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ARTICLE

## Ferhat Abbas's Political Activity Between 1945 and 1947

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## Abstract

This article examines the political activity of Farhat Abbas during the period between 1945 and 1947. It draws on unpublished archival documents to highlight a major shift in his political discourse following the massacres of May 8, 1945. During this time, Abbas moved from advocating integrationist ideas to promoting self-government within a federal framework. The article also explores the founding of the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto, its political actions, and its interactions with other nationalist movements. The findings suggest that Farhat Abbas sought to build a moderate political project that balanced national ambition with political realism.

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## Introduction

Farhat Abbas is one of the prominent political figures who played a decisive role in the trajectory of the Algerian national movement during the first half of the twentieth century. His intellectual and political path underwent clear transformations, especially after the massacres of May 8, 1945. This event marked a turning point in modern Algerian history. It was not only a moment of extreme colonial violence but also a decisive break for many nationalist leaders, most notably Abbas himself.

Between 1945 and 1947, Abbas entered a new phase in his political life. He definitively abandoned integrationist positions and embraced a vision grounded in national independence. This was embodied in the establishment of the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto, a party he founded to express the growing desire among Algerians for sovereignty, even if within a federal model.

This study adopts an analytical-inductive approach to explore Abbas's political journey during this critical phase. It relies on key archival materials from French archives to trace and interpret the development of his political positions. The study aims to reconstruct the context and evolution of his ideas by examining his personal life, his arrest, party activity, and his complex relationships with other nationalist currents at the time.

## 1. Personal Background and Early Life

"Farhat Abbas is a leading figure in Algerian politics. It is not possible to analyze his political work without

referring to his personal background,<sup>1</sup> This is what the French officer Jean Orbey wrote in his security report on Farhat Abbas.

Farhat Abbas came from a rural family rooted in the Beni Amrane tribe (Ibn Dhawi), near the city of Jijel. According to French security reports, this region was described as “geographically difficult to control” and known for a deep-seated resistance to colonial rule. The reports stressed that Jijel had recorded the highest number of insurgents against the French administration in recent years.<sup>2</sup>

Farhat bin Saeed Abbas was born on October 24, 1899, in Douar El-Ghlama, a village located within the municipality of Taher.<sup>3</sup> Security reports described some of his physical traits: black hair, brown eyes, and left-handed writing.<sup>4</sup> As for his marital life, the records indicate that his first marriage took place in 1934 to Mrs. Ben Khalaf, the daughter of the financial deputy in Jijel. It is believed that the marriage had a purely electoral purpose, aimed at strengthening his influence in the district.<sup>5</sup>

Later, Abbas became involved with Marcel Stouzel, a French woman born in 1909. Their relationship drew considerable speculation, especially after both were arrested and imprisoned for their political activity. On June 16, 1946, she left for Paris with Abbas. However, there was no official record of a marriage contract. French police investigations reported that the marriage had not been legally confirmed. One indication was that Marcel did not go to the town of Bouinan in Blida to request civil status documents, particularly the required birth certificate.<sup>6</sup>

## 2. Farhat Abbas and the Events of May 8, 1945

### 2.1 Attempts to Implicate Farhat Abbas

The massacres of May 8, 1945, marked a turning point in Farhat Abbas's political path. During this period, his party activity saw a clear increase. In response, the French authorities moved quickly to impose strict surveillance on his movements and organizational network. As the date of the demonstrations approached, Abbas intensified his travel and contacts. This raised concerns within the colonial administration, which launched a wide campaign of arrests. The crackdown targeted supporters of the Manifesto and members of his party, the “Friends of the Manifesto and Liberty,” and eventually reached Abbas himself.<sup>7</sup> One of the sensitive issues that raised concern for the French authorities was the news circulating about a possible meeting between Farhat Abbas and U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt during his visit to Algeria. Intelligence reports claimed that the meeting took place at the American consulate and focused on matters related to Algeria's political and social future.<sup>8</sup> Although the occurrence of the meeting was never confirmed, its circulation among the public gave Farhat Abbas considerable symbolic weight. This led the authorities to tighten their surveillance of him.

In this context, his visit to the city of Bousaada on April 12, 1945, stands out as a highly symbolic event on the ground. He was accompanied on that trip by activists from the Friends of the Manifesto, including Asla Hussein and Kabouya Ibrahim.<sup>9</sup> The visit drew the attention of the police, who viewed it as suspicious—especially after a verbal exchange occurred between Abbas and security officials in Sour El Ghoulane. A large crowd of citizens

<sup>1</sup> ANOM 91 1k 1148 : rapport Jean Orbey monsieur Ferhat Abbas et sa politique, préfecture d'Alger, Alger le 12 février 1945, p.1.

<sup>2</sup> ANOM 91 1k 826 : rapport Jean Orbey l'évolution de Ferhat Abbas, préfecture d'Alger, Alger le Juin 1945, p.1.

<sup>3</sup> ANOM 91 1k 826 : rapport Jean Orbey l'évolution, op cit, p.1.

<sup>4</sup> ANOM 91502 154 : P.R.G, état signalétique et des services.

<sup>5</sup> ANOM 91 1k 826: rapport Jean Orbey l'évolution..., op cit, p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> ANOM 91502 154 : P.R.G, A.S, de Mr: Ferhat Abbas et de Mme Perez, n: 2660, Alger le 27 Juin 1946.

<sup>7</sup> ANOM 91 1k 826 : le sous-prefet a monsieur le prefet d'Alger ( cabinet ), Blida le 16 mars 1945.

<sup>8</sup> ANOM 91 1k 826 : P.R.G, A.S, bruit de la rencontre a Alger du president Roosevelt avec Ferhat Abbas, n 27, Aumel le 7 Avril 1945.

<sup>9</sup> ANOM 91 1k 826 : surveillance politique - voyage de M. Ferhat Abbas a Bousaada le 12 Avril 1945, l'administration en chef de services civils, n 43/5, Bousaada le 12 Avril 1945.

also gathered in front of the residence of the administrative official, Logard, where Abbas was scheduled to deliver a speech<sup>1</sup>

French reports indicate that the party activists gave the event a distinctly revolutionary character<sup>2</sup> This was expressed through the chanting of spirited songs such as “From Our Mountains, Our Land Algeria,” the public display of a portrait of Emir Khaled in a symbolic auction, and the distribution of leaflets praising the national struggle. These reports described the atmosphere in Bousaada as highly charged, to the extent that the colonial administration interpreted it as a clear warning sign of the unrest that later erupted during the May demonstrations<sup>3</sup>

From this perspective, Farhat Abbas was accused by the French administration of political incitement. He was arrested due to his alleged role in inflaming the situation on May 8, 1945.

## 2.2 Farhat Abbas’s Release from Prison

Farhat Abbas was released on March 16, 1946, following the issuance of a general amnesty law. This occurred in a highly sensitive political context, both domestically and internationally. However, reactions to his release were not uniform. Opinions among the Algerian public and observers varied regarding the motives and implications of the decision. French intelligence reports noted differing views in the regions of Tissemsilt, Thenia El-Had, and Miliana. Some residents, especially settlers, expressed concern over the release and saw it as a sign of weakness in the French state and its increasing submission to external pressures<sup>4</sup>.

Shortly before his release from prison, Farhat Abbas informed several close associates of his intention to continue his political work. However, he planned to proceed with greater caution and adopt a new strategy suited to the emerging national landscape following the May 8, 1945 massacres<sup>5</sup>.

Although the circumstances of his arrest were somewhat unclear, the experience did not exclude him from political activity. Rather, it contributed to shaping a significant shift in his discourse. He moved from advocating “integration within the framework of French justice” to adopting a bolder position demanding an Algerian republic with autonomous governance.

Farhat Abbas’s change in stance after prison was not isolated from the shifting international context, nor from the escalating challenges within Algeria. Several factors redirected his political compass: on one hand, the failure of integration as a political project; on the other, the continued colonial repression and disregard for reform demands. These pushed him gradually closer to the idea of independence based on a consensual formula, which at that stage still envisaged a federal relationship with France.

Thus, Farhat Abbas’s release from prison appeared less as the end of a phase and more as a declaration of a new beginning in his career. It paved the way for rebuilding a political movement grounded in popular legitimacy and future prospects. The first signs of this were evident in the project of the “Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto.”

<sup>1</sup> ANOM 91 1k 826 : le sous-prefet d’Aumel a monsieur le prefet ( cabinet ), A/S passage M. Ferhat Abbas a Aumel et Sidi-Aissa et Sejour a Bousaada, n 63/c, Aumel le 17 Avril 1945.

<sup>2</sup> Documents indicate that Ferhat Abbas’s first visit to the city of Bou Saada left a tense initial impression, due to the charged atmosphere surrounding it. Some organizers deliberately created noise and spread rumors that unsettled the city’s security situation. This behavior displeased Ferhat Abbas, who expressed his frustration. As a result, he decided to leave Bou Saada quietly and without drawing attention on the morning of April 13. ANOM 91 1k 826 : le sous-prefet d’Aumel a monsieur le prefet ( cabinet ), A/S passage M. Ferhat Abbas, op cit.

<sup>3</sup> ANOM 91 1k 826 : l’administrateur des services civils a monsieur le sous-prefet Aumel, voyage de M. Ferhat Abbas a Bousaada, n 44/5, le 15 Avril 1945.

<sup>4</sup> ANOM 91 1k 1148 : P.R.G, A/S de commentaires sur la liberation de Ferhat Abbas, n 41, Miliana le 15 Avril 1946.

<sup>5</sup> ANOM 91 1k 1148 : Gendarmerie national 19er legion, note renseignement, autours de F.A, n 23/4, Tizi-Ouzou le 9 mars 1946.

### 3. Activity of Farhat Abbas within the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto

#### 3.1 Foundation:

Following his release from prison, Farhat Abbas announced the formation of a new party. This party was considered a continuation of the “Friends of the Manifesto and Liberty” movement. It was named the “Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto” and was established on April 4, 1946, in the city of Sétif<sup>1</sup>. The party initially consisted of an elite group of lawyers, intellectuals, and notables, such as Ahmed Boumenjel, Kaddour Satour, Mustafa El Hadi, and others. Through this new political framework, Farhat Abbas sought to organize the national movement within a reformist and sovereign perspective. This approach combined the demand for legitimate political rights and full recognition of Algerian identity, while maintaining—at that stage—the prospect of negotiation within a federal relationship with France.

On May 26, 1946, the party held an important meeting in Sour El Ghoulane. During this meeting, the core objectives of the Democratic Union were outlined as follows:

- Calling for an investigation into the actions of the colonial administration following the May 8, 1945 massacres
- Exposing the real responsibilities behind the repression and mass killings
- Demanding the release of Messali Hadj
- Calling for the establishment of an elected Algerian parliament
- Emphasizing the independence of Algerian decision-making within a gradual political separation from the French administration.<sup>2</sup>

Farhat Abbas's first practical step was the distribution of a pamphlet titled "A Call to Algerian, French, and Muslim Youth," published on May 1, 1946, with an initial print run of 1,500 copies. In this statement, Abbas clearly expressed his rejection of the integration project, declaring: "No integration, no new masters... but national liberation based on justice and democracy"<sup>3</sup>. This statement was widely welcomed in the municipalities of the Constantine district, especially in Boussaada. However, the French police quickly moved to confiscate copies and attempted to disrupt the distribution of the pamphlet<sup>4</sup>. The aforementioned manifesto marked a moment of frank admission by Abbas of the failure of his previous theses. He wrote bitterly: "On May 8, I, along with Dr. Saadan at the general governorship, congratulated our government's head on the final liberation of France, only to be arrested... We only learned of the painful Sétif incidents when we were transferred to the military prison in Constantine."

He also reaffirmed his commitment to a moderate stance, stating: "The only political doctrine I believe in is unity within the framework of democracy and justice... neither assimilation nor separation, but a just and negotiated liberation."<sup>5</sup>

#### 3.2 Proposal of the Algerian Draft Constitution – August 9, 1946:

<sup>1</sup> Shaib Kaddara, *Transformations of the Algerian National Movement after World War II, 1945-1954*, Journal of Humanities, Mentouri University of Constantine, Vol. 1, No. 30, December 2008, p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> ANOM 91 1k 1148 : reunion publique de l'union democratique du manifeste d'Algerie, commissariat de police Aumale, n 473, le 28 Mai 1946.

<sup>3</sup> ANOM 91 1k 1148 : Appel a la jeunesse Algerienne Francaise et Musulmane, administrateur des services civiles de l'Algerie, n 28/4, Bousaada, le 17 Mai 1946.

<sup>4</sup> In the city of Tiaret, the French police confiscated all publications bearing Ferhat Abbas's signature, which had been locally distributed by activists of the “Friends of the Manifesto” movement. This measure was considered arbitrary, especially since the publications had been legally registered according to the applicable regulations. In response, Ferhat Abbas sent an official protest telegram to the Governor of Tiaret, requesting clarification on the reasons for this ban, which he regarded as a violation of freedom of expression and legitimate political activity. See: ANOM 91 1k 1148: Resignment, Algiers, May 15, 1946

<sup>5</sup> ANOM 91 1k 1148 : Appel a la jeunesse Algerienne Francaise et Musulmane par Ferhat Abbas.

The victory achieved by the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto party in the elections for the Second Legislative Council on June 2, 1946, marked a pivotal moment in Ferhat Abbas's political career. The party won 11 out of 15 seats in the Constantine department alone. Abbas regarded this success as a "popular referendum" on his program and as evidence of the growing support for the movement he represented. These results gave him greater confidence to advance his vision for the future Algerian state by presenting a draft federal constitution—the first of its kind at the time.<sup>1</sup>

This project emerged as the outcome of discussions with several of his party colleagues, notably the lawyer Ahmed Boumendjel. It included a set of provisions centered around the idea of "autonomy within the French Union" and culminated in a legal text submitted before the French Chamber of Deputies. The constitution was drafted according to key articles, the most important of which can be summarized as follows:

- **Article One:** Recognition of the Algerian Republic as an independent entity, with its own government, flag, and national sovereignty;
- **Article Two:** Algeria's membership in the French Union as a partner, with shared responsibilities in defense and foreign affairs;
- **Article Three:** Sovereignty of the Algerian Republic over its entire territory, and full control over its internal institutions, including the police;
- **Articles Four and Five:** Mutual recognition of Algerian and French nationality, and granting of civil and political rights to citizens in both countries;
- **Article Six:** Adoption of Arabic and French as official languages, with the imposition of public education in both;
- **Article Seven:** Authorization for France to build new schools at its expense, while preserving existing educational institutions.<sup>2</sup>

To secure support for this project, Ferhat Abbas took the initiative to coordinate with deputies from other French colonies. His goal was to form a joint bloc within the National Assembly. Records show that in April 1945, he met with the Senegalese leader Lamine Gueye. <sup>3</sup>He pledged to support Ferhat Abbas's initiative and to unite African workers behind it.<sup>4</sup>

#### 4. Ferhat Abbas's Electoral Experience Between 1946 and 1947:

Ferhat Abbas entered the legislative elections of 1946 and 1947 driven by growing political momentum and a renewed belief in the possibility of change from within the institutions. He sought to use these elections as a platform to voice his demands both to the public and to the French authorities. In this context, he issued a series of political statements that clearly reflected his new political line. This line moved beyond calls for integration and advocated for democratic self-rule. In one of his publications before the elections, Ferhat Abbas wrote:

"We are firm in our decision... We will demand a democratic constitution for Algeria with self-government, an Algerian parliament, an Algerian government, and Algerian citizenship for all inhabitants without discrimination<sup>5</sup>.

An examination of this discourse reveals Ferhat Abbas's firm commitment to federalism, but expressed in a more mature and autonomous form. He emphasized respect for religious freedoms, the promotion of the Arabic language, and the reform of state institutions to achieve justice and prosperity. He called for "the formation of a true Algerian society founded on human dignity and the authenticity of the nation<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ferhat Abbas, *The Night of Colonialism*, translated by Aboubakr Rahal, Anab Publications, 2005, pp. 157–158.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 158–159.

<sup>3</sup> ANOM 91 1k 1148 : P.R.G, A.S de Lamine-Gueye, n 5902, Alger le 12 Novembre 1945.

<sup>4</sup> ANOM 91 1k 1148 : P.R.G, government general de l'Algerie, A/S de M. Lamine Gueye, n 6118, le 15 Octobre 1945.

<sup>5</sup> ANOM 91 1k 1148 : rapport le commissaire de police Moisse Paule, le 29 Mai 1946.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid .

Despite his progressive stance, Farhat Abbas's electoral campaign faced widespread rejection from the colonial powers, led by the French administration. Through their local representatives, they openly expressed concern over the growing influence of Abbas and his party. The French police noted that the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto enjoyed significant popularity compared to other Islamic-oriented parties. This led some factions to openly call for election fraud if necessary, aiming to curb the party's political impact.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, police reports indicated that Farhat Abbas's chances in the provinces of Constantine and Setif were high. This was especially true following the decline in popularity of the candidate Saleh Ben Jalloul, who faced difficulties in forming his electoral list.<sup>2</sup>

After the election results were announced, Farhat Abbas held a meeting with his party activists at the headquarters of the newspaper *Al-Musawah* in Algiers. During this meeting, he provided a political assessment of the current phase. He affirmed that France was not concerned about the People's Party, whose program it knew well. However, it was unaware of the nature of the "People's Manifesto" and feared its unexpected expansion. He also criticized what he saw as the People's Party's weakness in implementation, stating, "The members of the People's Party say more than they do."<sup>3</sup>

## 5. Farhat Abbas's Relationship with Other Nationalist Currents Between 1945 and 1947

### 5.1 Relationship with the People's Party:

Farhat Abbas's relations with other national political currents during the period from 1945 to 1947 were among the most complex and tangled issues. This relationship shifted between situational alliances and open tensions, especially with the Algerian People's Party led by Messali Hadj. Abbas had previously cooperated with Messali Hadj within the framework of the "Friends of the Manifesto and Liberty" movement. However, their paths diverged after the massacres of May 8, 1945.

According to French police reports, while still in prison, Abbas confided to some close associates his intention to sever ties with the People's Party.<sup>4</sup> He believed that the latter's positions did not align with his intellectual and political vision. This rift reached its peak when he refused to receive a delegation of the party's supporters after his release from prison, citing pressing obligations.<sup>5</sup> He later stated in one of his declarations: "Algeria needs patriots who care deeply for their country, not those who exploit religion for narrow political purposes."<sup>6</sup>

This political tension was reflected on the ground during the election campaigns, especially in the city of Tizi Ouzou. One rally held by the Democratic Union Party on May 25, 1946, was disrupted by supporters of the People's Party who sought to cause disorder and provoke unrest. In response, Ahmed Boumendjel addressed them firmly, stating that they represented only Messali Hadj and would not succeed in disrupting the Democratic Union's political movement.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, activists of the Manifesto managed, as police reports confirm, to contain the protests with wisdom and to maintain the peaceful nature of the gathering.<sup>8</sup>

On the other hand, Farhat Abbas criticized what he called the "political duality" of the People's Party, especially after the announcement of the founding of the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties. He believed that the French administration was trying to legitimize the new party as a substitute for the banned People's Party, describing the move as a "political ploy to contain the national movement."<sup>9</sup>

Despite all signs of tension, the channels of dialogue between the two sides were not entirely closed. In August

<sup>1</sup> ANOM 91 1k 1148 : commissaire de police Bouira, le 16 mai 1946.

<sup>2</sup> ANOM 91 1k 1148 : P.R.G, depart d'Alger de M. Ferhat Abbas, n 7479, Alger le 16 Mai 1946.

<sup>3</sup> ANOM 91 1k 1148 : P.R.G, de l'U.D.M.A, n 1055/s/na, Alger le 14 Novembre 1947.

<sup>4</sup> ANOM 91 1k 1148 : gendarmerie national 19em legion, op cit.

<sup>5</sup> ANOM 91 1k 1148 : resignation, Sejour a Alger de M. Ferhat Abbas, Alger le 8 Avril 1946.

<sup>6</sup> ANOM 91 1k 1148 : Appel a la jeunesse Algerienne Francaise et Musulmane, op cit.

<sup>7</sup> ANOM 91 1k 1148 : le commissaire de police de Tizi-Ouzou, a monsieur le sous-prefet, n 873, Tizi le 26 Mai 1946.

<sup>8</sup> ANOM 91 1k 1148 : sous-prefet de Tizi-Ouzou, activite de M. Ferhat Abbas, n 8282, Tizi le 27 Mai 1946.

<sup>9</sup> ANOM 91 1k 1148 : prefecture d'Alger, service des liaisons nord-africains, n 108 SLNA, Alger le 16 Fevrier 1948.



1947, intelligence reports noted that some Maghreb figures attempted to mediate between Ferhat Abbas, the Ulama, and the People's Party, with the aim of forming a unified political alliance. The idea received initial approval from Ferhat Abbas, which reflected his willingness—despite the disagreements—to seek a common framework for national struggle.<sup>1</sup> In January 1948, Messali Hadj also attempted to issue what he called a “matter of of grave importance” appeal to the Democratic Union. In it, he called for the formation of a coordination committee with the following objectives:

- To unify efforts in preparation for intellectual and organizational unity;
- To abolish the colonial system;
- To establish a sovereign Algerian state based on the principles of the People's Manifesto.<sup>2</sup>

### 5.2 Relationship with the Association of Muslim Ulama:

The relationship between Ferhat Abbas and the Association of Muslim Ulama was marked by mutual respect and a notable degree of closeness. Although their discourse differed, the Ulama did not hesitate to support his project, especially during the “Friends of the Manifesto” period, while maintaining their organizational independence. Some senior members of the Association, such as Sheikh Hamza Boukoucha, attended Union conferences as observers. This reflected an atmosphere of trust and moderate rapprochement.<sup>3</sup>

### 5.3 Relationship with the Communist Party:

In contrast, the relationship with the Communist Party was more unstable. Although Abbas had declared his readiness to form an alliance with the communists before the May 1945 protests, the course of events shifted the situation. After his release from prison, he took the initiative to coordinate with them in an effort to form joint electoral lists, which also included the Socialists and the Friends of the Manifesto. However, internal disagreements within the party prevented the achievement of full consensus.<sup>4</sup>

Ferhat Abbas met with several leaders of his party, including Mostefai, Boumendjel, and Kessous Abdelaziz. The discussion revealed three main currents of opinion:

- A group that supported a close alliance with the communists (Boumendjel, Satour, Kessous);
- A group that believed in the strength of the “Friends of the Manifesto” and their ability to lead the struggle on their own;
- A third group (Mostefai) that favored an alliance with the People's Party.<sup>5</sup>

### 6. Conclusion:

This study of Farhat Abbas's political activity during the period 1945–1947, based on French archival documents, reveals that this was among the most sensitive phases in his career and in the history of the Algerian nationalist movement as a whole. The May 8, 1945 massacres marked a profound psychological and intellectual turning point for Abbas. He even wrote a political testament expressing his desire to retire permanently from political life. However, instead of ending his career, this crisis redirected it. Abbas re-emerged with a more cautious and pragmatic political project.

The founding of the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto Party represented the culmination of this shift. Abbas moved from advocating for integration within the French system to supporting a federal model that envisioned an autonomous Algerian republic linked to France. This new party was not a mere repetition of the earlier “Friends of the Manifesto” movement, but rather a qualitative evolution driven by the post-massacre

<sup>1</sup> ANOM 91 1k 1148 : P.R.G, Ferhat Abbas, n 4138, Alger le 21 Aout 1947.

<sup>2</sup> ANOM 14 CAB 238 : A Serious Appeal from the Central Committee of the Algerian People's Party to the Central Committee of the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto, January 17, 1948.

<sup>3</sup> ANOM 91 1k 1148 : activite de M. Ferhat Abbas et de ses amis, Alger le 2 Mai 1946.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid .

<sup>5</sup> ANOM 91 1k 1148 : activite de M. Ferhat Abbas et de ses amis, op cit .

realities and changing French policies.

Despite his engagement in electoral politics and repeated efforts to propose constitutional alternatives (as with the August 9, 1946 project), Abbas faced electoral fraud and a colonial administration unwilling to accept serious reform. This reality deeply affected his political mindset and forced him to reassess his options.

Nevertheless, Abbas persisted in his struggle, firmly committed to the idea of an “autonomous Algerian republic” and confident in the possibility of peaceful negotiation. This phase of his biography reveals a developed political figure balancing realism with legitimacy, striving—despite limitations—to build a national project through peaceful means. At the same time, it exposes the limits of reform within a resistant colonial structure and indirectly sets the stage for the revolutionary path later adopted by the entire nationalist movement.

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