

Paradigm of Change of the Algerian People's Party In the Department of Oran between 1936-1954

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Abstract: This study focuses on the changing paradigms adopted by the Algerian People's Party in Oran department between 1936 – 1954, expressing essential modification in Algerian society cultural and values structure which led to qualitative and quantitative in the era of arrogant colonial regime, and it attempts to elucidate the following problematic: how was the party of the Algerian people able to formulate ideas that a few decades later would become objective reasons for radical change? What are these new types of activities in Algerian society?

The study relied on the descriptive approach, which helps the researcher to know the paradigm of change based on revealing the contradiction in the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized through the adoption of different mechanisms of change.

Keywords:

the Algerian People's Party; the changing paradigms; Messali Hadj; Oran department; the colonialism; Algerian Mobilization; Revolution .

الملخص باللغة العربية:

تركز هذه الدراسة على الأساليب المختلفة التي اعتمدها حزب الشعب الجزائري بعمالة وهران ما بين 1936-1954 و التي تنم عن تعديل جوهري في البنية الثقافية والقيمية للمجتمع الجزائري والتي نجم عنها تحول نوعي وكمي في الممارسات المتغيرة للاستعمار ، كما تسعى الدراسة إلى طرح الإشكالية التالية: كيف استطاع حزب الشعب الجزائري صياغة أفكار، شكلت بعد عقود قليلة أسبابا موضوعية

للتغيير الجذري؟ وقد اعتمدت الدراسة على المنهج الوصفي الذي يساعد الباحث في معرفة براديغم التغيير القائم على كشف التناقض في العلاقة بين المستعمر والمستعمّر من خلال إبراز آليات التغيير المعتمدة .
الكلمات المفتاحية: حزب الشعب الجزائري ;براديغم التغيير ;مصالي الحاج ; عمالة وهران ; الاستعمار ; تعبئة الجزائريين ; الثورة.

1. INTRODUCTION

Change is one of the constants of life, there are two types of change; one is sudden and rapid, the other is characterized by slowness due to cumulative events to which two factors contribute: the internal environment (that is the society) and the external environment (the regional and international impact).

Messali hadj, Born May 16, 1898 in Tlemcen (Algeria), died June 3, 1974 in Paris; emigrated to Paris, communist and leader of the North African Star (1926-1932), director of the periodical El Ouma (1930-1934); founder of the Glorious ENA (1933), of the Algerian People's Party (PPA, 1937), and of the Movement for the Triumph of Democracy and Freedoms (MTLD (1946), of the MNA (1954), initiator of the Algerian national movement; he was the father of Algerian nationalism, an exceptional figure known for his revolutionary ideas, a historical leader who symbolized the idea of triumphing and confronting colonialism and winning freedom; he had a clear plan and many alternatives which he employed when the time was right; this was confirmed by the report of the second congress of the party which took place from April 4 to 6, 1953 in Algiers: the political strategy is an analysis of several stages which must be chosen by the party ... is to

define the successive secondary objectives in the liberation struggle and their realization will help to achieve the ultimate goal.¹

According to Messali, the political strategy therefore concerns the way of organizing the expected change at the various levels of execution through concrete measures and who, after having fixed the results to be obtained, must decide whether or not to pursue them, through the means of the strategy.

This study attempts to elucidate the following problematic: how was the party of the Algerian people able to formulate ideas that a few decades later would become objective reasons for radical change? What are these new types of activities in Algerian society?

2. Definition of concepts

2.1 The Concept of Change

Change is the most enduring and reliable feature in this universe. It is inevitable for all living and non-living components of the Earth. The human dynamic is more consistent. It may be biological or psychological but evolution is mandatory for sustenance. As far as behavioral pattern is concerned, we can observe changes in food habits, tests, cooking processes, dress sense, dress materials, festivals, social behavior, etc. These changes can be detected from the individual to the community through the generations. It is the unavoidable first rule of nature².

¹ Taleb Bendiab Abderahim, *chronologie des faits et mouvements sociaux et politiques en Algérie 1830 -1954*,1983 ,p 65.

² Paul, Koyel, Jha, Vibhash, Chandra.(2021). *Paradigm Shifts in Geographical Research and Geospatial Applications*. Sociedade & Natureza, [S. l.], v. 33,2021,p2.

2.2 The Paradigm concept

The concept of paradigm which originally comes from Greek term “Paradeigma” means pattern or example , It can be questioned on the basis of three main aspects ; The first aspect is the scientific perspective; Sociology; and political science perspectives.¹

The term "paradigm" was coined by S. Thomas Kuhn (1922-1996), an American historian of science, while postulating a very important theory about the growth and development of science. Cohn (1962) defined a “paradigm” as the complete set of beliefs, values, technologies, etc. held by the members of a given society.²

Other writers have developed Kuhn's thinking in different areas. Fritjof Capra, for example, offers the following definition: A paradigm is a set of concepts, values, perceptions, and practices shared by a society, which constitute a particular vision of reality and which is the basis of the way society organizes itself.³

Robert K. Merton used the term ‘Paradigm’ to refer a device for codification of an area of sociological analysis. It is an outline of the major concepts, assumptions, propositions, procedures and problems of a theoretical approach in sociological analysis. According to Merton, paradigm gives a qualitative analysis to some of the precision of quantitative analysis .⁴

Barker sees a paradigm as " a set of rules and regulations (either written or unwritten) that does two things: 1) it establishes or defines boundaries and,

¹ Mwabukojo Edson, Anyosisye EDSON. (2019). Revealing the Political Science of Development Paradigm, Munich Personal RePEc Archive, 2019 ,p4.

² PAUL, K.; JHA, V. C,op.cit , p2.

³ Capra Frijito , Das Tao der physic, November 1, Droemersche Verlagsanstalt Th. Knaur Nachf., Gmbh & Co, 1997, p6.

⁴ PAUL, K.; JHA, V. C,op.cit , p4.

2) it tells one how to behave inside the boundaries in order to be successful"¹

The paradigm is a set of coherent epistemological, theoretical and conceptual elements that serve as a frame of reference for the community of researchers and guide them towards a particular branch of science .Margaret Masterman noted several different meanings of the notion of paradigm such as:²

-A universally recognized scientific achievement.

-A myth.

-A constellation of questions.

-A classic work or a textbook.

-A tradition or a model.

- A unified scientific achievement.

- An analogy.

- An effective metaphysical speculation.

-An accepted instrument.

- A source of tools.

-A standardized illustration of a reality.

-A mechanism.

- A pack of cards.

-An intellectual factory.

-A Gestaltist perspective.

Barker Joel , Paradigms: The business of discovering the future. New York: Harper ¹
Collins, 1992,p5.

² Sylvain Paquet, Paradigme et pragmatisme en relations Internationales, mémoire présentée comme exigence partielle de la maîtrise en science politique, Université du Québec, 2003, p15.

- A set of political institutions of science.
- A standard applied to quasi-metaphysics.
- An organizing principle of thought that can govern perception.
- A general epistemological perspective.
- A way of seeing.
- A thought that determines a broad plane of reality.

3. Algerian people's party: Causes and mechanisms of change

3.1 Algerians' rejection of colonial existence

The change paradigm of the Algerian people's party is based on the existence of organizational concepts, based on the rejection of the behaviours and conditions imposed by the settlers, and its desire to engage and recruit Algerians into the party.

This party was created in an environment where the city became politically active after the exhaustion of military resistance and the confiscation of rural lands and this encouraged the party to take the initiative¹.

The great popular upheaval that the country experienced in the thirties was the social and economic crisis where the French colonialism found itself in an impasse trying to eliminate the party of the Algerian people because of its revolutionary ideas that he advocated such as freedom and democracy considered as non-exportable materials.

¹ Bulletin du Comité de L'Afrique Française, 1938, p566.

Messali hadj adopted a process of change based on the political culture of Algerian society; the latter had an effective impact on the political attitudes and mobilization of Algerians, especially when the aim was to confront colonialism; according to Philippe Braud: (political culture is a set of knowledge and beliefs that allow individuals to give meaning to the routine experience of their relationships with rulers and the groups that serve as their identity reference)¹.

The collective consciousness of the Algerian community is a set of beliefs that has forged a model characterized by the refusal of foreign presence and anti-colonialism from Jugurtha and Massinissa to the popular resistance of Emir Aek.

In fact, it is a refusal to obey the enemy which Algerians have inherited from generation to generation, this is also confirmed by the social studies of "Durkheim" who says that: "the collective conscience will live among the individuals and will permeate their lives, it is inherited by the generations and it designates the set of common values within a social group"².

Messali adopted in the management of the conflict with France the cultural and historical heritage of Algerians and according to "Guy Pervillé" : "it is a first form of political consciousness among young Algerians who attributed to colonialism the unjust fate of Algerians"³

¹ Braud Philippe, Sociologie politique, Paris, LGDJ, 2022, p326.

² تيماشيف نيكولا ، نظرية علم الاجتماع ، مصر ، المعارف ، 1983، ص 61.

³ برفيلي غي ، النخبة الفكرية 1880-1965، الجزائر ، دار القصة للنشر ، 2003، ص 485.

The party's popularity continued to increase after the first Muslim congress in Algiers in 1936- a meeting organized by the representatives of the Muslim congress who were to announce the political attachment of Algeria to France –at which it did not participate seriously, he made a historic speech in front of the crowd on August 2, 1936 at the Belcourt stadium, he took the word and knelt down and picked up a handful of Algerian soil and shouted : " this blessed land is ours ...it is neither for sale nor to buy"¹

3.2 Characteristics and areas of change

The Algerian People's Party resorted in changing process to the collective conscience, formulating Algerian ideas and thinking models in order to revolutionize everything in front of colonial oppression politics resorting to force, and it had succeeded in the social mobilization because it did not propose absolute ideas, including press, schools and association which mobilized Algerian people around the party which ideology gives radical solutions.

The independence speech of Messali Hadj was, according to Mohammed Harbi, one of the three great events which made it possible to structure the Algerian revolutionary movement before the insurrection of November 1, 1954. The independence speech of Messali Hadj was, according to Mohammed Harbi, one of the three great events which made it possible to

¹. سعد الله أبو القاسم ، أبو القاسم ، سعد الله . (1975). الحركة الوطنية الجزائرية 1930-1945، ج3، دار النهضة العربية للنشر

، 1975، ص 175.

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structure the Algerian revolutionary movement before the insurrection of November 1, 1954¹.

On July 31, 1937, Messali arrived in Oran and gave a speech in which he declared:(they believe that they will prevent the Algerian patriots from demanding the independence of their countries which their fathers had defended with arms ².

Moreover, the newspaper EL Ouma had denounced the Blum Violette project saying that: (we tell the Algerian people that the policy of integration and abandonment of the personal status law is a great danger...Our nationality and our dignity will be lost and we will also lose all hope of restoring our freedom and dignity).³

We can therefore conclude that the party of the Algerian people relied on political rhetoric and effectively used religion in its discourse in order to revolutionize and politically mobilize Algerians against colonialism; he took advantage of the psychological and intellectual climate that made Algerians feel frustrated and humiliated after the celebration of the centenary of the French presence in Algeria; this is how the party rose to try to meet the needs of Algerians by making certain changes; as education is an effective and safe tool for social change and the dissemination of knowledge, the party founded three schools in Oran (El Masdjid school, El-Hayat school, El -Amal) and another school in Mostaganem the Attarbia

¹ Harbi Mohammed ,La guerre en Algérie ,Bruxelles ,Ed Complexe. 1998, 135.

Archives d'outre mer, CAOM,82cie , 82 CIE, Affaires Indigènes ,Oran, Octobre1937.²

³ El Ouma, 1936

school for that matter; the important and growing activity of these schools is mentioned in one of the reports of the French intelligence service in 1952: (Monsieur Zerrouki, principal of the Attarbia school in Mostaganem spreads subversive ideas among the pupils by ordering them to fight against France and to invade them in their own country)¹. (DAWO,BMQI,1952)

This is how the schools of the Algerian people's party nourished the minds of the students with ideas of freedom and revolution; and this is confirmed by the report of the political office of the party which instructed Cheikh Hocine Abdelkrim to give a lecture in front of the teachers of the schools of the party: (The objective of the party is to transform future students into revolutionaries).²

The Algerian people's party was made up of graduates of the medersa of Tlemcen, from the bilingual intelligentsia who worked in the Islamic judicial system, translators, and lawyers. One of the French reports published in 1949 talks about the activity of this elite: Tlemcen Medersa graduates have a significant presence in the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties (M T L D); of the 60 civil servants belonging to the party, there are 9 graduates of the Medersa, and it is for this reason that the French authorities adopted on October 19, 1949 a decision of expulsion for some and a change of place of residence for the others³.

DAWO.(1952). Bulletin mensuel des Question Islamiques, BMQI, Février1952. ¹

² DAW0, BMQI, 1954.

³ DAWO, Boite 1797, 1949.

The party depended on this elite because it was intellectually qualified to lead the Algerian society thanks to the ideas and the culture it conveyed, that is to say, it is the transformation of culture into an ideology that leads society towards change.

Admittedly, the number of Algerian graduates in the department of Oran was not particularly high, but we must consider this aspect from a qualitative angle and on the degree of awareness and commitment, In addition to their disciplinary competence, (quality of graduates) was assessed on their level of commitment and their respect for the values of the Algerian people's party and those of other parties.

Moreover, at the beginning of the fifth decade of the last century, the party had an influence on the Algerian students of the Zaytouna in Tunis, and four-fifths of these Algerian students belonged to the party, to thwart the activity of the PPA, the association of ulemas created a system of cooperation of Algerian students with the mosque of El Zaytouna; it also sent an inspector to provide financial assistance to needy students¹.

As the change requires information on what is happening in Algeria, the party focused on the press which played a very important media role, the most important party newspaper was El Ouma (the nation) sold in Oran by Turki A E K, general secretary of the section of the party in Oran², He also "...organized regular meetings for the party's cells every week, either in a

¹ DAWO,BMQI ,1949.

²مهديد إبراهيم ، الجزائريون في القطاع الوهراني 1830-1930 ، أطروحة دكتوراه في التاريخ ، جامعة وهران.

café room or an Algerian restaurant, or in the residence of a fighter...and these fighters were accused of intensifying propaganda and continuing recruitment." ¹

The purpose of the press was to educate, inform, and urge Algerian society toward revolutionary action; this was reported by the newspaper *El Ouma* in 1948 :(by deepening the awareness and the maturity of the Algerians we decided to move on to independence.)²

The Algerian People's Party asked its elected militants to participate effectively in decision-making within the municipal councils; in this regard, the party published in 1949 a newspaper called (the elected officials' tribune) and we read in its first number the following:(the growth of the Algerian people's party is over and it is time to enter the strict regulatory phase and the Algerian elected officials must:³

_ attend and have access to council meetings in which French elected representatives actively participate.

_ Pressure on mayors so that Algerian elected representatives can participate in municipal administration.

_ prosecute mayors in the event of irregularities.

And on the miserable reality of local elected officials and the role that awaits them, Messali El Hajj wrote: "In accordance with the Atlantic Charter for which the Allies made so much propaganda during the November 8 landing in Algiers and in accordance with the Charter of United Nations, which proclaimed the end of the colonial pact and the

¹ Marion,2012,P .105

² DAWO Bulletin d'information et d'étude sur la politique dans le département d'Oran, Décembre.,BIEPO,1948,p5.

³ Ibid,p6.

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guarantee of the freedoms of oppressed peoples, Algeria, which participated in the victory of 1918 as well as that of 1945, has the right to have its grievances examined. She introduces herself to you. Gentlemen Delegates, not to ask for alms, but for a right for the preservation of which millions of human beings have died."¹

Thus the people's party waged a political struggle against colonialism which manifested itself in the demands of Algerian elected officials who were bold and hostile to the French enemy, and during a meeting of elected municipal officials belonging to the people's party on November 6, 1947, Mr. Souiyah El Houari second deputy mayor says: (in the municipality of Oran, elected Muslims think it is their duty to get up after hearing the French anthem although it is foreign to them, and if we don't have no weapons to fight France, we had three other weapons, faith, order and union, after him Mr. Hammou Boutellelis fourth deputy mayor spoke:(France would have become in such a situation out of pity, no, because if she could imprison us, she would do so without hesitation.²

Through the press, the Algerian People's Party disseminated political values within Algerian society; these relate above all to identity, dignity and freedom; this obviously means that the party had integrated these political values which could be transmitted to society, and to illustrate this idea we cite the example of Mr. Ferroukhi member of the Algerian assembly who made a propaganda tour in the department of Oran where he visited Ain Temouchent, reminding party activists of the enthusiastic declarations of

¹ Messali, Hadj, *Le problème Algérien :Appel aux nations*, Paris10, Imp. du château d'eau ,Strasbourg, (SD), p41.

² DAWO, BIEPO ,1948, 3.

Messali hadj: (If I were a teacher and the Algerian people, student, I would force him to conjugate the following sentence from morning to evening: Algerian people organize yourself.)¹

In the late 1950s, party activity increased in rural areas, relying on religious propaganda in cafes and markets where party preachers criticized events in Vietnam.²

According to Abssi Marion: (The Moorish cafés are transformed into veritable anti-French propaganda pharmacies...Meetings are organized there, newspapers distributed and commented on, leaflets distributed...) ³

In August 1951, the party redoubled its activity among the rural population of Ain Temouchent, Hammam Bouhadjar, El Amria where secret meetings took place and directives were given: to create the nucleus of the army, to threaten the peaceful elements and establish an economic boycott of non-national traders.⁴

The Algerian People's Party has not excluded the female element in the field of mobilization and propaganda; to illustrate this, let's look at the following example: "during the wedding ceremony Mr. Benosmane Abdelkrim adviser of the municipality of Tlemcen and member of the MTL D party; Mrs. Benosmane and Mrs. Chentouf took the floor highlighting the role that Muslim women can play in the liberation of the country by reminding the audience of the tasks assigned to party militants. ⁵"

¹ DAWO,SLNA,

² DAWO,SLNA,1950

³ ,Marion Abssi ,Le nationalisme Algérien et ses diverses expressions dans l'immigration France Métropolitaines 1945-1965,thèse de doctorat en histoire ,université de Liège,2012,p105.

⁴ DAWO,BIEPO ,1950,p2.

⁵ DAWO, SLNA,1948.

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The party also relied on the student struggle against colonialism, in March 1949 the association of Algerian students of the Zitouna of Tunis had published a newspaper entitled (The second fruit) or (Attamra Athania); a Messalist newspaper and this movement mobilized around party goals; the world congress of youth in Budapest 1949 shows the hegemony of the party on this movement: out of eight young people who represented Algeria, seven were of Messalist obedience.¹

In 1951, the French authorities in Tlemcen revealed the presence of nine people belonging to the secret organization (os), its leader was Bakhti Moulay El Hadi, a Zitouna graduate.²

According to the report of (Hurtas) responsible for the information service, the number of students from the department of Oran at the University of Fez (Al karaouine) had increased from 19 in 1940 to 158 in 1951; those students influenced by nationalist ideas, on their return to Algeria during the holidays, they were active in the party; also in the city of Nemours, on August 17, 1951, they organized a play in which they described the French authoritarian system through the person of the Governor General accompanied by two characters, one carrying a (Christian) crucifix, the other wearing a (Jewish) hat; the objective that the play wanted to express was clear and obvious to the spectators, the majority of whom were sympathetic to the party of the Algerian people.³

¹ DAWO, SLNA, 1949.

² DAWO, SLNA, 1951.

³ DAWO, I 6988, 1951.

The party also used fairground stalls that sold dishes to publicize national songs recorded on discs, the walls were filled with inscriptions such as: long live Algeria, Algeria will live free.¹

Therefore, we conclude that the good management of the party has clarified the activity of each member of Algerian society, moreover this success is also due to the charisma of its leader Messali, this man who felt that a historic role awaited him. in Algeria and who since his youth was influenced by the values of freedom; of justice and equality and he also wrote: (we witnessed the arrival in the city of Tlemcen and Oran of preachers such as Charles André Julien and Paul Vaillant who spoke of our country of our freedom and our rights.)²

The popularity of Messali Hadj appeared in France before his arrival in Algeria and the Algerians were increasingly enthusiastic about the urgent need for change and so Messali became a source of concern for the French political community from 1934, this was confirmed by the journalist Jean Renault has a newspaper which was called (the friend of the people); he wrote a report on the meeting in Messali on April 28, 1934 described him as terrible, that he would have come to Algeria to fight the French they had welcomed; It was a scene hard to imagine that a meeting of 600 rebellious Muslims who had sworn to refuse military service and who shouted: Death to the Roumi of Paris, Death to France, Let us expel the French from Algeria, Tunisia and of Morocco and push them out to sea.³

¹ DAWO, SLNA, Mars1951

² Bouzidi Abderrahmane , 1972,p130.

³ Aron, Robert , Les origines de la guerre d'Algérie ,Paris, fayard ,1961,pp 64-65.

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In several towns in the department of Oran, Algerians cried: (long life to the party of the Algerian people, long live Algeria¹, and in this climate, Messali Hadj tried from the beginning to instill in colonization a historical fact that this one tried to deny, it is the existence of an Algerian nation and a people who have a distinct personality.

Colonial reports indicate that the tension between the Algerians and the colonists in the department of Oran increased in 1945, and one of the examples which we cite and which shows us the capacity of the party to psychologically and morally prepare the Algerians to live important political events, it is the refusal of the Tlemcenien of the visit of Prime Minister Chataigneau on March 7, 1945, they also refused to receive him when he went to the church; a group of Islamic scouts went towards the mosque while singing the national anthem .²

France considered Algerians as rigid objects or devices, it expected to obtain from them certain results or behaviors, and that absolute control over them would lead to the loss of their identity by belonging to another identity, however alienation and acculturation did not take place because of the party's paradigm of change which generated great momentum for its beliefs and methods of change which varied and influenced the behavior and values of the parties. Algerians, and this contributed to the formation of the political consciousness of Algerians and gave birth to the revolutionary movement.

¹ DAWO, CIE ,1945 ,P.5.

² Borthane Errais,1986,p56.

4. CONCLUSION

Messali Hadj was the teacher of the Algerian youth who started the revolution, and inspired them and thanks to him they acquired political awareness to become (leaders) of the revolution.

The paradigm of change for Messali did not mean skipping historical stages at a variable level of thought and consciousness because the question is not linked to the ideas he presents and expects their immediate recognition but rather linked to his ability to mobilize the Algerian people faced with colonialism by the progressive transformation of society from a state of tyranny to a space of freedom by methods capable of achieving the required efficiency

According to Messali al-Hajj, change was a movement of intelligent interaction that did not happen randomly or on the fly, but rather happened as part of an organized movement towards a known goal, and this change of the People's Party was linked to the reality in which the people lived, because it occurred within the framework of its capacities and resources and the conditions that the party had passed through since 1937, This is in addition to the compatibility between the process of change and the desires, needs and aspirations of the Algerian people for the process of change.

Thus, Messali was able to provide the Algerian society with the correct information needed on the expected change and answer all their questions, which led to raising their awareness and restoring their confidence.

We believe that Messali carried a mature vision of change and revolution characterized by clarity of objectives, completeness of vision, audacity in

proposing ideas and knowledge of the mechanisms of change without hastening the harvest not based on the experience.

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