

## PAISAGENS COLONIAIS E PÓS-COLONIAIS: ARQUITETURA, CIDADES, INFRAESTRUTURAS

### DEBATES ON NORTHERN AFRICA

The «Plan of Constantine» and the modernist utopia  
[Ahmed El-Amine Benbernou](#)

'A land of minerals': Oil Extraction and Constructs of French Coloniality in the Algerian Sahara  
[Gemma Jennings](#)

Retracing continuity and discontinuity of a vernacular typology mass housing in the colonial context of Morocco: the case of the city of Casablanca  
[Fatima Zohra Saaïd, Najoua Beqqal, Mouna Sedreddine e Siham Elgharbi](#)

### DEBATES ON WEST AND CENTRAL AFRICA

Surveying essences, producing culture: virgin landscapes and the architectural reinvention of the late Portuguese empire  
[Rui Aristides Lebre](#)

"Uma Guiné Melhor": the psychological action and the spatialization of population control in rural areas. The strategic villages in Guinea-Bissau between 1968-1973  
[Francesca Vita](#)

Divided Urbanism – On the Spatial Production of Transportation Infrastructures in Livingstone during Late Colonialism  
[Carl-Philipp Bodenstein](#)

In between on all levels – [Applied] Foreign Affairs  
[Baerbel Mueller](#)

### ENTREVISTA

Johan Lagae  
[Entrevista conduzida por Ana Vaz Milheiro e Ana Silva Fernandes](#)

### ÁFRICA EM DEBATE – PODERES E IDENTIDADES

La configuration inachevée de la modernité: L'expérience narrative qualifiante d'Idriss al-Ġu'aydi, voyageur marocain en Europe durant l'été 1876  
[Nizar Tajditi](#)

L'itinéraire d'un orientaliste au Portugal et ses réseaux européens. Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, militaire et éthiopianisant  
[Hervé Pennec](#)

### NOTAS DE LEITURA

Watson, J. (2021). *Cold War Reckonings: Authoritarianism and the Genres of Decolonization*. New York: Fordham University Press  
[Miguel Filipe Silva e Abiud Bosire](#)

39

PAISAGENS COLONIAIS E PÓS-COLONIAIS:  
ARQUITETURA, CIDADES, INFRAESTRUTURAS

# Africana Studia

REVISTA INTERNACIONAL DE ESTUDOS AFRICANOS  
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF AFRICAN STUDIES

Revista Semestral – 1.º Semestre 2023

39

Africana Studia

## PAISAGENS COLONIAIS E PÓS-COLONIAIS: ARQUITETURA, CIDADES, INFRAESTRUTURAS

PVP 10€



Africana Studia

## **AFRICANA STUDIA**

**Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos/International Journal of African Studies**

**Email:** africanastudia@letras.up.pt

**N.º de registo:** 124732

**Depósito legal:** 138153/99

**ISSN:** 0874-2375

**DOI:** <https://doi.org/10.21747/0874-2375/afr>

**DOI Africana Studia n.º 39:** <https://doi.org/10.21747/0874-2375/afr39>

**Editor/Entidade proprietária:** Centro de Estudos Africanos da Universidade do Porto  
FLUP – Via Panorâmica s/n – 4150-564 Porto

**Email:** ceaup@letras.up.pt

**NIF da entidade proprietária:** 504045466

**Diretor:** Maciel Morais Santos (ceaup@letras.up.pt)

**Secretariado:** Carla Delgado

**Revisão gráfica e de textos:** Henriqueta Antunes

**Sede da Redação:** FLUP – Via Panorâmica s/n – 4150-564 Porto

**Tiragem:** 200 exemplares

**Periodicidade:** semestral

**Design capa:** Sersilito

**Execução gráfica:** Sersilito-Empresa Gráfica, Lda. – Tv. Sá e Melo 209, 4471-909 Maia

**Conselho científico/Advisory Board:** Adriano Vasco Rodrigues (CEAUP), Ana Maria Brito (FLUP), Augusto Nascimento (FLUL), Dmitri Bondarenko (Instituto de Estudos Africanos – Moscovo), Eduardo Costa Dias (CEA-ISCTE), Eduardo Medeiros (U. Évora), Emmanuel Tchoumtchoua (U. Douala), Jean Gormo (U. Maroua/CEAUP), Joana Pereira Leite (CESA-ISEG), João Garcia (FLUP), José Carlos Venâncio (U. Beira Interior), Malyn Newitt (King's College), Manuel Rodrigues de Areia (U. Coimbra), Manzambi V. Fernandes (Faculdade de Letras e Ciências Sociais de Luanda/CEAUP), Michel Cahen (IEP-U. Bordéus IV), Mohammed Nadir (CEAUP), Nizar Tadjiti (U. Tetouan/CEAUP), Paulo de Carvalho (Faculdade de Letras e Ciências Sociais de Luanda) e Philip Havik (IHMT).

**Conselho editorial/Editorial Board:** Abdifatah Abdi, Aicha Janeiro, Ana Silva Fernandes, Ana Vaz Milheiro, Amina Aty, Carla Delgado, Flora Oliveira, Francisco Topa, Maciel Santos, Marina Butovskaya, Mourad Aty e T. P. Wilkinson.

**Venda online:** <http://www.africanos.eu/ceaup/loja.php>

**Advertência:** Proibida a reprodução total ou parcial do conteúdo desta publicação (na versão em papel ou eletrónica) sem autorização prévia por escrito do CEAUP.

*Africana Studia* é uma revista publicada com arbitragem científica.

*Africana Studia* é uma revista da rede Africa-Europe Group for Interdisciplinary Studies (AEGIS).

**Capa:** Tower in the railway station of Ressano Garcia. Mozambique, 2019. Foto: Ana Silva Fernandes.

Este trabalho é financiado por fundos nacionais através da FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, I.P, no âmbito do Projeto UIDB/00495/2020.

# 'A land of minerals': Oil Extraction and Constructs of French Coloniality in the Algerian Sahara

Gemma Jennings\*

pp. 25-31

## Introduction

In 1959, Jacques Soustelle, the then Minister of State for Overseas Departments, wrote of the French project in the Algerian Sahara, “the Sahara, which for thousands of years was an obstacle between white men and black, will have been transformed at last into a link enabling them to meet on grounds of common prosperity...thanks to our technicians, administrators and soldiers...[M]ay we not rightfully take pride in contributing in this way to world peace?” (Soustelle, 1959: 636). Such colourful descriptions of the vast but ephemeral colonial investment project of the late 1950s were commonplace in the French press. They hailed a new, benevolent desert conquest- the triumph of French grit and technology over these inhospitable lands to finally establish modern civilisation,” or at least new cities, roads and telecommunications, in a region which had been overwhelmingly neglected by colonial developers over the first 126 years of imperial occupation (Clarke, 1961: 103-4, Lydon, 2007: 45). These developments were precipitated and increasingly funded by the discovery and exploitation of the huge Saharan oil and gas reserves. The oil, or “black gold”, was of huge strategic importance to the French state, touted as a panacea for a range of social, economic and political ills across the territories (Davis, 2017: 323, Brogni, 1973: 152-3).<sup>1</sup> The extraction of these resources, however, required a reconstitution of the Saharan physical and political infrastructure, changes which had vast but underexplored impacts on Saharan residents.<sup>2</sup>

This paper explores two key questions around the imperial development project in the Sahara between 1952 and 1962. First, in what ways did the oil infrastructure change and shape the physical space of the Algerian Saharan region- its borders and boundaries as well as its landscapes and built environments? And secondly, how were these spatial changes experienced, absorbed, and influenced by local actors and populations? Taken together, the analysis illustrates how the interaction between colonial strategic and racial logics and the material nature of Algeria’s hydrocarbon resources shaped and translated into the physical and social landscape, laying an economic and infrastructural foundation which influenced

 <https://doi.org/10.21747/0874-2375/afr39a2>

\* **University of Birmingham.**

<sup>1</sup> From the French perspective, these included securing a much-needed energy reserve, strengthening foreign-exchange reserves, and even combatting the rise in Russian influence in Europe. AN Folder F6 4004, Peyret, Henry (1957), *Le Sahara espoirs et réalités, L'économie supplément*, n.º 596.

<sup>2</sup> This has been particularly impacted by the pervasive vision of the Sahara as an empty space, which has rendered Saharan residents invisible, conspicuously absent from historical, economical and even ecological studies. For a detailed discussion of this historiography see McDougall *et al.*, 2012: 9-12.

Algerian state-building projects for decades (Davis, 2010: 178-179, Musso, 2018: 174). The paper opens with a discussion of the establishment and urban geographies of the emerging demographic centres at the extraction nodes of Hassi Messaoud, Hassi R'Mel and Edjeleh. The article then turns to an analysis of the relationship between oil infrastructure, more broadly conceived, and the construction of the Saharan border.

## The “fires of modernism”: Establishing oil towns

### The Search

By the early 1960s, the Saharan oil industry employed and housed hundreds of workers in lavish residential and industrial complexes often described by European observers as towering impressively over the desert landscape. These nodes were alternatively envisaged as either the “fires of modernism” or, somewhat more bluntly, as a “surrealist fairground.”<sup>3</sup> It was a far cry from the conditions experienced by French geologists and early prospectors who had arrived in the desert a decade earlier. These men were a mobile and peripatetic group who toiled “without water, without shade, without roads,” in oppressive heat, sleeping and working in simple tents (Plessis, 1960: 26-27). In this first section, I outline this dramatic process of urban development and argue that a combination of colonial policy imperatives alongside industry practices shaped these emerging commercial and demographic nodes and imposed new socio-spatial practices around race, ethnicity and labour.

The exploration and prospecting of the 1950s formed part of the wider imperial search for a secure domestic reserve of hydrocarbon resources which had become a dominant strategic priority after the First World War. An expensive and potentially unprofitable venture for private companies, Saharan operations emanated predominately from these geopolitical concerns, underwritten and facilitated by a state policy which provided capital investment, infrastructural development and a guaranteed market for any oil produced (Beltran, 2016: 49-50, Barjot, 2016: 63). These early activities, whilst they lacked the type of permanent infrastructure which so marked the Saharan landscape later in the decade, left long-standing imprints not only on regional mapping and colonial cartography but also on human geography (Verlaque, 1955: 174). Preliminary drilling activities, for example, drew Saharan men from across the desert often to remote sites on short-term, highly paid contracts- instigating new migratory cycles as unproductive sites were abandoned and drilling teams, often including local recruits, moved on (Verlaque, 1955: 176-177).

Moreover, because these activities required a ready supply of water, even the most rapidly abandoned sites had long-term implications as the large and accessible reservoirs of subterranean water they left behind were often exploited by nomadic groups. For some, such as the Chaamba, available water points ultimately resulted in changes to existing migratory routes (Verlaque, 1955: 176-177). Governmental policy, thus strongly shaped the emerging Algerian oil industry, particularly in its strong links to metropolitan consumption and instigated a search for oil which, even in its early and transitory stages, began to reshape patterns of labour and migration for local residents.

### Company Towns

As oil and gas reserves were discovered, construction of a more permanent physical infrastructure- derricks and storage units, pumps and pipelines, electricity and running water,

<sup>3</sup> AD 19860445/4, Press cutting (undated, 1958), *Brève rencontre d'un jeune; BP, Folder ARC18159, Press Cutting Financial Times (1964) Pipelines Bursting at the Seams.*

as well lodgings and offices- centering on these points began. The key sites, Hassi Messaoud, Hassi R'Mel and Edjeleh, were all clustered in the north-east quadrant of the desert. Their particular geography had two significant implications. The first was that entirely new industrial and residential agglomerations, unconnected to prevailing constructive logic and patterns, such as proximity to oases, but rather shaped by the requirements of hydrocarbon extraction and situated away from existing settlements, were constructed (Chaouche-Bencherif, 2007: 151). Secondly, as these sites and nearby urban settlements underwent dramatic and rapid growth, the population of Hassi Messaoud grew to 5,000 by 1971 and up to 38,000 in 1998, this concentrated location significantly exaggerated demographic and economic asymmetry between this northeast quadrant of the desert and the southern and western regions (Lerat, 1971: 16, Seghiri, 2002: 99, Chaouche-Bencherif, 2007: 29). As I will illustrate below, this evolution into crucial economic, transport and demographic nodes was significantly influenced and underwritten by both the infrastructural investment and economic opportunities associated with the oil sector, with significant consequences for local social structures.

The urban geography of these new agglomerations provides an important insight into how these interactions between commercial prerogatives, geographic and material dictates, and imperial social and economic policy were tangibly translated into the built environment. As we will see, local management and architects were important actors in interpreting and applying colonial racial logic in these settings. Moreover, the comparatively well-documented history of these company towns sheds light on how the industrial and wider colonial presence in these areas impacted the daily lives and social structures of local communities. Because oil companies recruited and housed a varied migrant workforce, which drew from the metropole, the coastal north and across the desert region, these spaces were unique points of concentrated cultural, racial and ethnic interactions. In short, the oil towns were a socio-spatial arrangement which brought coloniser and colonised into daily contact in a context constructed, managed and administered by the oil companies themselves (Chaouche-Bencherif, 2007: 154).

In constructing their bases, oil companies were explicit in their efforts to design residential zones to recruit and appeal to European staff. As a result of both colonial racial assumptions and educational structures these staff were in high demand for the highly skilled technical and managerial positions (Lerat, 1971: 29). Thus, settlements centred around "green areas," designed to replicate "English parks," supported by intensive irrigation. Moreover, the built environment was dominated by extensive leisure facilities- cinemas, discos, sports facilities and restaurants (Chaouche-Bencherif, 2007: 146, Lerat, 1971: 26-27, 29-30). This logic even extended to gastronomical taste with surprisingly significant implications. Both oil companies and colonial planners stressed the importance of providing a "European" diet to these populations, who would surely quickly become "disaffected with [local] dates."<sup>4</sup> Administrative records are explicit about the significant impacts of these requirements on infrastructural planning, necessitating vast investment into roads capable of supporting refrigerated lorries, management of increased air traffic and even suggesting shifts to local agricultural patterns to meet these needs.<sup>5</sup>

For "local" recruits, however, colonial observers often boasted that these towns-particularly their leisure and dining amenities-concurrently facilitated ethnic integration and social "progression." Oil towns were credited with physically transporting Saharan residents "from the age of feudality to the age of machines," and furnishing them with new skills, pastimes,

<sup>4</sup> Author's translation. AN, Folder F6 4004, Commission Générale (1960), Notes, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*: Organisation Commun des Régions Sahariennes (1959), Etude des Transports au Sahara, Dossier 5, appendix 7.

diet and dress (Plessis, 1960: 26-27, 31). Such explicitly civilisational rhetoric was balanced by claims that oil sector employment also supported traditional industries and cultural centers, as wages were often invested in these areas.<sup>6</sup> The reality, however, was that spatial planning in oil towns implemented implicit and explicit forms of residential segregation, including designating small *quartiers* for Saharan workers, replete with buildings designed in a “local” style (Chaouche-Bencherif, 2007: 15).<sup>7</sup>

Infrastructural development, meanwhile, particularly the availability of water, alongside the concentration of waged wealth in these areas, increasingly encouraged the settlement of formerly nomadic groups. These groups raised livestock and small-scale agricultural produce and sold these goods in the new centre’s shopping districts. These patterns precipitated a growing attachment to the built environment and associated status markers, whilst the importance of agricultural assets declined (Chaouche-Bencherif, 2007: 152, 275, Lerat, 1971: 27-28, 30-31). Thus, the emerging “oil towns” represented important and unique spaces in which colonial racial and political projects were negotiated and translated by local actors with significant and long-lasting implications for the urban and demographic landscape.

## Constructing *EurAfrique*: Saharan Oil and Desert Borders

“A creation *ex nihilo*... the Sahara is the *work* of Frenchmen.”<sup>8</sup> This extract of an account of proceedings in the French national assembly in 1953 neatly summarises the ideological underpinnings of the infamous political project which sought to divide Algeria along a constructed Saharan border and recognise the right of only the northern region to independence. Whilst the preponderant role of oil in dictating this political stance has been widely acknowledged, the important ways in which the oil infrastructure underwrote, substantiated, and embodied these claims have been widely overlooked (Ruedy, 2005: 183; Davis, 2017: 323). In this section, therefore, I will illustrate how the construction and management of the oil project defined the boundaries and constitution of the Saharan region by implementing a resource border between the north and south, designating the Sahara as a tangibl political and economic entity shaped around the geography of oil (Davis, 2013: 323).

## Defining an Algerian-Saharan border

Prior to the intense oil prospecting of the early 1950s the Algerian Sahara was subsumed under the broad designation of the “Southern territories,” an area with a distinctive administrative structure but whose limits were ill-defined.<sup>9</sup> As the search for oil progressed the need to define these borders became increasingly pressing, as greater administrative functioning was required to oversee infrastructural construction and the oil sector itself, as well as to provide a basis for separatist claims.<sup>10</sup> This distinction was implemented and embodied particularly through the Organisation commune des régions sahariennes (henceforth OCRS). The OCRS was given vast responsibilities over the region, including urban planning, administrative oversight and a generous budget to facilitate Saharan “development,” thus implementing a distinct political and economic regime in the Sahara (Davis, 2013: 323).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., pp. 29-31

<sup>7</sup> TA, folder 87ZX848-4, Compagnie Française de Pétrole (1978), Ground Plan Hassi-Messaoud. On French colonial use of town planning to represent and materialise imperial racial hierarchies see Wright, 1991: 1-5.

<sup>8</sup> Author’s translation and emphasis. 1953 debate in the French Assemblée cited in Strasser, 1956: 172.

<sup>9</sup> AD, Folder 115 SEAA, Notes au sujet de la limite entre les départements algériens et les territoires du Sud (1961), pp. 1-4.

<sup>10</sup> On the need for the OCRS to oversee the petrol infrastructure see for example *Journal officiel de la République française* (November 1958), *Ordonnance 58-1111. AN, Folder F6 4004*.

<sup>11</sup> See, for example AN, Folder F6 4004, *Journal officiel de la République française* (March 1959), *Decree number 59-453 and* (April 1958), *Decree number 58-398*.

The geography of oil reserves were crucial in dictating this new political cartography, as administrators were careful to define borders that retained oil reserves as “Saharan.”<sup>12</sup> Funded both by the French state and royalties from oil concessions, the OCRS undertook huge infrastructural projects, ranging from roads and telecommunication networks, primarily designed to serve the extraction nodes, to agricultural development, establishing accessible water supplies and irrigation projects (Brogni, 1973, 151-152, Plessis, 1960: 28). The development of these road networks had particularly significant implications for those nomadic populations who had relied on income from camel rearing and providing transportation services. These activities became increasingly unsustainable and urbanization among these groups intensified, with vast social and economic impacts (Horden, 2012: 33). At same time, the wider infrastructural projects of the OCRS similarly operated to impose this northern/Saharan distinction, by improving the standard of living of Saharan populations “in accordance with [local] traditions.”<sup>13</sup> The organisation thus reinforced perceived ethnic differences and reconstructed local ecologies. For example, the OCRS supported the continued operation of palm groves as uniquely localised agricultural and cultural centers (Chaouche-Bencherif, 2007: 238). We saw earlier how these ideologies were reflected in the urban geography of the oil centers themselves, through the construction of “Saharan” residences and *quartiers*.<sup>14</sup>

### The Saharan economy

Alongside this construction of the northern/Saharan division, infrastructure emanating from the oil industry reinforced and intra and trans-Saharan connections. The OCRS’ sphere of operations englobed the desert regions of Algeria, Niger, Chad and then-French Sudan. The OCRS sought to enable these regions to jointly extract and exploit desert resources, thus creating a singular, transnational and specifically Saharan economic unit. The organisation devoted considerable energy to constructing economic connections across the region. A proliferation of pipelines, rail and roadways were built and planned. These routes were not only funded by oil revenue but also increasingly “follow[ed] the path of oil and gas exploration.” (Bossard, 2014: 113-114, Suggitt, 2018: 86-87, 99-102). For consumers in the Algerian Sahara, moreover, a proliferating local gas network emanating from a new processing plant at Hassi Messaoud, circumventing older import routes via with Algiers. This drove down energy significantly, by up to 33 %. Intra-Saharan connections were thereby encouraged at the expense of national Algerian connectivity.<sup>15</sup> At the same time, the oil infrastructure reinforced the connection between the Saharan region and the metropole where the crude was refined and predominately consumed, through an extensive network of pipelines and roads via Arzew and Algiers. This framework created an economic dependence on France which was used to legitimate the colonial territorial claims and continued to shape industrial development for decades after the end of formal colonial rule (Davis, 2010:

<sup>12</sup> AD, Folder 115 SEAA, Notes au sujet de la limite entre les départements algériens et les territoires du Sud (1961), p. 4. For more on Saharan cartographies see Blais, 2014: 237-286.

<sup>13</sup> Author’s translation. See, for example, AN F6 4004, *Journal officiel de la République française* (April 1958), Decree number 58-398.

<sup>14</sup> As Muriam Haleh Davis has illustrated, oil companies explicitly imposed ethnic distinctions in their hiring and operational practices, which advantaged the “Mediterranean” staff of France and North Algeria whilst limiting the progression, earning potential and job security of the “less advanced” “Saharan” staff. Davis, 2013: 324, Davis 2017: 91-92.

<sup>15</sup> Production et cotage de butanes dans les départements sahariens, 16 November 1961; R Pessayre letter to letter to the OCRS head of public works, 10 January 1962. AD, 19780642/77.

178-179, Musso, 2018: 174).<sup>16</sup> In very tangible ways, then, hydrocarbons created a resource border, a regional energy market operating independently of northern Algeria.

Overall, therefore, oil geographies and infrastructure were both shaped by and impacted on the French colonial project to define the borders and boundaries of a Saharan region, and expressed these claims most explicitly through the construction of transport networks, resulting in significant shifts to ecological and economic structures.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, it is clear that the interactions between the oil industry and the political, racial, and ethnic dictates of the imperial state had important implications for the colonial constitution of Saharan space, both in terms of urban geography and regional bordering. Whilst colonial and contemporary commentators have tended to subsume local residents into a passive and uniform role, in reality, these local populations negotiated and absorbed these evolutions in different ways. Through these interchanges, the geography of oil was written into and shaped the Saharan landscape, precipitating and defining new urban agglomerations and infrastructural networks, whose contours shaped the political and economic vistas of the Saharan region far beyond the end of formal colonial rule.

## Bibliographic references

Archives Diplomatiques (AD), Paris.

Archives Nationales (AN), Paris.

Barjot, Dominique (2016), La SN Repal: un acteur original de la politique pétrolière française (1946-1972), in, Barjot, Dominique et Thi Hoai Trang Phan, Thi Hoai, dir, *Économie et Développement Durable: Héritage Historiques et Défis Actuels au sein du Monde Francophone*, Paris: Société française d'histoire des outre-mers.

Beltran, Alain (2016), Les stratégies des entreprises pétrolières françaises dans le monde francophone (de l'entre-deux-guerres aux années 1970), in, Barjot, Dominique et Trang Phan, Thi Hoai (Dir.), *Économie et Développement Durable: Héritage Historiques et Défis Actuels au sein du Monde Francophone*, Paris: Société française d'histoire des outre-mers.

Blais, Hélène (2014), *Mirages de la carte, l'invention de l'Algérie coloniale, XIXe – XXe siècle*, Paris: Fayard.

Bossard, Laruent (Ed.) (2014), *An Atlas of the Sahara-Sahel: Geography, Economies and Security*, OECD Publishing.

BP Archives (BP), Warwick.

Brachet, Julian (2012), Movements of People and Gods Local Impacts and Dynamics of Migrations to and through the Central Sahara, in McDougall, James and Scheele, Judith, eds, *Saharan Frontiers: Space and Mobility in Northwest Africa*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Brogni, Maurice (1973), L'exploitation des hydrocarbures en Algérie de 1956 à 1971. Etude de géographie économique, PhD Diss, Univeristé Nice.

Chaouche-Bencherif, Meriama (2007), La Micro-urbanisation et la ville-oasis; une alternative à l'équilibre des zones arides pour une ville saharienne durable Cas du Bas-Sahara, PhD Diss, Université Mentouri.

Clarke, John I. (1961), *Economic and Political Changes in the Sahara*, *Geography* vol. 46, n.º 2, pp. 102-119.

Davis Muriam Haleh (2017), *The Transformation of Man' in French Algeria: Economic Planning and the Postwar Social Sciences, 1958–62*, *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 52, pp. 73-94.

<sup>16</sup> See, for example, the discussion of the need for French investment and market assurances in AD, Folder 115 SEAA, 1961 notes on Sahara departments des Oasis et Saoura and Sahara Revendications des riveraines.

- (2013), *Algeria's Colonial Geography: Shifting Visions of Mediterranean Space, New Geographies*, vol. 5, pp. 315-324.
- (2010), *Restaging Mise en Valeur: "Postwar Imperialism" and The Plan de Constantine*, *Review of Middle East Studies*, vol. 44, n.º 2, pp. 176-186.
- Horden, Peregrine (2012), Situations both alike? Connectivity, the Mediterranean, the Sahara, in McDougall, James and Scheele, Judith, eds, *Saharan Frontiers: Space and Mobility in Northwest Africa*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Lerat, Serge (1971), *Hassi Messaoud, Cahiers d'outre-mer*, vol. 93, pp. 16-31.
- Lydon, Ghislaine (2007), Writing Trans-Sharan History: Methods, Sources and Interpretation across the African Divide, in Keenan, Jeremy, ed., *The Sahara: Past, Present and Future*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- McDougall, James and Scheele, Judith (2012), Introduction Time and Space in the Sahara, in McDougall, James and Scheele, Judith, eds, *Saharan Frontiers: Space and Mobility in Northwest Africa*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Musso, Marta (2018), Taking Control: Sonatrach and the Algerian Decolonization Process, in Ochonu, Moses (Ed.), *Entrepreneurship in African History* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Plessis, Daniel (1960), Quel visage le Sahara d'hier et d'aujourd'hui aura-t-il demain?, in Jean Amrouche (Ed.), *Le Sahara en Questions*. Paris: La NEF, 1960.
- Ruedy, John (2005, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition), *Modern Algeria: The Origins and Development of a Nation*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Seghiri, Allaoua (2002), *Hassi-Messaoud: Est-elle une ville? Méditerranée* vol. 9, pp. 99-102.
- Soustelle, Jacques (1959), *The Wealth of the Sahara, Foreign Affairs*, vol. 37, n.º 4, pp. 626-636.
- Suggitt Kelsey (2018), *Impossible endings? Reimagining the end of the French empire in the Sahara, 1951-1962*, PhD diss., University of Portsmouth.
- Total Archives (TA), Paris.
- Wright, Gwendolyn (1991), *The Politics of Design in French Colonial in French Colonial Urbanism*, London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Verlaque, Christian (1955), *Les recherches pétrolières dans le Sahara français, Travaux de l'Institut des recherches sahariennes*, vol. 103, pp. 159-179.