

The resumption of political action in Algeria after the French colonial massacres of May 1945

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Abstract: - The massacres of May 1945 convinced some members of the national movement of the reality of a racist France, with which it is impossible to achieve even a single demand by peaceful means, because they created a state of stalemate between the occupation authorities and the majority of the representatives of political trends in Algeria, not to mention the despair of some who were influenced by French civilisation and called for association with it, and decided to change their outlook towards France and adopt hostile attitudes towards it. The massacres of May 1945 were a fundamental turning point for both official and popular relations between the French and Algerians, who could not maintain the gain of national unity achieved through the establishment of the Algerian National Front.

Keywords: National Movement; Freedom Fighters; Democratic Union; Victory Movement; Special Organisation.

استئناف العمل السياسي في الجزائر بعد مجازر الاستعمار الفرنسي ماي 1945

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الملخص: لقد اقتنع بعض أعضاء الحركة الوطنية بحقيقة فرنسا العنصرية التي يستحيل معها تحقيق ولو مطلب واحد بالطرق السلمية، بسبب مجازر ماي 1945 وذلك لأنها قد أحدثت حالة من الانسداد بين سلطات الاحتلال وأغلبية ممثلي الاتجاهات السياسية في الجزائر، هذا ناهيك عن يأس بعض من كانوا متأثرين بالحضارة الفرنسية ويدعون إلى الارتباط بها فقرروا تغيير نظرهم اتجاه فرنسا واتخاذ مواقف معادية لها هكذا إذا كانت مجازر ماي 1945 نقطة تحول أساسية سواء بالنسبة للعلاقات بين الفرنسيين والجزائريين على المستويين الرسمي والشعبي، التي لم تستطع المحافظة على مكسب الوحدة الوطنية الذي تحقق من خلال تأسيس حركة أحباب البيان والحرية، وذلك نظرا لتعدد الإيديولوجيات واختلاف تكوين أعضاء الحركة الوطنية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الحركة. الوطنية؛ أصحاب. الحرية؛ الاتحاد. الديمقراطي؛ حركة. الانتصار؛ المنظمة. الخاصة.

Introduction

When France committed the massacres of May 1945 against Algerians, in which more than 40,000 people were killed (Mohammed Teguia, 2007, p. 74), it wanted to eliminate the national awareness and sense of patriotism displayed by the majority of the representatives of the national movement, especially the activists of the dissolved Algerian People's Party, that awareness that was directly transmitted to the vast majority of the Algerian people and became a danger to the myth of French Algeria, as it sought to prevent the expansion of libertarian ideas among the popular circles and

stop everything that would threaten its presence in Algeria. On the other hand, France emerged half-victorious from the Second World War, and therefore needs to regain its position among countries, especially since it was completely absent and excluded from the international forums that were convened at the end of the Second World War, and thus turned from a major country to a minor country like other marginalised countries, regarding this aspect and talking about France regaining its prestige and international classification is a matter for it, but What the colonialist did not realise, and what he overlooked, was the fact that the situation would turn against him in his quest to achieve his first goal of eliminating the activities of the national movement, especially since the continuation of the methods of struggle of some of its trends has changed compared to what prevailed before May 1945 (Amer Rakhila, 1985, p. 87), and here we are talking about the implications of the massacres of May 1945 on the general situation in Algeria..

I- France's reactions to stabilise the situation in Algeria after the massacres:

In an attempt to calm the situation after the crimes it had committed, France invited Algerians to participate in the voting for the first Constituent Assembly, whose elections were scheduled to take place on 21 October 1945, only five months after the massacres of May 1945 (Amer Rakhila, op. cit., p. 87). The results of this election were already known due to the data set by the law of 07 March 1944, which stipulates the predominance of the European element. According to this law, 22 European members were elected by 454,000 voters, while 15 Muslim members were elected by

120,000 voters, meaning that the occupation authorities had decided the results of the elections for themselves and in favour of European colonists who controlled the majority of seats in all local and general councils (Claude Collot, 1987, p220). Moreover, these elections were organised at a time when the Algerian political scene was devoid of most of the national movement's formations, after the colonialists arrested Farhat Abbas, leader of the Habib al-Bayan wa al-Hurriyya movement, and Bashir al-Ibrahimi, head of the Association of Muslim Scholars, immediately after the massacres of May 1945. Moussalli El Hajj had been arrested earlier, leaving only the Algerian Communist Party and the Union of Muslim Electors headed by Dr Ibn Jalloul, both known for their pro-French orientation, on the political scene. The former had an ideology based on pillars far removed from Algerian identity and considered Algeria a nation in the making (Abdelhamid Zouzou, 2004, pp. 254-255). Throughout his struggle, he worked to protect the interests and sovereignty of France in Algeria, even at the expense of the indigenous population. The second is known for his relentless defence of his integrationist project (Djillali Sari Mahfoud Kaddash, 1987, p. 51), which includes demands for the total integration of Algerian society into French society without giving up their status, which is contradictory to the logic of French policy based on racial discrimination and inappropriate for Algerians' beliefs and customs .

The absence of the militants of the Algerian People's Party and the Ahabab al-Bayan and Freedom Movement, who refused to participate in these elections and issued a leaflet that was distributed to the Algerian population calling for a boycott and abstention, which was the evidence of the low participation in the first Constituent Assembly ballot, where the participation of Algerians did not exceed 30% (Amer Rakhila, Ibid, p. 88). This participation shows the extent of

the despair and emptiness of the Algerian people after the massacres of May 1945, they no longer cared about such elections organised by the occupier's administration, aware of the colonial reality based on deceiving the population at that time.

1- Decree of 16 March 1946:

In the same context, France continued its measures aimed at calming the Algerian people and seeking to absorb their anger, preventing the general situation in Algeria from worsening further and breaking the deadlock in relations between it and some currents of the national movement, such as the independence movement, the colonial authorities issued a general amnesty law (Nasser Eddine Saidouni, 1995, p. 27), after its approval by the first French Constituent Assembly on 16 March 1946 (André Nouschi (André Nouschi, 1962, p. 145), which provided for the release of all political detainees and allowed the return of political activity (Mahfoud, Kaddache, 2001, pp. 752-753). This decree, although not fully implemented, allowed some leaders of the national movement to be released from prison, such as Farhat Abbas and Bachir Brahimi (Benjamin, Stora and Zakya, 1995, p. 46 .(

Some political formations took advantage of the amnesty decree and claimed credit for it, such as the Algerian Communist Party (PCA), which argued that its flexible policy was the key to the amnesty decree and made considerable publicity in an attempt to erase the gloomy image it had developed throughout its struggle (Joan Gillespie, 1971, p. 88.(

The Algerian Communist Party's propaganda and statements came at a time when it deliberately did so in an attempt to remove doubts that it had not adopted the national cause as others did, and wanted to win over the population to

obtain a wide popular base, especially in light of the popular reluctance to support it.

With the issuance of the amnesty decision, political formations in Algeria reappeared, but this time in a new form for some members of the representatives of the national movement who lived through the massacres of May 1945 and suffered from their scourge, following which the members of the Algerian People's Party began to think clearly (Gilbert, Meynier, 2003, p. 65), (Gilbert, Meynier, 2003, p. 65), the need to change the struggle from political to armed, while there was a slight change in the advocates of integration by calling for the establishment of an Algerian state but remaining federally linked with France, while the Association of Algerian Muslim Scholars continued its struggle by educating the Algerian people and working to restore their identity, while the communists remained committed to their ideology based on defending the interests of France in Algeria, this is what we will try to identify by presenting the new character that the national movement appeared after the May 1945 massacres, starting with:.

1.1. The Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto:

Following the general amnesty law on 16 March 1946 (Mohamed Larbi Zubairi, 1999, p105), Farhat Abbas was released and decided to continue his political activity (Ferhat, Abbas, 2011, p151), but this time apart from other political formations, as he announced the establishment of a new party in April 1946 called the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto (Mahfoud, Kaddache, OP-cit, 2003, p. 730), as an alternative to the Ahabab al-Bayan wa al-Hurriyya programme, thus deciding to move away from the independence movement activists because, in his view, they were the cause of the painful incidents that were happening to Algerians (Sliman, Chikh, OP-cit, (p 64). Some researchers such as

Mahfouz Kaddash have stated that the integrationist trend witnessed a development in its programme, as it called for the establishment of an Algerian state, but after a careful reading of the demands of this party, we found that the development of Abbas's ideas was slight because his talk about the establishment of an Algerian state did not mean Algeria's complete independence from France, as demanded by Massali Haggi, but rather he demanded the establishment of an Algerian state federally linked with France (Mohammed, Teguia, OP-cit, pp 73-74), and here the researcher wonders why Farhat Abbas remained attached to the idea of association with France until now - we mean 1946 - was he not satisfied with what the colonialist did to the Algerian people in May 1945, especially since he was an eyewitness to those horrible massacres that the Algerians lived through (Ferhat, Abbas: OP- cit, p 156), or was the man's ideology influenced by the French identity and integration with it impossible to fall for him regardless of the circumstances and locations, so he worked according to the principle of take and demand through his explicit call to adhere to the principle of revolution by law, meaning that he was advocating for the autonomy of Algeria by peaceful means, away from armed violence (Ahmed, Mahsas, 1979, p 218), and then in the long run Algeria will obtain its full independence. In my opinion, this is unlikely given the extent of Abbas' adherence to his integrationist ideas aimed at linking with France and his desperate defence of them on more than one occasion, such as his appeal on 01 May 1946 to Algerian and French youth, which read "...the issue is the liberation of Algeria from an old system based on colonial exploitation, we have left the end of the old ways to take the great road of the Algerian nation, that is, equality and freedom, neither integration nor separation, a young people based on modern democracy led by the great French democracy (Claude, Collot and Jean, Robert Henry, OP-cit, p214), not to mention his reliance on an educated class

consisting of notables and lawyers such as Ahmed Boumengel (Mahfoud, Kaddache, OP-cit, p73), Kaddour Sator, doctors such as Dr Saadan, Dr Ibn Jalloul and Dr Ahmed Francis, and teachers such as Hamid Ben Salem and others (Ferhat, Abbas, OP-cit, p154-155).

Farhat Abbas's previous positions calling for association with France and pledging not to separate from it allowed him to participate in the second parliamentary constituent elections on 02 June 1946, where the Democratic Union of Algerian Manifesto obtained 71% of the votes cast, equivalent to 11 seats (458,000 votes out of a total of 633,000 votes), and despite the large boycott rate, Abbas stated that his party achieved success, "it is an acknowledged victory" and thus became the spokesperson for Algerian nationalists (Mahfoud, Kaddache, OP-cit, Kaddache, OP-cit, p750), despite the Algerian People's Party's explicit call for a boycott and abstention from participating in the election (Slimane, Chikh, OP-cit, p64).

After the elections, Farhat Abbas made an appeal to the French, saying, "This is your last chance and we are the last obstacle. Make no mistake, I am the closest nationalist to France." This statement confirms our previous statement that Farhat Abbas adheres to his ideology based on being influenced by French culture and that it is impossible for him to develop Algerian society unless it integrates with the occupier, and by our words we do not devalue the man or deny what he did throughout his struggle! But what prompted us to put forward such ideas is why Abbas exaggerated the sanctification of the other side, were there not people in Algeria at the time whom Farhat could trust and then agree with them to move Algeria from the clutches of this coloniser to freedom and independence?

Regardless of who these elected representatives became in the Second National Constituent Assembly, they presented their programme to approve federalism, the establishment of an

autonomous republic with its government and parliament elected by voting, and the adoption of measures that do not break the existing ties between Algeria and France (Jillali Sari, Mahfoud Kadash, op. cit., p. 86), Abbas also tried to formulate his party's ideas in the form of a constitution presented to the French Parliament on 09 August 1946 (Mohammed Harbi, op-cit, p26) entitled "Constitution of the Algerian Republic" which included the following:

Article I: The French Republic recognises the autonomy of Algeria and at the same time recognises the Algerian Republic, its government and its national flag.

Article 2: The Algerian Republic shall become a member of the French Union as a common state, and the foreign relations and national defence of the two states shall be jointly supervised by the authorities of the Union and Algeria shall participate in the exercise of those authorities.

Article III: The Algerian Republic enjoys full sovereignty throughout the country and supervises all internal facilities, including the police (Ferhat Abbas, OP-cit, p. 154).

Article IV and V: All European settlers in Algeria shall enjoy Algerian nationality and thus have the same rights as Algerian citizens, including the right to vote and employment, while every Algerian citizen in French territory shall enjoy French nationality and have the same rights as French citizens, including the right to vote and hold public office, and these two provisions can be extended to all members of the French Union after ratification.

Article VII: The official languages in the Algerian Republic are French and Arabic, and public education shall be in both languages at all levels of education, and the Algerian Republic shall endeavour to make it compulsory for all male and female inhabitants.

Article eight: The existing public schools in Algeria remain in their current status.

Article IX: The French government will continue to have the right to build other schools, provided that it bears the budget of these schools (Ferhat, Abbas, op-cit, p. 156).

Abbas stated that the provisions of this constitution are proven and call for tolerance and the rejection of religious intolerance. Moreover, the interests of Algeria and France remain respected and there is no separation between the two parties (Ibid, p. 157).

As a researcher, we must stop at the articles of this constitution. Reading the first article, which includes France's recognition of Algeria's sovereignty and its national flag, the reader may think that the demands of Abbas's constitution are independent, but once we look at the second and seventh articles, which stipulate, respectively, the involvement of France in the governance of Algeria, granting it foreign relations and defence and considering the French language compulsory in Algeria, we find that the independence that Farhat Abbas spoke about in the first article is partial and incomplete, and he remained committed to his integrationist programme.

As for the French parliament's reactions to the points of the constitution, they were not serious. Despite the fact that its articles maintained the links between France and Algeria, the French Constitutional Council did not take seriously the proposals of the UDAP deputies and did not bother to discuss the organic law on Algeria, as for the French deputies, Algeria was and must remain a dependency of the colonial authorities (Mahfoud, Kadash, Jillali Sari, op. cit., p. 86).

While in France and after presenting his project to the French Parliament, Abbas met Hochi Minh in Paris, who congratulated him on his clear and continuous activity, and from Cairo he received a letter from Habib Bourguiba, head of the Tunisian New Constitution Party, telling him that "France is not giving us any of our demands, and asked Abbas to join the Algerian People's Party" (Ferhat Abbas, (OP-cit, p.

159). As a reminder, the members of the independence movement led by Moussalli El Hadj rejected Abbas' proposal to the French parliament because they were convinced of their ideology based on their adherence to the full independence of Algeria (Ahmed Mehsas, 2003, p. 87).

After Farhat Abbas returned to Algiers, he worked with his companions to organise the party while maintaining the integrationist demands, as evidenced by the Union Congress held in October 1946 (Mahfoud Kadash, Djillali Sari, op. cit., p. 87), where they worked on resolving other issues including: The cancellation of the decision to dissolve the Ahbab al-Bayan wa al-Hurriyya and the confirmation of the formation of the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto.

The transfer of Massali El Hadj from Brazzaville to Paris at his request.

Allowing the return of the newspaper Al-Musawat to activity after it was suspended by the occupation authorities in May 1945.

Requesting compensation from France for the massacres of May 1945 for 500 million francs, which was approved by the Minister of Finance, but the Governor General of Algeria refused because the victims had already been compensated.

Drafting a bill authorising the Algerian people to resume their activities in the Chamber of Deputies (Ferhat Abbas, op- cit, p. 159-160).

With these demands, Abbas and his companions continued to defend their policy of integration with the colonialists. The development of Algeria and its people can only be achieved by opening dialogue and avoiding violence with France, which is a source of civilisation (André Nouschi, OP-cit, p144), ignoring the injustice and tyranny committed by its war machines against the defenceless population for a century, and the reader of these points also finds that Farhat Abbas and his companions flattered and approached the occupation authorities.

2.1. Owners of freedom and democracy:

As a result of the negative attitudes of the Algerian Communist Party towards the massacres of May 1945 and its attack on other currents of the national movement, such as the independence movement, and its demand to eliminate them and imprison their leaders, because they are the cause of those massacres, according to its claim (Mohamed Harbi, 2008, p. 14), and as a result of the dishonourable image that the party showed during the Second World War, the popularity of the party, which in fact did not exist in the first place, due to its anti-Algerian nationalist ideology World War II, all of this eroded the party's popularity, which in fact did not exist, due to its anti-Algerian nationalist ideology (Nasser Eddine Saidouni, 2000, p. 137). This popular reluctance was also evident when the party participated in the local elections held on 02 June 1946 (Mohammed Yousfi, 1987, p. 65), 1987, p65), where the communists obtained 53,396 votes (André, Nouschi, OP-cit, (Hamid Abdelkader, 2001, p. 86), which is a weak number compared to the rest of the votes, especially those obtained by Abbas, so the result of that vote was disastrous for the Algerian Communist Party (Hamid Abdelkader, 2001, p. 86), so the party sought to restore confidence in its organisation by adopting new ways that might bring it closer to Algerian society (Joan Gillespie, op. cit., pp. 86-87), such as purging the party of elements accused of raising slogans against the trends of the national movement and its leaders. In this regard, he removed Ammar Ouzkan, Secretary General of the Algerian Communist Party (Mohamed Tayeb Alaoui, 1985, pp. 254-255), while at the same time recruiting elements close to Algerians such as Sadik Hijris, Mabrouk Belhassine, Boualem Khalifa and Omar Ousdik (Charles Robert Ageron, 1979, p599), and the party was given a new name: "The Companions of Freedom and Democracy". The party also acknowledged the

importance of the national movement and its progressive character through a statement on 21 July 1946 and proposed the formation of a democratic national front that includes, in addition to the Algerian Communist Party, the Algerian People's Party of Scientists and the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto, and the French people as allies (Jillali Sari, Mahfoud Kadash, op. cit., p88). The party adopted several demands including:

- Establishing the principles of peace and endeavouring to establish relations with great powers such as the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union.
- Providing food and supplies for all small settlers, peasants and workers, adopting an irrigation policy to develop agriculture, developing industrial production by paying attention to workers, and nationalising the Algerian Bank, coal and phosphate mines, major insurance companies, and gas and electricity companies.
- Applying the social laws in force in France, especially the proposals of the Minister of Labour - who had communist tendencies - to increase the wages of industrial workers.
- Defending workers and calling for the formation of a union of young people aspiring to a better future.

If we look at the party's programme, we find that it does not deviate from the previous demands, despite the party's call for the rest of the national movement to unite in a democratic national front (Charles Robert Ageron, 1982, p. 343), this party remained conservative and adhered to its ideology based on not recognising the Algerian entity. We must not forget that almost all of its ideas were inspired from abroad within the framework of the so-called Communist International and not from Algeria, because they were working according to the strategy set by international communism or the socialist bloc and not according to the interest of Algeria, and the reform programme it came up with

was only a tactic! He aimed to gain the trust of the people and rehabilitate the party.

3.1. The Association of Algerian Muslim Scholars:

As soon as al-Bashir al-Ibrahimi was released on 16 March 1946, he worked to continue the Society's reformist activity by focusing on increasing the construction and establishment of free schools in cities, villages and towns, as well as working on building mosques, which were popular (Idriss Khadir, op. cit., p. 56), and called to continue spreading the Arabic language and purifying the Islamic religion from deviations and paid imams who were the protective shield for French colonialism and those who worked to distort Islamic law.

The Association of Muslim Scholars denounced France's arbitrary policy towards mosques and endowments, as it stated in one of its statements, "The French administration's control over our mosques and endowments - which are royal - is the eye of sovereignty, and assigning religious functions to whomever it chooses is the head of politics, and without politics the Hanafi mufti would not exist" (Mohamed Larbi Zubairi, op. cit., p. 8): Ibid, p. 205). To promote its activities, the association began publishing the second series of the newspaper Al-Basir, which had been suspended since the beginning of the Second World War, and this newspaper played a prominent role in publicising the association's work and aspirations (Idriss Khudair, Ibid, p. 387).

The association reaffirmed its previous objectives at its ninth congress, held on 21 July 1946, when it called for:

- Recognition of Arabic as an official language.
- Freedom of Islamic culture.
- The application of Islamic justice and the appointment of muftis and judges by the people.

- Opposition to naturalisation and rejection of integration.
- Fighting sectarianism and sorcery.
- The release of all Muslim political and religious detainees in French prisons (Claude Collot and Jean, Robert Henry, 1978, p234).

The issue of opening schools, building mosques, teaching young people the teachings of the true Islamic religion, and guiding the Algerian people to know their true identity has always been the main concern of the members of the Society of Muslim Scholars, and therefore it is ungrateful to deny the work and activities of the Society. The issue of opening schools, building mosques, teaching young people the teachings of the correct Islamic religion, and guiding the Algerian people to know their true identity and the truth of the colonialist invader has always been the preoccupation of the members of the Society of Muslim Scholars, so we find that almost the majority of Algerian youth who received scientific and religious training at the hands of the Society joined the armed action against France when they had the opportunity to do so.

4.1. The Movement for the Victory of Democratic Freedoms:

After the arbitrary measures taken by France in dealing with the members of the banned Algerian People's Party, accusing them of being the cause of organising the May 1945 demonstrations and inciting the population against it, and following the appeasement measures adopted by France itself after the May 1945 massacres, which resulted in the release of Massali El Hadj on 11 August 1946 (Mahfoud Kaddache, OP-cit, p753), it was necessary for the leadership of the independence trend to search for new methods and ways to ensure that they continue their activity and struggle (André Nouschi, André Nouschi, OP-cit, p145). Although the

party maintained its main demand of full independence for Algeria, the method of achieving it this time changed for some party members, especially the young ones such as Amine Dabbaghine and Hussein Lahoul, who oversaw the leadership of the party during Mussali El Hadj's imprisonment when they demanded the need to start thinking about military action by establishing a secret organisation (Charles Robert Ageron, OP-cit, p587): OP-cit, p587), apparently as a result of their bitter experiences during the Second World War, as well as the massacres committed by the occupation administration in May 1945, they thought it was impossible to achieve their demands by relying on political struggle with a stubborn coloniser.

This new trend became evident when Massali El Hajj arrived in Algeria on 13 October 1946 and settled in Bouzareah (Benjamin Stora, OP-cit, p 199), and called his companions to a meeting, which raised several issues to the party leadership, including the question of the legal and legitimate status of the party, as well as the issue of the party's participation in the legislative elections scheduled for 10 November 1946 (Hocine Ait Ahmed, 1983, p 87), (Hocine Ait Ahmed, 1983, p87). One group of members called for the reconstitution of a legitimate party that would continue to defend the party's objectives, while another group, such as Lamine Dabaghine and Mohamed Kheder, believed that it was necessary to keep the party's activities secret so that it could carry out its tasks away from the eyes of the colonial authority (Moumen, El Omari, op. cit., pp. 70-71) and to start thinking about the military approach, which they considered the most appropriate to achieve the party's demands (Mohamed Taieb El Alaoui, op. cit., p. 251).

Based on these new trends that emerged among some members of the Algerian People's Party, it was necessary to find a compromise solution that would satisfy all parties and bring the two different views closer together, hence the

decision to combine the legitimacy and secrecy of the party, and such a solution must be found in the person of Mussali El-Hajj as the leader of this current, and indeed the latter succeeded in reconciling his friends when he took the decision to allow the party to participate in elections and defend its demands legally (Mahfoud Kaddache, OP-cit, p. 756), (Yahya Bouaziz, 1995, p. 756), and assigned the other wing to think about armed action. As an arbitrary measure, the occupation administration rejected the candidacy of the Algerian People's Party in the elections under this name (Yahya Bouaziz, 1995, p. 28), so Mussali El Hadj proposed a new name for his party, "Movement for the Victory of Democratic Freedoms", as a legal cover that allows it to hold meetings and authorises it the right to nominate and run for the various councils. He was also able to publish a newspaper expressing his independent principles and national choices, and the party worked under its new name to expand its circle of struggle by penetrating the ranks of women, youth, students and workers, and organising these groups into legal unions and associations (Slimane Chikh, OP-cit, p65)

When Massali El Hadj announced his decision to participate in the legislative elections scheduled for 10 November 1946, he preferred to run alone without allying with the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto (Mohamed Taieb Alaoui, op. cit., pp. 251-252). Abbas agreed to Massali's request not to participate in the elections and to leave the opportunity for the candidates of the Movement for the Promotion of Democratic Freedoms. This was clear from the statement by pharmacist Farhat, which stated that "the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto refrained from presenting candidates for the first legislative elections in November 1946 to enable Massali El Hadj to face French public opinion and its parliament. Massali had obtained guarantees from the Ministry of the Interior and the General Government in Algeria that the electoral lists submitted by the

People's Party would be approved, and accordingly, he ran for the elections and asked me to withdraw from the competition to avoid splitting the nationalist forces, as he emphasised that he could obtain Algerian independence" (Ferhat Abbas, (OP-cit, p163), thus, Musalli El-Hajj had prepared his party to participate in the elections, certain that the results would be in his favour since his party had a wide popular base. To this end, Musalli nominated prominent figures from his party and launched a slogan on the list of candidates called "a list for the liberation of the Algerian people" (Mohammed Harbi, OP-cit, However, France, as usual, resorted to the policy of manoeuvring and falsifying these elections so that it is easy to manipulate the results. The reason for this is that it was afraid of the elements of the Algerian People's Party due to its wide popularity and its demands that contradict its myth that Algeria is an integral part of France. It also refused the candidacy of the person of Massali Hajj in the capital by order of the governor general (Ferhat Abbas, OP-cit, p p163- 164) In addition to rejecting the party's lists in Oran and Setif, the party was not informed of this until after the expiration of the legal period for registrations (Jillali Sari, Mahfoud Kadash, op. cit., p. 94), and because of these obstacles, the movement only won five seats (Abdelwahab Ben Khalif, 2009, p. 164). Khalif, 2009, p. 174), three of them in Constantine (Lamine Dabaghine, Djamel Dardour and Saoud Boukadoum), and two seats in the capital (Ahmed Mezghna and Mohamed Kheder). For reference here, 08 candidates from the French administration and two candidates from the Algerian Communist Party applied for these elections (Ahmed Mahsas, OP-cit, p 231).

Despite the fact that the MILD won five seats in the legislative elections, some members of the party, such as Lamine Dbaguin (Mohammed Harbi, OP-cit, p. 34), objected to their participation in the French parliament because the latter serves the interests of France alone, as well as because

of the fraud that marred that vote, p34) objected to their participation in the French parliament because the latter serves the interest of France alone, as well as because of the fraud that marred that vote. They also denied the right of French deputies to manage the affairs of Algerians, considering that the Algerian people alone have the right to discuss and determine their fate and future (Jillali Sari, Mahfoud Kadash, op-cit, p90). In light of this charged atmosphere and the insistence of the group that called for the need to form a military wing on its decision, and the continuing dispute within the party, Massali Hadj, after consultations involving all parties, invited the movement to hold its first conference on 15 February 1947 (op-cit, op-cit), (Hocine Ait Ahmed, p88), to take a unified decision and find a solution to the existing conflict. During the conference sessions, three groups emerged, each with an opinion (Mustafa Hishmawi, 2000, pp. 69-70), but after some discussion and intervention by Massali El Hajj, the meeting finally came up with several points that satisfied all the parties present, including:

- Maintaining the MDLM to operate legally and to participate in the elections held in Algeria.
- Maintaining the Algerian People's Party, which had been operating in a clandestine manner.
- Approval of the formation of the Special Organisation for Military Action, a paramilitary organisation whose mission is to train young people to prepare for revolutionary action (Mohammed Herbi, OP-cit, p. 29).

Conclusion :

- This was the beginning of a new phase in the party's march, which entailed the entry of the national movement into a different political path from what it had been, as it began to think about the armed struggle as the most appropriate solution to expel the coloniser and gain freedom. This belief was the conviction of many members and leaders of the

independence movement in Algeria, followed by other members of the national movement of different ideological persuasions. This can be recognised by anyone who follows the study of this topic based on the time frame we have stopped at.

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