164	15 May 2001	"torture"	La thèse officielle sur la disparition de Maurice Audin contestée par les révélations d'un ancien sergent en Algérie	investigative/article	Florence Beaugé (journalist)	central
165	18 May 2001	"torture"	Les propos du général Aussaresses Le conseil supérieur de l'armée de terre pourrait prononcer des sanctions	article/investigatie	Jacques Isnard (journalist)	central
166	18 May 2001	"torture"	Les propos du général Aussaresses M. Jospin veut "stigmatiser" les tortionnaires de la guerre d'Algérie	investigative/article	Pascale Robert Diard (journalist)	central
167	18 May 2001	"torture"	Ouverture d'une enquête pour "apologie de crimes de guerre" après les propos du général Aussaresses	investigative/article	Franck Johannes (journalist)	central
168	18 May 2001	"torture"	Le juger pour crimes contre l'humanité	opinion/op-ed	Patrick Baudouin (lawyer, Honorary Chairman of the	central

					International Federation of the human rights league)	
169	18 May 2001	"torture"	Plaidoyer pour mon père	opinion/op-ed	Helene Aussaresses (daughter of general Aussaresses)	central
170	18 May 2001	"torture"	Merci, général Aussaresses !	opinion/op-ed	Maurice T. Maschino (journalist and writer)	central
171	19 May 2001	"torture"	Torture en Algérie : les " Douze " réclament la condamnation officielle	factual/synthesis	no author	central
172	21 May 2001	"torture"	Les aveux du général Aussaresses réveillent les cauchemars des anciens d'Algérie L'armée d'aujourd'hui tient à refuser " tout amalgame "	investigative/article	Jacques Isnard (journalist)	central
173	21 May 2001	"torture"	Trois questions à... CLAIRE MAUSS-COPEAUX	investigative/interview	Bernard Philippe (journalist)	central
174	21 May 2001	"torture"	Les aveux du général Aussaresses réveillent les cauchemars des anciens d'Algérie" Que pouvait faire un appelé lorsqu'on lui ordonnait une corvée de bois ? "	investigative/article	Bernard Philippe (journalist)	central
175	21 May 2001	"torture"	Les aveux du général Aussaresses réveillent les cauchemars des anciens d'Algérie	investigative/article	Bernard Philippe (journalist) and Sylvia Zappi (journalist)	central

176	21 May 2001	"torture"	Les porteurs de valises	opinion/letter-to-the-editor	Bernard Pingaud	present but not central
177	21 May 2001	"torture"	Contre la torture	opinion/editorial	no author	central
178	21 May 2001	"torture"	Hubert Beuve-Méry (1902-1989)	investigative/portrait	no author	central
179	21 May 2001	"torture"	Pierre Mendès France (1907-1982)	investigative/portrait	no author	central
180	21 May 2001	"torture"	Robert Lacoste (1898-1989)	investigative/portrait	no author	central
181	21 May 2001	"torture"	1956 : Hubert Beuve-Méry et la torture	factual/ document letter	no author	central
182	21 May 2001	"torture"	Le secret du général Aussaresses	investigative/article	Florence Beaugé (journalist)	central
183	25 May 2001	"torture"	Le général Aussaresses conteste avoir fait l'apologie de la torture	Factual/synthesis	no author	central
184	28 May 2001	"torture"	La peur	opinion/letter-to-the-editor	René Misslin	central
185	28 May 2001	"torture"	Les premiers témoins	opinion/letter-to-the-editor	Michel Thuilleaux	central
186	28 May 2001	"torture"	Raison d'Etat	opinion/letter-to-the-editor	Jean-Paul Ghys	central
187	29 May 2001	"torture"	De Sartre aux "porteurs de valise "	investigative/portrait	no author	present but not central
188	29 May 2001	"torture"	" La question de la torture est indissociable de la question coloniale "	investigative/interview	Antoine Spire (journalist)	central
189	29 May 2001	"torture"	Algérie : torture et colonialisme	factual/synthesis	no author	central
190	30 May	"torture"	Jeux de cons	opinion/comment	Bertrand Poirot Delpech (journalist)	present but not

	2001				at Le Monde since 1951)	central
191	30 May 2001	"torture"	ALGÉRIE : l'Eglise réformée de France a décidé de créer un lieu de " libre parole ", au sein de l'aumônerie protestante aux armées	factual/press release	no author	present but not central
192	31 May 2001	"torture"	Les militaires proposent la mise à la retraite du général Aussaresses	investigative/article	Jacques Isnard (journalist)	present but not central
193	02 June 2001	"torture"	" Révélations " du général Aussaresses : demande de révision de deux procès de la guerre d'Algérie	factual/synthesis	no author	present but not central
194	08 June 2001	"torture"	La révision d'un procès symbole de la guerre d'Algérie réclamée après les aveux du général Aussaresses	investigative/article	Bernard Philippe (journalist)	present but not central
195	08 June 2001	"torture"	" Que chacun sache que l'armée mais aussi la justice ont trahi des valeurs essentielles "	investigative/interview	Bernard Philippe (journalist)	central
196	11 June 2001	"torture"	Les historiens et la guerre d'Algérie	opinion/op-ed	Aïssa Kadri (sociologist), Claude Liauzi (historian), André Mandouze (historian), Annie Rey Goldzeiguer (historian), Pierre Vidal Naquet (historian)	present but not central

197	11 June 2001	"torture"	En souvenir de Mustapha	TV supplement /opinion	Georges Chatain (journalist)	present but not central
198	15 June 2001	"torture"	La Question d'une femme	investigative/article	Florence Beaugé (journalist)	central
199	15 June 2001	"torture"	Tortures en Algérie: une ancienne combattante du FLN met en cause le général Maurice Schmitt Lieutenant chez Bigeard pendant la bataille d'Alger	factual/synthesis	no author	present but not central
200	15 June 2001	"torture"	Tortures en Algérie : une ancienne combattante du FLN met en cause le général Maurice Schmitt	investigative/article	Bernard Philippe (journalist)	central
201	16 June 2001	"torture"	Le général Aussaresses est cité devant le tribunal de Paris pour " apologie de crimes de guerre "	investigative/article	Bernard Philippe (journalist) and Franck Johannes (journalist)	present but not central
202	19 June 2001	"torture"	De l'éminente indignité du crime de guerre	opinion/op-ed	Michel Zaoui (lawyer)	central

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