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## The Stance of Algerian National Party Press on the Idea of French Union (1946)

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### Abstract:

Following the culmination of World War II, the concept of the French Union was introduced as an ambitious initiative aimed at replacing the antiquated French colonial empire. This concept gained momentum amidst a burgeoning global decolonization movement. However, the proposal did not attract the interest of the People's Party and the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties, which viewed it as merely a continuation of colonialism under a revamped facade, thus rendering it an unacceptable compromise in lieu of complete independence.

In contrast, the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto harbored significant expectations for the project, with prominent figures like Ferhat Abbas and other deputies championing their cause in the Constituent Assembly of 1946. Nevertheless, the Assembly, swayed by the French government and Algerian settlers, reacted unfavorably to the proposal. Consequently, the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto's press voiced its disillusionment with the ratified version of the French Union, criticizing it for not introducing any innovative provisions for the colonies and keeping them under direct rule. On the other hand, the Algerian Communist Party perceived the project as an opportunity to foster a union between France and its colonies, akin to the structural relationship within the Soviet Union among Russia and its republics.

**Keywords:** French Union, Algeria, France, Fourth Republic, Colonialism, Independence.

### Introduction

The 19th century witnessed an extensive wave of colonial expansion that enveloped Africa and Asia. By the onset of World War I in 1914, major European powers had partitioned and dominated these continents, marking an era dominated by the unchallenged supremacy of the white man. However, the conclusion of World War I saw President Woodrow Wilson of the United States advocating for the rights of peoples to self-determination.

Despite his ideals, Georges Clemenceau dismissed him as a utopian idealist, arguing that such principles were inapplicable in the African and Asian contexts. Consequently, the colonial status quo remained largely unaltered at the war's end. The League of Nations subsequently introduced a mandate system to govern the colonies of the vanquished nations. Nevertheless, the scenario underwent a significant transformation post-World War II, particularly following the proclamation of the Atlantic Charter in 1941, which ignited demands for independence among the colonized populations.

While British territories generally experienced decolonization through conciliatory means, French colonies were engulfed by a vigorous anti-colonial movement, set against a new international backdrop that favored liberation over colonial dependency. French colonial policy was riddled with contradictions. On one hand, France endeavored to preserve its colonial empire; on the other, it acknowledged that the future of its colonies could not replicate their past. This ambivalent stance was evident in General de Gaulle's address at Brazzaville in January 1944, where he proposed a vision for the colonies' future under a federal system.

This system would allow for self-governance through semi-parliamentary bodies and internal laws or quasi-constitutions, while still maintaining their ties to French influence. This vision was explicitly detailed in the Constitution of the Fourth Republic, signifying a novel approach to colonial governance. However, colonial leaders on the ground were reluctant to adopt these progressive ideals as delineated in the French Constitution, opting instead to adhere to colonial mentalities. Moreover, France's response to nationalist demands in Vietnam and Algeria was characterized by stringent suppression of these movements.

### 1. The Idea of Forming the French Union (Union Française)

In the aftermath of World War II, French politicians recognized the altered global dynamics and the evolving status of their colonies. De Gaulle's speech at the 1944 Brazzaville Conference outlined a prospective future for French colonies within a federal framework. Nonetheless, the circumstances of the colonies were diverse; regions such as Vietnam had attained a degree of independence, whereas others remained categorized under the French overseas territories, including Algeria and the Martinique, or as protected areas like Tunisia and Morocco, and mandate territories such as Syria and Lebanon.

Consequently, the Constitution of the Fourth Republic (October 1946) decreed that France and its colonial empire would collectively form the French Union, categorizing its members into various tiers: associate states, affiliated territories, and overseas lands. The Constitution articulated several progressive notions, proclaiming, "France endeavors to guide the peoples under its stewardship towards autonomy and self-governance," effectively abolishing indigenous status laws and declaring equality and human rights, albeit in theory.

In continuation of this legislative thought process, President Vincent Auriol, in December 1947, discussed the new bonds that should unite France with its overseas populations, emphasizing a mutual commitment to freedom, respect for human dignity across diverse beliefs and cultures, and the advancement of human conditions both materially and spiritually<sup>1</sup>. Despite these official pronouncements, such proposals frequently encountered resistance, especially from the settler population.

The constitution also established the French Union Assembly, strategically headquartered at the illustrious Palace of Versailles. This assembly was composed of 240 members, divided among various constituencies: 75 representing metropolitan France, 75 from the overseas territories, and 45 from the associate states.

Specifically, Algeria was allocated 18 seats within this assembly, represented by notable deputies including Ferhat Abbas and Ahmed Boumendjel. These representatives were elected through diverse channels including local councils and the broader Algerian Assembly.<sup>2</sup>

Despite these inclusive measures, the second Constituent Assembly ultimately dismissed a pivotal proposal brought forth by Ferhat Abbas and Lamine Guèye. Their proposal had ambitiously outlined three pathways for decolonization: full independence, the establishment of a free federal state, or integration into the metropolitan framework.

Regrettably, this proposal was defeated due to the entrenched colonial attitudes prevalent among the settler representatives in the Assembly. According to a critique published by the newspaper *Égalité*, this assembly functioned more as a ceremonial body under the auspices of the French Republic, possessing minimal legislative powers and serving primarily in an advisory capacity.<sup>3</sup>

It was tasked with providing opinions on legislation forwarded by the National Assembly and the government. This structural flaw underscored the inherent limitations of the French Union project, which, by prioritizing the interests of the metropolitan state over those of its members, failed to establish a foundation of equality among all parties involved.

## 2. The Position of the Communist Press

The communist press in Algeria responded with enthusiasm to Charles de Gaulle's address in Constantine, and his subsequent ordinance on March 7, 1944, which outlined an integration project that many viewed as anachronistic. Nevertheless, the declaration of the French Union by the Fourth Republic's constitution was met with approval from these quarters.

They lauded the notion of theoretical equality heralded by the Union among all constituent peoples, interpreting it as a progressive step beyond the antiquated colonial system. The newspaper "Liberté" extolled the Union as a bastion of fundamental rights and democratic principles, envisioning it as a catalyst for Algeria's advancement by dismantling the arbitrary colonial regime. It recognized that France, in conjunction with its overseas populations, was endeavoring to form a union characterized by equal rights and obligations, devoid of discrimination based on race or religion.<sup>4</sup>

This constitutional framework was perceived as paving the way for Algeria towards achieving 'land and bread' freedom. Echoing this sentiment, "Alger Républicain" highlighted France's denunciation of dominance-based colonialism, noting that the ongoing developments within the French Union, alongside the French populace, should naturally lead to self-determination.<sup>5</sup>

Arabi Bouhali viewed the French Union as a viable route towards the independence of overseas populations. He argued that true independence could be realized through the union, contingent upon the collective struggle of all peoples, despite facing overt hostility from colonial forces. He asserted that a genuine union with the French working class could only materialize following the consolidation of Algerian progressive forces, essentially culminating in the formation of the Algerian National Democratic Front.<sup>6</sup>

However, once the French Union project was implemented and its structural deficiencies became apparent, "Liberté" critiqued the Union for offering no substantive change beyond a nominal rebranding. In the post-war era, alternative nomenclatures to the colonial empire, such as the French Union, emerged, holding the potential to evolve into a progressive reality. Yet, beneath this facade, the legacy of colonialism persisted. It was concluded that a truly equitable union could only be established on a foundation of complete equality and upon the ruins of colonialism.<sup>7</sup>

The Algerian Communist Party regarded the Soviet Union model as an ideal archetype, aiming to emulate the French Union in a similar manner where multiple peoples, nationalities, and religions could coexist under a unified state regime. They envisioned a French Union modeled on the Soviet Union, though they recognized the challenges posed by centralized planning and administrative centralization inherent in the Soviet system.

<sup>1</sup> République Algérienne, 23 juin 1950.

<sup>2</sup> ANOM (Aix En Pce), Algérie, GGA, 8CAB/177. Loi du 27 octobre 1946 sur l'Union Française.

<sup>3</sup> *Égalité*, 25 septembre 1947.

<sup>4</sup> *Liberté*, 10 octobre 1946.

<sup>5</sup> *Alger Républicain*, 27 juillet 1946.

<sup>6</sup> *Liberté*, 11 septembre 1946.

<sup>7</sup> *Liberté*, 09 juin 1949.

### 3. The Position of the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto (UDMA)

After World War II, Ferhat Abbas understood the international developments wrought by the war and how colonialism was inevitably heading towards its end. He often denounced colonialism and called for its abolition, as stated in the Algerian Manifesto. Based on this, he envisioned that the relationship between France and its former colonies would be federal, akin to the relationship between European Union states today.

#### A. The French Union as a Means to Achieve Federalism

The Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto (UDMA) was enthusiastic about the French Union idea and eager to replace the colonial empire with a large confederation of independent states. Its parliamentarians were the first to propose a project for the union, which, according to Ferhat Abbas, should lead to free self-determination.

UDMA considered the French Union as a way out of the colonial problem and a means for the overseas peoples to manage themselves without severing ties with France, while considering its interests on the other hand.

The Manifesto proponents saw their proposed project as reasonable, with Ferhat Abbas stating during the party's second conference: "We declared the necessity to achieve the country's independence and the federal system because this system makes the relations between Algeria and France logical and reasonable, a relationship between two peoples who respect each other's personality and dignity, preserving France's right to oversee the country's development, and limiting our people's demands within the scope of local freedom, recognition of Algerian nationality, thus eliminating the causes of conflict."<sup>8</sup>

Therefore, UDMA supporters believed that the union should be based on respecting the personality of the colonized peoples. The challenge distinguishing colonial administration is the systematic exclusion of indigenous people from managing their affairs; the French in overseas territories consider their supremacy as overriding everything, leaving no room for the natives to manage any interest or public affairs. However, the San Francisco declaration stated that "there are no slaves or sovereign nations over backward countries on earth.

Colonial powers can only claim 'trusteeship' rights over peoples under their sovereignty. Their policy should have no task other than leading these peoples towards a level of progress that allows them to ensure their existence and manage their affairs by themselves, and the role of the protecting powers must end as soon as it becomes unnecessary, and they have no right to link the interests of the territories they administer with their own."<sup>9</sup>

During the study of the Fourth Republic's constitution by the second Constituent Assembly, the parliamentary group of the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto (UDMA) presented a counter-project that included the idea of a federal system. During the discussions, Ferhat Abbas denounced the outdated colonialism and stated that a courageous and generous policy must be adopted to establish federalism. It requires two parties: "You and us to achieve this federalism, thus France's interests will not be betrayed by anyone."

Later, he criticized the constitutional project, which recognizes human rights for overseas peoples in its preamble, but this only represents a declaration and not a legal principle. He also criticized the exclusion of overseas peoples in choosing the president of the French Union.<sup>10</sup>

#### B. The Union Must Be a Free Contract Among Independent States

Ferhat Abbas regarded the idea of the French Union as a means to eradicate the colonial system without severing ties with France. Therefore, it should be a free contract among independent states that preserves the interests of each party and represents a definitive break from the colonial regime.

Abbas compared the French colonial structure to a house built on shifting ground, which is unsustainable. Thus, the union must be established within a framework of mutual respect for all parties.

He considered liberation from the colonial system a fundamental condition for the success of a French Union, stating, "Our progress towards emancipation, which is essential for the realization of the French Union, should be within a framework of diversity and respect for differences, a union in the context of respecting the specific conditions of each country, a union within the framework of equality among people and the intermingling of cultures without one attempting to destroy the other. It should choose the federal approach."<sup>11</sup>

The Manifesto party's press believed that the union should be a free agreement that safeguards the interests of both sides, not imposed by one party on the other. According to the newspaper "Égalité," "If we are democrats, we must respect the will of the people. Then the French Union becomes a reality, combining a French Republic and an Algerian Republic, each managing its internal affairs, with joint administration of major foreign affairs. The union will only be realized through mutual consent between the two parties."<sup>12</sup>

Legal scholar Kaddour Sator criticized the radicals in the French parliament who, in his view, wanted a union based on compulsion. In contrast, he argued that the union can only be solid with a shared will. Therefore, the union is at risk because it is a new formulation of the obsolete colonial system.

If this system is to respect the overseas peoples, it must first respect their unique identity, legitimate desires, and language. If everyone feels at home, with their local parliament managing their internal affairs, then the union will be a living reality. However, if the legal system for overseas peoples maintains racial discrimination and a central administration beyond the

<sup>8</sup> Al-Watan, November 1, 1948.

<sup>9</sup> Égalité, 25 octobre 1946.

<sup>10</sup> Égalité, 27 septembre 1946.

<sup>11</sup> Égalité, 27 décembre 1946.

<sup>12</sup> Égalité, 03 janvier 1947.

control of the indigenous people, if it denies them the education in their mother tongue and their culture, then the union will be nothing more than a legal fantasy, sustained only by military force.<sup>13</sup>

### **C. Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto (UDMA) Rejection of the Imposed French Union Model**

When the constitutional project was unveiled, it was a disappointment for the supporters of the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto (UDMA) who had hoped for the federalism they aspired to. Ferhat Abbas criticized the colonial hypocrisy of renaming while maintaining the essence, as the French, according to him, believed they were clever in adapting their colonial terminology to the new international post-World War II conditions by using terms like "French Union" instead of "colonial empire," and "French presence" instead of "French sovereignty," thereby crafting new laws that kept the colonized peoples in chains.<sup>14</sup>

Ferhat Abbas penned an editorial in issue 208 of "Égalité" titled: "When colonialism wants to hide its name, it calls itself the French Union," in which he clarified that the proposed French Union by the Fourth Republic's constitution was merely a continuation of the old empire.

He considered direct administration the basis of the Algerian tragedy and all misunderstandings, against which the overseas peoples protested. The policy still applied was based on unidirectional administration, where "the sovereign people" exercised absolute authority over "the subject people," and this dependency of the peoples does not change merely by seating French deputies in the National Assembly.<sup>15</sup>

During the 1948 conference of the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto (UDMA), the final statement expressed indignation at the continuation of the old empire and the arbitrary system still imposed on the people.<sup>16</sup> According to Ferhat Abbas, the peoples' demand is to manage and administer their countries' affairs.

France does not know what it wants or where it is headed, the dialogue with the overseas peoples is halted, and the hostile relationship significantly and consistently poisons the relationship between the metropolis and its territories from Algeria to Vietnam. There is nothing new with the old means of those who established the French Empire, meaning direct administration and degraded paternalism.

Changing the climate can only happen by changing the colonial concept, i.e., removing it. It is time for French administrators to once and for all understand that the overseas peoples cannot remain at the level of lesser peoples; they must realize from now on that these peoples want to govern themselves, manage their own affairs, and achieve the right to sovereignty and free citizenship. These are our goals, while the current French Union represents only a continuation of the empire, merely a change of name.<sup>17</sup>

Ferhat Abbas criticized Ramadier's statement on ending the Vietnam War, saying: "Statements are beautiful, action is more beautiful. Ramadier declared that the war would solve nothing and that he accepts Vietnam's independence within the framework of the French Union." He then commented, "Colonialism is a chronic disease that has afflicted Europe.

To get rid of it requires more than ministerial declarations because there will be no change as long as the union is synonymous with the empire, and this means that the wrong federalism will follow the wrong integration to maintain the status quo, until Ramadier is correct, something other than the war in Indochina is needed. The concept of the union must move away from the concept of the empire, just as the concept of democracy is far from the concept of dictatorship. The colonial empire must disappear, leaving space for the French Union."

### **4. Position of the Press of the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties (MTLD)**

The Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties (MTLD) was uncompromising regarding national sovereignty and independence. Therefore, it rejected all partial solutions, including the idea of federalism proposed by the French Union as outlined by the Fourth Republic. It advocated for Algerian independence through the election of a sovereign constituent assembly, which would then determine how to shape Algeria's relationship with France.

#### **A. Rejection of the French Union**

The Algerian People's Party (part of MTLD) opposed the French Union, considering it a bankrupt product. This sentiment was expressed both in their underground and public press. "Al Maghrib Al Arabi" described the French Union idea, announced by General de Gaulle during his tenure as the French government head in Brazzaville, as a colonial concept under a new name.<sup>18</sup>

In his message to the Algerian people, Messali Hadj discussed the French Union saying, "The French Union cannot be achieved because it is a union between masters and slaves, suffocating every national liberation movement undertaken by exhausted peoples. First and foremost, peoples must be liberated from all domination and coercion, completely abolishing the colonial system. We do not want this union; to join it means ensuring the continuation of colonial injustice, and assisting it means betraying our interests and failing to appreciate them properly."

From Messali Hadj's speech to the Algerian people: "Colonialism thought it was safe from danger by creating a new political style called the French Union, intended to endure and perpetuate, and trying to flee from death which it will inevitably meet. The world war resulted in a new era and new ideas that began to replace the remnants of European colonialism. The form of

<sup>13</sup> *Egalité*, 20 décembre 1946.

<sup>14</sup> *République Algérienne*, 20 octobre 1950.

<sup>15</sup> *République Algérienne*, 20 juin 1950.

<sup>16</sup> *Al-Watan*, November 1, 1948.

<sup>17</sup> *République Algérienne*, 20 juin 1950.

<sup>18</sup> *Al-Maghrib Al-Arabi*, August 8, 1948.



the French Union, carrying the meaning of French sovereignty, will not be accepted by the Algerian people because it contradicts Algerian sovereignty and represents the iron curtain of French imperialism.

French sovereignty since the end of the war (World War II) has been based on force. France has not understood the significant transformations that have swept the world during the recent war. The world's peoples today are fighting for their sovereignty, and ignoring this creeping movement and opposing it will lead to disaster. A people cannot be shamefully enslaved while fighting for its freedom. France must reconsider its colonial policy before it is too late."<sup>19</sup>

At the time the French Union project (1946) appeared, the party had no official newspapers, so it expressed its initial reactions through its underground press. Among these underground publications discussing the French Union and the idea of a federal system was the "Algerian Nation" newspaper in its seventh issue, titled "Federalism or a Sovereign Algerian Constituent Assembly."

It condemned all new forms of colonialism, including the French Union, which it saw as contrary to the fundamental principles of democracy, as it diminishes the powers of popular sovereignty to nothing, a solution imposed by force aimed at stopping the peoples' march towards freedom and independence. Federalism was seen as a regressive tool to block the establishment of real democracy and delay the end of French imperialism. Federalism is the last resort of a colonialism that is hostile to humanity. When the French imperialism felt threatened by the rising national liberation tide months ago, it considered the federal solution.<sup>20</sup>

## B. Rejection of the Federal Solution

The press of the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties (MTLD) criticized the positions of the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto (UDMA) press regarding sovereignty, and how Ferhat Abbas and his associates were reassuring the European minority and French imperialism about their interests. However, this was done at the expense of democratic principles and objected to the Algerian people being sovereign in organizing their national life.<sup>21</sup>

According to "Al Umma Al Jaza'iriya," the People's Party rejects the idea of integrating Algeria into the French Union as demanded by Ferhat Abbas, who, along with his group, has entered a wrongful and traitorous path. <sup>22</sup>"The French Union represents for us the massacres of May 1945 and the total absence of freedoms; it is merely a symbol of tyranny and repression, and shows that the policy of Bugeaud and the colonial empire based on force and enslavement is still ongoing in Algeria."<sup>23</sup>

According to the first issue of the internal newsletter of the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties (MTLD), Algeria was witnessing (in the late 1940s) a clash between two different ideas: "Federalism" and "Sovereign Algerian Constituent Assembly," the latter being the optimal solution for our national liberation problem, considering the deep aspirations of our people.

Federalism, regardless of its forms (including the French Union), is contrary to the foundational principles of democracy because it does not take into account the will of the "Empire's" peoples. Federalism appears as a tool for regression and restraint, to cut the road to establishing real democracy, to delay the end of imperialism, and to maintain political repression and economic exploitation. It is the last refuge for a colonialism that is evil and hostile to humanity. <sup>24</sup>

The federal program represents a ceiling on the areas of popular sovereignty; legislative, executive, and judicial. By compromising on legislative representation, 10 million Algerian Muslims will be sacrificed for one million of the European minority. The legislative authority will be unable to discuss certain vital issues that would break the bonds of enslavement.<sup>25</sup>

The People's Party implemented an all-or-nothing policy, thus rejecting the compromises of the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto (UDMA) regarding foreign relations and defense. It considered federalism merely a form of disguised colonialism. In its June 1947 issue, the underground newspaper "Sawt al-Ahrar" criticized any tolerance towards policies that encroach upon popular sovereignty or allow for French imperialistic intervention and the safeguarding of its interests.

After reluctantly signing the Atlantic Charter, France persisted in implementing a new colonial policy, refusing to acknowledge the people's right to manage part of their affairs, particularly excluding them from handling foreign relations and defense, which are symbols of sovereignty. This was seen as a method for France to maintain its dominance and continue exploiting all of Algeria's resources for its own benefit.

If France does not cede these two crucial portfolios, Algerians, who have long fought in defense of their honor, religion, language, and trampled flag, will wage a fierce and intense war against it. France should be aware that the Algerian nation will fight this battle and that the People's Party will not compromise any of its rights, continuing to raise the banner of struggle.<sup>26</sup>

The People's Party viewed the Arab League as a logical alternative to the French Union, presenting the Algerian people with two options: joining the Arab League or merging into the French Union and France's overseas populations. Under the headline "Arab League or French Union," it drew a comparison: "The Arab League binds us with strong, deeply-rooted ties of customs and origins formed by various psychological, historical, and geographical factors over centuries.

<sup>19</sup> Al-Maghrib Al-Arabi, July 18, 1948.

<sup>20</sup> Nation Algérienne (clandestine), N° 07.

<sup>21</sup> Bulletin d'Information du MTLD, N° 04, réservé aux militants, s.d.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> El-Maghrib El-Arabi, 26 mars 1948.

<sup>24</sup> Bulletin d'Information du MTLD, N° 01, réservé aux militants, s.d.

<sup>25</sup> Bulletin d'Information du MTLD, N° 04, réservé aux militants, s.d.

<sup>26</sup> ANOM(Aix En Pce), 93/4156, Çâout El-Ahrar, N° 1-2.

These ties, unaffected by the harshness of time, include a shared religion and a history that united us in both hardship and prosperity, through which we have experienced glory and flourished as well as shared in its pains and hardships. The French Union represents our relationship through iron, fire, prisons, and exile."<sup>27</sup>

### 5. Association of Ulema:

Unlike other national parties, the Association of Ulema did not focus much on political issues. However, the issue of the French Union, which concerned the unity of the Algerian people and their national identity, caught their attention. The Association saw Algeria's natural affiliation within its historical and civilizational framework of the Maghreb and the Arab-Islamic world.

According to Al-Basair, the efforts made to achieve the French Union were in fact attempts to achieve the impossible. Strong nations, despite their historical hardships, find it impossible to transform their course as part of something else because they exist independently, aware of their greatness, and are self-sufficient. They are now at the dawn of awakening, having crossed the threshold of confusion after illness, and will never relapse.<sup>28</sup>

Al-Basair considered the Islamic Maghreb the death knell for the French Union, which would dissolve and break just as the naturalization claims and the Berber Dahir had broken before the spirit and principles of Islam.

### Conclusion:

The French Union, despite its initial promise and the optimistic expectations held by certain communists and liberated nationalists, was fundamentally flawed from inception. This union was caught in a paradox: while it ostensibly recognized the rights of its constituent peoples to self-governance, it simultaneously reaffirmed French sovereignty over its colonies.

This inherent contradiction thwarted the natural progression of these communities towards self-determination and the shedding of France's paternalistic oversight. Although the establishment of local councils did foster the emergence of local elites in Africa and Asia, elites who would later be instrumental in the governance and direction of their countries post-independence, their effectiveness was limited.

In Algeria, the conservative tendencies of the settlers acted as a significant barrier to the enactment of the proposed 1947 constitution. Additionally, the influence of colonial interests on the French government's decision-making processes in Paris severely hampered the organization of free and democratic elections. This, in turn, restricted the local population's ability to gain parliamentary representation and effectively manage their own affairs.

Despite the progressive intentions professed by various French administrations, particularly the Socialist governments, to establish a dedicated constitution for Algeria or to integrate specific Algerian laws within the framework of the broader French constitution, the staunch opposition from colonial settlers stifled any move towards democratization. This opposition inevitably fortified the more radical segments of the national movement at the expense of moderate factions.

Furthermore, the persistent application of colonial repression against political parties and nationalistic demands only served to escalate tensions, precipitating a shift towards militaristic resolutions. This shift was markedly pronounced in Vietnam and Algeria, where protracted and bloody wars of liberation were waged. The quest for national independence, which peaceful means had failed to secure, became ever more urgent and inevitable.

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<sup>27</sup> Al-Maghrib Al-Arabi, July 4, 1948.

<sup>28</sup> Al-Basair, December 29, 1947.