



Manifestations of Maghreb Unity Struggle 1832-1920

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Abstract

The research paper titled "Maghreb Unity Struggle" aims to introduce the role played by the Algerian popular resistance in unifying armed efforts against French colonialism. It attempts to encourage Maghreb countries, particularly Tunisia and Morocco, to engage in this struggle to hinder French expansion and ultimately end its presence. Additionally, Sufi paths and religious leaders sought to document connections between the Arab peoples of the Maghreb, including their leadership, in order to unify the resistance and warn against the dangers of dealing with colonialism and its pillars.

This effort has made a significant impact on fostering unity within various Maghreb communities due to the immense respect it garnered among the people, becoming deeply ingrained in Maghrebi society as a protective fortress for identity elements, especially Islam and Arabic.

The joint struggle evolved significantly, particularly after the imposition of French protection on Tunisia in 1881, Italy's occupation of Libya in 1911, and the imposition of French and Spanish protection on Morocco in 1912. This perilous development prompted Maghreb elites, especially the youth movement, to strive for unity in various committees and organizations. They sought to establish connections with international entities hostile to the colonial powers (France, Britain), especially Germany and the Ottoman Empire. This aimed to elevate the unity movement from demanding political reforms to aspiring for freedom and liberation, capitalizing on the international situation during World War I (1914-1918).

Keywords: Arab Maghreb, Maghreb Unity Struggle, Maghrebi Youth, World War I, Tunisia, Algeria

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Introduction:

Various political, natural, human, and historical elements have influenced the development of Maghrebi unity as a concept embraced by the people of the region and their leaders, despite differences in their orientations and backgrounds. This idea gained more prominence and maturity after the fall of the region's countries under the grip of colonialism, one after another, and the diminishing role of the Ottoman Caliphate in protecting them from external European invasion during the second half of the 18th and 19th centuries.

The Maghreb unity concept gained strength at the beginning of the 20th century as an idea believed in

by the Arab Maghreb people, aspiring to achieve it. However, it did not materialize on the ground as the region became entirely subject to colonial control. The unity goal, focused on combating and eliminating colonialism, seemed to mature further during this historical period through Maghreb elites influenced by the intellectual commotion taking place in the Arab East—a period marked by the weakness of the Ottoman Empire and the increasing European colonial aggression against it.

The idea of Maghreb unity found greater resonance with the concept of the Islamic University advocated by Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and Muhammad Abduh, embraced by the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II. This idea captivated Maghreb elites, who began to



dream more than ever of unity and solidarity, embodying this concept that its advocates in the Arab East fought for, realizing it throughout the entire Islamic world, from the East to the West, and resurrecting the caliphate.

World War I (1914-1918) did not prevent the Arab Maghreb peoples from continuing their struggle, despite the pressure they faced from European colonial powers, fearing their exploitation of the war conditions for revolt. Anyone perceived as a threat and suspected of dealing with Germany or the Ottoman Empire was either imprisoned or exiled abroad. However, this pressure did not deter the Maghrebis from persisting in their efforts, working to unify their struggle, especially among the youth in exile and those recruited in the war, and contacting the conflicting powers with unity, particularly the Ottoman Empire and Germany. The latter demonstrated significant strength and organization during the war.

The central issue of this study revolves around the question: Did popular resistance, linked to Sufi paths and then Maghrebi youth elites, manage to initiate a unified Maghrebi movement despite the colonial policies of repression and constraint imposed between 1832 and 1920?

This research paper aims to clarify:

- The role of Algerian popular resistance, especially the resistance led by Emir Abdelkader, in expanding military action to include Maghreb countries, particularly the Far Maghreb, to end French colonial presence in the region.
- The significant efforts made by Sufi paths to promote Maghrebi unity and strengthen ties between Maghrebi peoples, warning them against fragmentation and division.
- The importance of Maghreb elites, especially youth groups, in consolidating unified activist work in the Arab Maghreb at the beginning of the 20th century and during World War I (1914-1918).
- The role of Maghreb youth in advancing Maghreb activism and transitioning it to unified political action after World War.

1- The components and foundations of Maghreb unity:

The natural structure of the Arab Maghreb countries constitutes one of the most important foundations for unity. The Arab Maghreb oversees an extensive coastline stretching 5000 kilometers along the

Atlantic Ocean to the west and the Mediterranean Sea to the north. The region's topography is characterized by diverse landscapes, including the Tell Atlas stretching from Far Morocco to Tunisia, passing through Algeria, which hosts numerous high mountains such as the Rif Mountains in Far Morocco, the Shara Mountains, Jergura, and the Aurès in Algeria, and the Shu'amibi Mountains in Tunisia. Additionally, the Saharan Atlas features some rocky formations in southern Algeria and Libya. The southern region consists mainly of deserts, dominating the majority of the Arab Maghreb's area. Mauritania and Libya differ significantly in natural structure from other countries, with the majority of their land characterized by desert regions.

Concerning climate, the region experiences a Mediterranean climate, a moderate continental climate (semi-arid), and a dry Saharan climate. Mauritania and Libya, however, predominantly have a desert climate. Rainfall occurs in areas adjacent to the Atlantic Ocean in Mauritania, Western Sahara, and Far Morocco. The Arab Maghreb region is rich in numerous important valleys, such as the Moulouya Valley and Oum Er-Rbia in Far Morocco, the Chlef Valley in Algeria, and others¹.

The human components also play a prominent role in achieving unity among the countries of the Arab Maghreb, considering that it constitutes a homogeneous human bloc in terms of ethnicity, language, and identity, with a current population exceeding 100 million people.

In terms of historical factors, they are represented by the civilizations that have passed through the region and the countries that were established, especially after the Islamic conquest. The religious factor holds great importance in achieving unity, as the inhabitants of the Arab Maghreb embraced Islam, which entered the region at the end of the first century of the Hijra (seventh century AD). Islam serves as a unifying factor and a bond, and the predominant Sunni Maliki school of thought in the Arab Maghreb countries has played a significant role in fostering unity. Therefore, Islamic religion, particularly the Maliki Sunni doctrine, has had a major role in fostering spiritual, religious, ideological, and intellectual cohesion among the people of the region in general², additionally, there are several other cultural factors, including language, values, ethical principles, customs, traditions, and architecture. Moreover, the region's



connection to the Islamic Caliphate has been present since the Islamic conquest of the Arab Maghreb³.

2- Maghreb unionist tendencies during the popular resistance (1830-1919):

"The Emir Abdelkader attempted⁴ "He adopted a unifying policy, if the expression is accurate, with countries in the region, such as Tunisia, which was still under Ottoman rule, and Far Morocco, which was governed by the Alawite state. Therefore, he sought to strengthen Maghrebi solidarity. He realized that he could not overcome French colonization alone. The occupation of Algeria and the persistence of Tunisia and Morocco as independent entities were only a matter of time. Therefore, Emir Abdelkader early on alerted the rulers of both states to this issue. He attempted to establish connections with the Sultan of Far Morocco and Ahmed Bey, the leader of the resistance in eastern Algeria."⁵ Due to his connections and ties with Tunisia and the Ottoman Empire, Emir Abdelkader faced political disagreements regarding the leadership of Algeria, and interventions from parties that did not want unity to succeed led to the failure of the unity project in its early stages. Sultan Moulay Abderrahman of Morocco, bound by religious ties and neighboring relations, found himself compelled to support Emir Abdelkader at the beginning of his resistance against the French occupiers in Algeria. This support was motivated by the shared religious and Islamic bonds, considering Algeria as part of the broader Islamic world and specifically the Islamic Maghreb⁶. The Emir aimed to gain the sympathy of the Moroccan Sultan and forge friendly relations with him, intending for Far Morocco to be a supportive base for his resistance. In 1833, the Sultan provided Emir Abdelkader with military assistance, consisting of 100 rifles, an equal number of swords, and ammunition⁷. Additionally, the merchant "Tayeb ben Jelloul" provided valuable military assistance to the Emir, consisting of 400 English rifles, 200 pistols, and 300 swords, as mentioned by the officer Domas in his memoirs⁸. Emir Abdelkader established relations with a Spanish individual to acquire weapons through his private representative, "Noël Manouchi," the son of the consul in Bizerte, Tunisia. Manouchi, funded by weapons purchased from

Spanish ports, facilitated the supply of arms to Emir Abdelkader through Far Morocco⁹.

Therefore, Emir Abdelkader managed to win the goodwill and sympathy of the Western Sultan in the name of Islamic solidarity, fearing the pitfalls that Algeria had fallen into. However, he withdrew his support for the Emir after his relations with the French government soured due to the insistence of Moroccan tribes near the borders to continue supporting Emir Abdelkader¹⁰. It culminated in the outbreak of the Battle of Isly in 1844 and the signing of the "Treaty of Lalla Maghnia" on March 17, 1845, due to French pressure and threats by the Governor-General Bugeaud¹¹. Despite the signing of this treaty, which ended the Sultan's solidarity and military support for the Emir, the Moroccan people remained loyal to him and his resistance. They welcomed the Emir, who had left Algeria due to French military pressure and the betrayal of many of his followers. Some tribes were forced to migrate to Morocco after their lands were seized, despite having been the main supporters of the Emir with supplies and equipment. One such tribe is the Bani Amer, and many of its branches, such as the Oulad Ibrahim, Oulad Slimane, Oulad Sidi Ali ben Yub, Oulad Blagh, Oulad Sidi Khalifa, and others, migrated to Morocco¹².

Regarding the Emir's attempts to establish closer ties with Tunisia, initially, there was no response from the Tunisian authorities, and the resistance did not receive any support or endorsement from Beys, ministers, or governors of Tunisia. Their positions were extremely negative and not in favor of the resistance. This was in contrast to the Tunisian people¹³. Despite the negative stance of Tunisian authorities and their lack of support for the resistance, Bey of Tunis did not completely sever their ties with the Algerian people. Bey of Tunis received many Algerian families who fled to Tunisia after the fall of Constantine into the hands of French occupation. He also integrated into his army the soldiers who were part of Haj Ahmed Bey's army. Additionally, these families received support from Tunisian families sympathetic to the popular resistance¹⁴. There were communications between Bey of Tunis and Emir Abdelkader. The Emir sent a delegation led by Mohamed al-Saghir bin al-Haj Khalifat to Biskra, and the delegation was received by the Bey. The Bey seemed to respond to them with the desire to encircle Haj Ahmed Bey and eliminate his resistance. Apparently, the Emir

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wanted to gain new allies to support his resistance, but this played into the hands of the French, who succeeded in besieging Haj Ahmed Bey and putting an end to his resistance. The mutual goodwill between the Emir and the Bey did not last long and came to an end with the demise of Ahmed Bey¹⁵.

When Tunisia fell under French protection in 1881, Algerians took up arms alongside their Tunisian brethren. The manifestations of joint resistance were also evident in the resistance of Ouled Sidi Sheikh and Sheikh Bouamama (1864-1904). This resistance was expressed through letters sent by Sheikh Bouamama to the leaders of Algerian and Marrakech tribes, urging them to cooperate and unite in jihad against the common enemy. The Marrakech tribes responded to the call, fought alongside Sheikh Bouamama, and when he was besieged and his resistance weakened, he sought refuge in Morocco in 1888, continuing his resistance from there¹⁶ It appears that the response of the Marrakech tribes to Sheikh Bouamama's call can be traced back to spiritual connections and ties linking them with Algeria, given that their leaders and followers were part of Sufi orders.

3- The monotheistic thought of the Maghreb Sufi orders:

The spiritual connections between Algeria, the Greater Maghreb, Tunisia, Libya, and even Mauritania are very strong in the religious and ideological aspects. The peoples of these countries embraced Islam early on as a result of Islamic conquests. Islam spread and took root in the region, primarily following the Maliki Sunni school of thought, thanks to the activities of Sufi orders and religious zawiyas. Therefore, a study of the modern and contemporary history of the region reveals the political, social, and cultural interactions among the people, despite the impact of European colonization that aimed to divide and fragment the countries. The Sufi orders, especially, played a significant role by raising the banner of resistance and jihad against colonialism from the very beginning.

We are not here to provide an overview of these Sufi orders, detail their activities, or discuss their positive or negative aspects. Instead, we will focus on the unifying ideas among their leaders and followers in the region and the efforts they undertook to unite their people in resisting European colonization and eliminating it.

The Sufi orders played a significant role in strengthening political, spiritual, cultural, and social ties among Maghreb countries through the movement of their leaders and followers across these nations, especially the Qadiriyya order¹⁷, and the Rahmaniyya order¹⁸, , which faced significant pressure from the French colonial authorities after the Mokrani revolt in 1871. Its lodges were demolished in the rebellious regions, and its leaders were expelled from Algeria, including Tunisia, where its followers played a significant role in resisting the French protection of Tunisia in 1881. The Tijaniyya order¹⁹, played a tremendous role in strengthening the unity of thought among the people of the region.

"The Sufi orders played a significant role in most political, economic, and cultural events, including:

- Strengthening relationships between border populations in eastern Algeria and western Tunisia, especially the Qadiriyya, Rahmaniyya, Tijaniyya, and Tayibiyya orders.
- Establishing spiritual connections among the people of the Arab Maghreb, enhancing the unity trend in the region. The spiritual bond between Algeria, Tunisia, and the farthest west of Morocco dates back to the early days of Islamic conquest.²⁰
- Joint efforts in combating French colonization and strengthening ties among the people of the region, unifying intellectual and religious bonds under the banner of Islam. Louis Rinn states, "Leaders of the Islamic religion attempted to evoke religious sentiments to combat what they perceived as a threat, and they also sought to unify spiritual connections among the Islamic nation. While their resistance was initially modest and unorganized, it quickly became highly organized and developed, encompassing all Islamic countries ²¹ , supported by Marcel Cernin in his book printed in 1910 when he stated, "Religious associations often transform into a stronghold for revolution against foreigners and against the civilized Roman on the land of Islam." Therefore, in his view, the zawiyas "are no longer places for Quranic education but have become a stronghold for revolution, drawing up plans for uprisings in the shadows of its corners."²²
- The joint resistance against French colonialism by Sufi leaders is evident in the Tunisians' resistance to French protection despite its



humility. The country's dignitaries presented a petition to colonial leaders demanding an end to colonization. Among the 57 personalities on this list, one-third of them had Algerian origins, including Mokhtar Fatah, Mohamed El-Qurawi, El-Baji El-Qastini, Hassan El-Antabi. Mohammed El-Senussi was the first to initiate resistance against French occupation in Tunisia, along with Sheikh El-Meki Ben Azzour, who continued the struggle after the exile of Mohammed El-Senussi from Tunisia by the French authorities²³. Therefore, the Algerians became the primary support for their Tunisian brethren in the fight against French colonialism, especially after Tunisia had been their refuge when their options were limited, and they needed assistance to repel the French aggression on Algeria²⁴.

- The Algerians' rejection of the dual French and Spanish protection over the Far Maghreb was evident in the support and solidarity of many Algerian political and religious figures for Morocco in its resistance against colonialism. The unity aspirations of the two peoples were hindered by political circumstances and colonial measures seeking to create division. Among the Algerian figures openly advocating for the necessity of resistance unity were individuals like Mohamed ben Mohamed ben Abdelkader Al-Ghrissi, who expressed strong opposition to colonization and its policies. He worked to inspire the residents of Oujda, both Moroccans and Algerian immigrants, through various poems urging them to resist both Spanish and French colonialism. Another Algerian figure who opposed colonial policies in the Far Maghreb was Abu Bakr ben Abdelwahab Al-Alawi Al-Tanji. Additionally, El-Hajj Ali Boutaleb, a relative of Emir Abdelkader, rejected colonization like many Algerians and called for confronting it in support of their Moroccan brethren.
- One of the most prominent Algerian figures who fought against French and Spanish colonialism in Morocco, leading a liberation movement with a unified Maghreb perspective supported by Algerian immigrants, was Emir Abdelmalek Al-Jazairi, the son of Emir Abdelkader. He joined the resistance led by Sheikh Bouamama and later joined the Buhmara movement in Morocco. Abdelmalek played a significant role in confronting the Sultan and the French authorities, participating in approximately 26

battles. It appears that Emir Abdelmalek shared a unifying vision similar to his father's, leading to opposition from the Moroccan Sultan and the colonial administration. Even Buhmara expressed concerns about him due to his significant influence among the Moroccan people and Algerian immigrants²⁵.

4-The development of Maghreb unionist thought among the Maghreb youth movement:

The Arab Maghreb remained connected to the Arab Mashriq, and its ties were not severed even after being subjected to European colonization. Sufi leaders, religious institutions, resistance leaders, intellectuals, and students began to feel the imminent danger facing them and their people. They realized the threats arising from the new colonial policies imposed on their countries after the end of sovereignty. They started contemplating ways of solidarity and cooperation to resist colonialism, expose its crimes, and remove it from the region. They understood that unity was the only path to achieve the desired goal, especially since colonization vigorously sought to distort the identity of the region, undermine its history, and impose administrative, legal, economic, and cultural policies to separate it from the Arab Mashriq and, more importantly, from each other to prevent them from achieving the unity their people dream of one of the outcomes of the new colonial policy in the region was that advocates of Maghrebi unity were influenced by ideas reaching them from the Arab Mashriq. This was due to the political and intellectual activity of Arab nationalism opponents of the Ottoman state, led by advocates of Arab nationalism before World War I. However, the significant activity of the Islamic University made the people of the Arab Maghreb more influenced by its ideas than other nationalist thoughts. Panislamisme called for unity among the people of the Arab region, from the Mashriq to the Maghreb, under the banner of the Islamic Caliphate. The youth of the Arab Maghreb followed its developments through newspapers that published the panislamisme ideas, urging Muslims to rally around the Ottoman Caliphate, including publications like "Al-Urwah Al-Wuthqa" (1884), "Al-Kawkab Al-Othmani" (1898), "Al-Ma'loomat" (1898), "Jareedat Tripoli" (1893), "Al-Funoon" (1875), and "Al-Manar" (1898-1939)²⁶ along with other newspapers. The residents of the Arab Maghreb also followed the news of pilgrims and visitors returning from the holy places



in the Hijaz and the Arab Mashriq²⁷, especially since the residents of the Arab Maghreb were still attached to the Ottoman Caliphate. Therefore, they hoped to achieve comprehensive unity due to their sense of the danger that threatened the Islamic Caliphate²⁸. After the fall of the Arab Maghreb into the clutches of colonization.

In the early 20th century, the idea of Maghreb unity within the framework of the Panislamisme began to take shape among educated Tunisian youth. The initial nucleus formed from educated Tunisian youth belonging to various social classes and regions of Tunisia in the form of a small influential party steeped in Islamic culture and French ideas. They presented their program in the weekly newspaper "Al-Tunisi," which was published in both Arabic and French. The newspaper was overseen by a lawyer²⁹ Ali Bash Hamba with high efficiency, and Alal Al-Fassi acknowledged their activism in his book "The Independence Movements in the Arab Maghreb," stating: "The truth is that Tunisia has not witnessed greater activity than the activity of these sincere young men."³⁰ This youth organization represented a group of Tunisian youth who based their intellectual reference on the Tunisian reform movement advocated by the reformer Khayr al-Din al-Tunisi³¹ and based on the values of Arab-Islamic and Western civilization. Among its most prominent leaders were Bashir al-Safer, Lashram Khairallah, Omar Bouhajeb, Ali Boushusha, Hassan Qalati, and Abdeljalil Zaouche, who has Algerian roots³² and Abdelaziz Thaâlibi, who is considered one of the prominent founders of the Tunisian Youth Movement. He was entrusted with the editorship of the Arabic section of the newspaper "Al-Tunisi" in 1909³³. They engaged in a struggle against French colonialism, influenced by a fusion of ideas combining the orientations of the Islamic University, the Young Turks movement, and Western civilization³⁴. They were in contact with Algerian and Maghrebi youth, establishing connections among them to form a Maghrebi youth resistance nucleus.

4-1- Ali Bash Hamba and the joint Maghreb struggle:

The Tunisian, Algerian, and Maghreb youth played a prominent role in propelling the unified Maghreb liberation struggle in the early 20th century. The Tunisian activist Ali Bash Hamba, also known as O'Hanba³⁵, made significant contributions by organizing protests and submitting petitions to the French authorities. He engaged in constant conflict

and confrontation with the colonial administration, particularly because of his influential speeches. On several occasions, he succeeded in calming protesting students to prevent them from facing repression and abuse. Additionally, he managed to secure the release of detainees, as seen in the case of the student demonstration at the University of Ez-Zitouna in April 1910³⁶.

Ali Bash Hamba devoted all his interests to serving his country, Tunisia, and raising awareness among the people for liberation from French rule. He was the first Tunisian activist to contemplate the unification of the Arab Maghreb in the field of struggle. He extended his support to Algerian resistance fighters and connected with Moroccan youth before the imposition of protection on the farthest west of Morocco³⁷.

Some studies have pointed to the communications that took place between Sultan Abdulhafid and the Ottoman Empire during the years 1909-1910 through a military mission that arrived in the Far Maghreb to assist Morocco in developing its army and establishing a nucleus for Maghreb youth. This aimed at nurturing a sense of national identity among them and attempting to connect Morocco with the Ottoman state. The goal was to enable the youth to benefit from Turkish civilization, strengthen brotherhood and love between them and the Ottoman Caliphate, and promote the idea of the Islamic University.

These communications were carried out under the directive of Sheikh Ahmed Al-Maqari, who seems to have Algerian origins and might be from the famous Maqari family in Tlemcen. He later became the Pasha of the city of Fes. Bash Hamba was evidently aware of this Ottoman mission and its objectives in the Far Maghreb. Therefore, when he contacted the Algerian youth in 1911, he called for:

- Forming a "common front" that unites Algerian and Tunisian youth, supported by individuals from the Far Maghreb³⁸
- Attempting to organize a large Islamic conference that encompasses all of North Africa in the form of a founding assembly establishing the foundations of a "North African Nation." French historian Gilbert Meynier mentioned that Tunisian youth proposed this idea to Algerian youth, suggesting the organization of a Maghreb conference³⁹.



This indicates that Pasha Hambuba aimed to unify the struggle in the countries of the Arab Maghreb, especially after the events in Tunisia, including the tragic incident in Jilaz and the hit-and-run incident involving a Tunisian child with a tram⁴⁰.

His efforts intensified with Italy's occupation of Libya in 1911. Hambuba worked on raising awareness and mobilizing public opinion in the Maghreb against Italian colonization. He served as a link between the Ottoman Embassy in Paris and the Ottoman leadership in Tripoli. Thus, Tunisia became a secret passage for Ottoman officers coming from Europe to Libya⁴¹The same applies to Abdelaziz Thaâlibi⁴²Who devoted his pen and voice to fight against the Italian invasion of Libya, supporting the resistance and encouraging Tunisian youth to volunteer to fight the invaders. Tunisians rushed to volunteer in the Ottoman army to aid their Libyan brothers⁴³.

This uniting activity that began at the start of the 20th century and matured more between 1910 and 1914 had a broad impact in the Maghreb region. The youth played a significant role in activating the joint struggle against French, Spanish, and Italian European colonization. Despite the inability of the youth movement to form a "common Maghreb front" due to the dissolution of the movement and the exile of its leaders, these efforts left a lasting impact on the Maghreb region⁴⁴ Indeed, despite the challenges and setbacks, the struggle for unification against colonization continued, with leaders like Ali Bach Hamba at the forefront. The aspiration for unity and resistance against colonial powers persisted among the people of the Maghreb.

4-2- Omar Rasem, Omar Ben Qaddour, and the idea of Maghreb unity:

Omar Rasim⁴⁵ and Omar Ben Qaddour⁴⁶ are notable figures in the Algerian national struggle at the beginning of the 20th century. Both of them were Maghreb nationalists who advocated for Maghreb unity and were influenced by the Islamic reformist movement led by the Islamic University. Ibn Khadour showed more boldness than his counterpart Omar Rasm in openly calling for Maghreb unity. He expressed this stance through his writings in various newspapers in the Mashriq (Eastern Arab world) and Maghreb (Western Arab world). His precise discussions delved into the issues of the Arab Maghreb and the Islamic world. In 1913, he founded the weekly newspaper "Al-Farouq."⁴⁷

The main orientation of the newspaper "Al-Farouk" was to awaken the Islamic world and push it towards more unity and solidarity, especially in the face of international changes that directly impacted it. This was particularly relevant to the Arab Maghreb countries that became subjected to European colonization. The newspaper called for:

- Enriching the idea of Arab nationalism, which should not deviate from the framework of the Islamic caliphate as a guarantee of unity and a deterrent against division and fragmentation.
- Using the Arabic language and promoting Islamic nationalism⁴⁸.
- Coordinating anti-colonial positions among Maghreb countries and spreading unity awareness among their populations.

Ben Qaddour's journalistic writings in the newspaper "Al-Farouq" opposed the colonial policy pursued in the Maghreb. Therefore, he called for solidarity among the people of the Maghreb. "Al-Farouq" was filled with articles by Tunisian, Libyan, and Moroccan writers and intellectuals. Some of the Tunisian contributors included Tayeb Ben Aissa, Sadek Raziqi, Hussein Al-Jaziri, Ibrahim Fahmi Ben Shaaban, and the Algerian Ahmed Tawfiq Al-Madani, among others.

He took the initiative to call for the establishment of the "Islamic Fraternity Association for the People of North Africa." He invited Muslim thinkers from Algeria, Tunisia, and the Far Maghreb to join it. The goal was to promote cooperation and solidarity among intellectuals in the Arab Maghreb to form a solid nucleus for a strong Maghreb union capable of confronting colonialism. When this project was announced, Hussein Al-Jaziri was among the first enthusiasts, seeing it as a guarantee for the happiness of North African Muslims⁴⁹.

He was championed the cause of Tunisian youth who were oppressed by French colonialism, despite his ideological differences with them, including Ali Bash Hamba. He also opposed the Italian invasion of Libya and the French and Spanish protectionism over the Far Maghreb. One of the events that significantly influenced him was the overthrow of the Ottoman Sultan Abdulhamid II, confirming his Islamic orientation⁵⁰, Additionally, Omar Ben Qaddour called for the establishment of the "Islamic Press University" in 1911, indicating that he was an advocate of collective action capable of imposing his ideas, in contrast to individual efforts⁵¹.



As for Omar Rasem, he maintained contact with Tunisians through their newspapers, where he expressed his opinions opposing colonialism and the Zionist movement. He contributed to newspapers such as "Al-Murshid" and "Murshid al-Ummah," calling for resistance against the prevalent ailments within the Islamic nation. Recognizing the value and importance of journalism in enlightening public opinion about the dangers plotted against the nation by colonial powers and their agents, he was determined to publish a newspaper called "Al-Islaah" in 1908. However, financial constraints prevented its release to the readers. In 1908, he contributed to the newspaper "Al-Jazair," which lasted only two issues before it ceased publication. Despite these setbacks, Omar Rasem persisted in his journalistic endeavors and joined his companion Ben Qaddour to write for the newspaper "Al-Farouk." Later, he established the newspaper "Dhu al-Faqar." His pen served as a sword against colonialism, leading to the suspension of the newspaper, but Omar Rasem did not stop writing. He continued to publish numerous articles in "Al-Haqq al-Wahrani" and other publications⁵².

Omar Rasem aligned himself with the Islamic University movement, influenced by its leaders and sympathetic to the Ottoman Empire. He called for supporting the Ottoman state in its efforts to revive the caliphate and unify the Islamic world under its banner. He strongly opposed the mandatory conscription law in 1912 and was arrested by the colonial authorities after the outbreak of World War I. He was imprisoned and not released until 1921⁵³.

4-3- The joint Maghreb struggle during the war during World War:

Ali Bash Hamba and others, such as Mohammed Al-Attabi, a Moroccan, collaborated in resisting French colonization during World War I. Alongside Abd al-Aziz Jawish, a Tunisian, they participated in the Islamic conference held in Istanbul in 1915. During the conference, they advocated for the necessity of unifying the Maghreb's struggle against colonialism⁵⁴.

Mohammed Bash Hamba (1881-1921), the brother of Ali Bash Hamba, was one of the political activists who left a mark on the Maghreb's unified efforts. He actively supported and participated in the struggle for Maghreb unity, particularly during the outbreak of World War I. Like his brother Ali, he operated from Istanbul as a base for his activism⁵⁵. Afterward, he moved to Geneva in 1916 in coordination with his

brother Ali and founded the weekly magazine "Al Maghrib" in French. This magazine provided significant assistance and strong support for the Maghreb cause, attempting to establish the foundations of a unified Arab Maghreb⁵⁶.

Many Maghrebi figures were in contact with Muhammad Pasha Hambaba in exile, especially in Istanbul. Among them were Al-Bashir Al-Forti, Al-Hashmi Al-Makki, Al-Shadhli Al-Sanusi, Muhyiddin Al-Sanusi, Muhammad Al-Bashir Zroug, and others. Their activities were primarily focused on the liberation of the Arab Maghreb. They collaborated with many Maghrebis in Berlin and Geneva, such as Sheikh Saleh Al-Sharif, who was highly active and became a general coordinator between the Berlin group, the Geneva group, and the Istanbul group. He served as a crucial link between them, and they continued their activities in Switzerland and Germany until the end of the war. Their work was supported by Sheikh Muhammad Al-Khadir Al-Hussein, an Algerian-born Tunisian, who vigorously fought for the liberation and unification of the Arab Maghreb⁵⁷.

The Maghrebi emigrants established the "Committee for the Independence of Algeria and Tunisia" in Berlin, Germany, on January 7, 1916. Its leadership consisted of Sheikh Saleh Al-Sharif, Sheikh Ismael Al-Safaighi, and Mohammed Mzyane Al-Tlemsani. Its mission was to disseminate pamphlets and promotional materials against France and in support of the causes of the Arab Maghreb and the Islamic world⁵⁸. This committee was one of the branches of the Arab Maghreb Liberation Committee founded by Ali Bash Hamba in Istanbul in the same year⁵⁹. Mohammed Pasha Hamba also established a branch of it in Geneva, Switzerland. The activities of this committee and its branches were published in "Al-Maghreb" magazine, serving as a media platform for the peoples of the western Arab world, especially Libya, Tunisia, and Algeria, and to a lesser extent the far Maghreb. Their voice during the war was aimed at conveying their perspectives to the European public⁶⁰, specially in Germany and Switzerland, as well as all the countries allied with Germany against France and its allies.

The "Committee for the Independence of Algeria and Tunisia" participated in the third Nationalities Conference in Lausanne, Switzerland, held on June 27, 1916. During the conference, it presented a petition outlining its demands. This petition was

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published in "Al-Maghreb" magazine. It condemned the social and economic hardships faced by the residents of both countries due to the oppressive and arbitrary policies implemented by French colonialism⁶¹.

5- US President Wilson's statement and its impact on the Maghreb struggle:

Woodrow Wilson's statement in January 1917 about the right of colonized peoples to determine their own destiny had a significant impact on the colonized populations, who increasingly aspired to freedom and emancipation. In light of this, the Maghreb community in exile regained some hope. Through "Al-Maghreb" magazine, they called for the establishment of a system that aligns with the specificities and aspirations of the Algerian and Tunisian peoples. They proposed declaring a constitution with six key points for Tunisia and Algeria.

For Algeria, the constitution should guarantee individual freedom, property rights, the separation of powers, the abolition of arbitrary laws, and the freedom to teach the Arabic language. As for Tunisia, a constitution similar to the 1861 constitution should be established, with elected councils.

To provide further context on the Maghreb issue, the "Committee for the Independence of Algeria and Tunisia" participated in two conferences. The first was the Stockholm Conference in Sweden in October, which focused on the Islamic nations, and the second was the World Socialist Conference in November. In both conferences, they advocated for a referendum to determine the destiny of the Maghreb peoples⁶².

Around June 1918, the "Algerian-Tunisian Committee" was formed in Berlin, comprising figures like Saleh al-Sharif, Muhammad al-Khadir al-Hussein, Muhammad Pasha Hamza, and others. This committee exposed the practices of the French colonial administration in Algeria and Tunisia. With the end of World War I, President Woodrow Wilson introduced the principle of the right to self-determination for colonized peoples, becoming one of the pillars of the Peace Conference in early 1919. Taking advantage of his position as the head of the "Algerian-Tunisian Committee," Muhammad Pasha Hamza sent a letter to President Wilson on January 2, 1919, alerting him to the unity of the rights of Tunisia and Algeria and requesting permission for their attendance at the conference. Another letter

was sent on January 18 of the same year, presenting the Tunisian and Algerian issues, condemning colonization, and calling for the liberation of the entire Maghreb from this odious occupation.

6- Conference for Reconciliation and Unity of Maghreb Liberal Demands:

"The First World War concluded with the victory of the Allied powers (France, Britain, and the United States) and the defeat of the Central powers, which included the German Empire, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire. Many Maghrebis had high hopes for the Ottoman Empire, viewing it as a means to achieve freedom and end colonization in the Arab Maghreb. However, with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's abolition of the caliphate in 1924, dynamics shifted, leading nationalist movements in the Arab Maghreb to rely on their own resources while coordinating efforts to organize propaganda, articulate demands, and define objectives.⁶³" "And the democratic ideas expressed by Woodrow Wilson had an impact on the peoples of the region. In countries where political rights were nearly nonexistent, and exceptional laws prevailed.⁶⁴" "The ideas of democracy, particularly Woodrow Wilson's concept of self-determination, attracted oppressed peoples worldwide, including the peoples of the Arab Maghreb. Among these nations, which suffered from the ravages of colonial policies that intensified during the war."

"The attention of the Maghreb peoples turned to the Peace Conference with what President Woodrow Wilson carried in terms of principles that gained fame during this period, particularly the principle of self-determination. These principles were discussed at the conference, and the colonized peoples sent representatives to present their cases. In Tunisia, the leadership of the Tunisian Party agreed to send Ahmed Sgha to present the aspirations of the Tunisian people. However, he did not succeed in his mission. Abdul Aziz Thaalbi was sent to support and assist him in 1919. Thaalbi met Hassan Qallati before going to Paris. Qallati says about this meeting: 'Thaalbi visited me days before his trip to Paris, and we talked at length. He particularly discussed the ideas of Wilson, and I asked him the question: Do you think Wilson's principles are applicable to the North African colonies? He replied: I am not a child; I rely on these principles to present our situation and demands to the French politicians.' Although he did not succeed in imposing his demands on the conference due to



French pressure, he managed to establish significant relationships with French politicians, especially the socialists. He joined several associations and founded and chaired the 'Association of Tunisian Students.'⁶⁵.

As for Algeria, a delegation was formed under the leadership of Prince Khaled ⁶⁶, presenting a memorandum of demands to President Wilson during the Peace Conference. Among these demands was the fundamental right of the Algerian people to determine their own destiny, based on the statement made by Wilson in 1917, as highlighted by Prince Khaled in his memorandum: "No people can be compelled to live under a rule they reject." This statement raised hopes among Prince Khaled and the Algerians for an end to colonial rule in Algeria⁶⁷. However, Prince Khaled and the Tunisian delegation were soon disappointed as it became clear that these principles were nothing more than a wartime deception in the eyes of the Europeans⁶⁸. The true victor, as perceived by the Europeans, was colonialism and European dominance. Wilson's intention with these principles was seen as pressuring France and Britain to give the League of Nations a prominent place in the world and impose its logic on the Europeans by exploiting the peoples of the colonies through the principle of self-determination.

Nevertheless, Prince Khaled did not cease his struggle for the self-determination of Algeria and the other countries in the Greater Arab Maghreb. He used the newspaper "Al-Iqdam," which he established during this period, as a platform to defend the oppressed in Algeria, Tunisia, the Far Maghreb, and Libya. When Abd al-Aziz al-Tha'alibi published his book "Tunis the Martyr," which caused a significant stir among settlers and the colonial administration, Prince Khaled sympathized with his case. Al-Iqdam published an article about his case, stating:

"Mr. Abd al-Aziz al-Tha'alibi was thrown into the military prison in Paris because of a book he wrote, titled 'Tunis the Martyr.' His arrest was without a judicial order. I will explain in what cruel manner Tunis, chained in iron like a captive, is being treated. All Tunisian Islamic newspapers expressed anger and supported him against this treatment, which is unjust and contrary to policy. In July 1920, Sheikh al-Tha'alibi was arrested in Paris on charges of conspiring against the French state security⁶⁹. Prince

Khaled wrote about his case, highlighting the injustice and expressing solidarity with him⁷⁰.

Prince Khaled, through "Al-Iqdam," demonstrated significant interest in the issues of the Greater Arab Maghreb, particularly the matter of freedoms promised by the colonial administration to the region's people. The newspaper published a critical article implicitly accusing the colonial administration of failing to fulfill its promises, unlike Britain, which entered negotiations with Egypt regarding independence, and Italy, which granted administrative independence to Libya. Regarding Algeria, Tunisia, and the Far Maghreb, the situation remained unchanged. "Al-Iqdam" called for the annulment of this contradiction, stating:

"Do we want to be the last of the enslaved? This contradiction must be annulled, and it is essential to reform our colonial rules in the path of liberating reforms so that North Africa becomes the first to enjoy them... The President of the Republic personally pledged to this in his statement: 'France will recognize its duty towards the Algerian territory and those under its protection, along with its colonies, by involving them in its political and literary life'⁷¹.

7- Conclusion:

The idea of Maghreb unity remains one of the fundamental goals that the peoples of the Greater Arab Maghreb have aspired to achieve. It is a cornerstone upon which the Islamic state was built after the conclusion of the Islamic conquest of North Africa. The disturbances that the Arab Maghreb experienced due to political conflicts over power and foreign interventions led to the weakness, fragmentation, and division of its peoples into warring small entities. This was especially evident with the emergence of European colonial movements and the alliances formed against them in the modern and contemporary periods, resulting in their occupation, control, and fragmentation.

Nevertheless, the idea of common unity among the countries of the region did not fade from the minds of leaders of popular resistance, especially the Algerian Emir Abd al-Qadir, as well as the Sufi brotherhoods and religious zawiyas. They exerted strenuous efforts to unify resistance and harness the material and human resources of the region to confront colonialism and end its presence. This study has highlighted the role played by Maghrebain youth in reactivating joint Maghreb resistance and confronting European colonialism as a united bloc,



era and the beginning of the French occupation, Dar Al-Baath, Constantine, 2002, p. 71.

¹⁵ Yahia Bouaziz, Emir Abdelkader: Pioneer of Algerian Resistance, Dar Al-Arabiya lil Kitab, Algeria, 1983, p. 220.

¹⁶ Muhammad Belqassem: op.cit, p.17.

¹⁷ **The Qadiriyya Sufi** order is attributed to its founder, Abdul Qadir al-Jilani, who was born in Gilan (471-561 AH / 1078-1166 CE). It is considered the oldest Sufi order in the Islamic world. According to historical sources, its introduction is credited to Abu Madian Shuayb after his return from Mecca, where he studied under Abdul Qadir al-Jilani. For further information, you may refer to:

Salah Muayyad Al-Aqbi, Sufi Paths and Zawiyas in Algeria: Their History and Activities, Vol. 1, Dar Al-Barq, Lebanon, 2002, pp. 143-146.

¹⁸ This Sufi order is attributed to Sheikh Muhammad bin Abdul Rahman al-Qushṭūlī al-Azhari, born in the year 1720 in Jijel. It branched off from the Khalwatiyya order. Sheikh al-Qushṭūlī brought this order to Algeria in 1769 after performing the pilgrimage. Refer to: Abd al-Rahman al-Jilali, History General of Algeria, Vol. 4, Dar Al-Ummah for Publishing and Distribution, Algeria, 2009, p. 68.

¹⁹ This Sufi order is attributed to its founder, Sheikh Abu al-Abbas Ahmad al-Tijani, born in Ghin Madhi in the year 1150 AH. It spread in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, influenced by the Qadiriyya, Naqshbandiyya, and Khalwatiyya orders. Sheikh al-Tijani studied under scholars of these orders and gained knowledge from them. He established his own Tijaniyya order, with Ain Madhi as its center.

Subsequently, numerous Tijaniyya zawiyas (religious institutions) were established in Algeria in places like Tlemcen, Qamarn, and Bou Ismaïl. The Tijaniyya order also extended to Fez in Morocco and to certain regions in Tunisia, especially in the western and southern areas bordering Algeria.

For more detailed information, please refer to: Yousfi El Tayeb, Scientific Relations between Algeria and Tunisia during the Ottoman era: Letters from the Tejani Imams to Dignitaries in Southern Tunisia

as a Model, Ph.D. Thesis submitted to obtain a Doctorate in Modern and Contemporary History, University of Djilali Liabes, Sidi Bel Abbes, Academic Year 2019-2020.

²⁰ Kheir al-Din Shtara, 'Spiritual Relations among Sufi Paths in the Arab Maghreb (Algeria and Tunisia as a Model),' The Eleventh International Forum, Sufism in Islam and Contemporary Challenges, Ahmed Draya African University, Adrar, November 9-10-11, 2008, p. 398..

²¹ Ibid, p.400.

²² Ltelili Al-Ajili, Sufi Paths and French Colonialism in Tunisian Territories (1881-1939), Faculty of Arts Publications, Mnihba, Tunisia, 1992, pp. 78-79.

²³ Fares El Eid, Algerian Relations with the Far Maghreb and Tunisia (1848-1930), pp. 168-169.

²⁴ Yahya Bouaziz, 'The Role in Supporting Algerian Liberation Movements,' Al-Thaqafah Magazine, Issue 70, Algeria, 1982, p. 51.

²⁵ Aid Faris, op.cit, p182-187.

²⁶ Ibrahim ibn Abd al-Moumen, 'Unitarian Trends in the Literature of Maghreb National Movements: Algeria as a Model (1920-1954),' Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctorate (Third Cycle), Specialization: History of Maghreb National Movements, University of Abi Bakr Belkaid - Tlemcen, Academic Year 2016-2017, p. 27.

²⁷ Muhammad Belqassem: op.cit, p18.

²⁸ Yahi Bouaziz, 'Wars of Resistance in Algeria as Depicted in French Writings,' in the book: 'With Algeria in National and International Conferences,' Dar Al-Basa'ir, 4th Edition, Algeria, 2009, pp. 376-377."

²⁹ Camille Fidel, «Le Mouvement Intellectuel Musulman de Tunis» Correspondance d'orient, N °55, Paris, France, 1/01/1911, p4.

³⁰ Alal Al-Fassi, 'Independence Movements in the Arab Maghreb,' Moroccan Printing House, Tétouan, Morocco, n.d., p. 44.

³¹ Khayr al-Din al-Tunisi (1810-1880) was a Tunisian historian and a prominent figure in the reform movement. He served as a minister during the reign of the beys (local rulers) in Tunisia and played a



significant role in establishing the foundations of governance in the country. Khayr al-Din al-Tunisi also contributed to the preparation of a constitution for Tunisia.

For further details, you may refer to:

Mohamed Boutibi, 'Social Thought in Tunisia in the First Half of the Twentieth Century (1900-1950): A Comparative Study of Thought and Social Reality,' Ph.D. Thesis, submitted for the Doctorate in Modern and Contemporary History, University of Algiers 2, Academic Year 2013-2014, p. 99.

³²The first nucleus of Tunisian youth was formed by a group of individuals with diverse expertise. They divided tasks among themselves according to their qualifications. Lutfi Sharif Khayrallah was assigned the responsibility of education for the indigenous population. Bashir al-Safr was tasked with addressing the issue of endowments that had been seized by the French administration. Abd al-Jalil al-Zawwach provided significant services to traders and manufacturers, fostering and promoting their activities. He also established connections among them and defended their interests.

For further details, you may refer to:

Camille Fidel, «Le Mouvement Intellectuel Musulman de Tunis», pp3-4

³³Mohamed Boutibi: Ibid, p46-47.

³⁴Ibid, p.42-44.

³⁵Ali Bash Hembra (1875-1918): Ali Bash Hembra belonged to a distinguished Tunisian family and was a child when the Protectorate Treaty was signed. He studied Arabic at the Zitouna Mosque and later attended French schools. Subsequently, he moved to Paris, where he obtained a law degree. Upon his return to Tunisia, he joined the judiciary and practiced law alongside his political activities.

Ali Bash Hembra was one of the founders of the "Qadim al-Sadiqiyah" movement in 1906. Afterward, he became a leader of the Tunisian youth movement. Along with Sheikh Abdul Aziz al-Tha'alibi, he established the newspaper "Al-Tunisi, In 1912, he was exiled to Istanbul. For more details,

please refer to: Alalal Al-Fassi, 'Independence Movements in the Arab Maghreb,' p. 44

³⁶ Abdulaziz Al-Tha'alibi, 'Tunis the Martyr,' translated and introduced by Sami Al-Jundi, Vol. 1, Dar Al-Quds, Beirut, Lebanon, 1975, p. 11.

³⁷Alalal Al-Fassi, op.cit, p.44.

³⁸Muhammad Belqassem: op.cit,p.19.

³⁹Gilbert Meynier, L'Algérie Révélé, Librairie Droz, Genève, 1981, p249.

⁴⁰ Salah Akkad, The Maghreb in Modern and Contemporary History, Algeria, Tunisia, Farther Morocco, p. 324.

⁴¹Alalal Al-Fassi, op.cit, p.44

⁴²Abdul Aziz al-Tha'albi (1874-1944): Of Algerian origin, Abdul Aziz al-Tha'albi was born in Tunis and studied at the Zitouna Mosque. In 1896, he founded the newspaper "Sabeel al-Rushd." Between 1897 and 1902, he traveled to Tripoli, Egypt, and Turkey. He advocated for the liberation of the Arab and Islamic world from colonial domination, showing particular interest in the Palestinian cause.

Abdul Aziz al-Tha'albi was active in the Moroccan youth movement, participated in the Peace Conference, and faced arrest by French authorities due to his liberationist ideas published in his book "Tunis, the Martyr." He co-founded the Tunisian Constitutional Party with a group of Tunisian activists. In 1923, he emigrated to Egypt, Iraq, and India, returning to Tunisia in 1937, where he remained until his death. For further details, please refer to:

Muhammad Belqassem: op.cit,p.214.

⁴³Abdul Aziz al-Tha'albi, Ibid, p.12.

⁴⁴Muhammad Belqassem: op.cit,p.20.

⁴⁵Omar Rasm (1884-1959), also rumored to have been born in 1883, is Omar Rasm bin Ali bin Saeed bin Muhammad al-Baja'i from the Sanhaja tribe. Born in Algiers, he studied in the capital and memorized the Quran. He worked as a muezzin in the Ambassador Mosque and later enrolled in the French Algerian Islamic School, later known as the Tha'alibiya School Gifted and ambitious, Omar Rasm was determined to educate himself. He lived



through the dawn of journalism, the spread of the Islamic renewal school, and the movement of the Islamic University. Influenced by Sheikh Mohammed Abdu, who visited Algeria in 1903, Omar Rasm was outspoken against Jews, opposed mandatory conscription, and rejected calls for it from integrationist factions. He was interested in culture and politics and founded the newspaper "Al-Jazair" in 1908. During World War I, he was imprisoned and released in 1921. For more details, please refer to: Abu Al-Qasim Saadallah, Cultural History of Algeria 1830-1954, Vol. 5, Ed. 1, Dar Al-Gharb Al-Islami, Beirut, Lebanon, 1998, pp. 282, 289.

⁴⁶Omar ben Qadour: Born around 1886, there is limited information about Omar ben Qadour, particularly regarding his family and childhood. It appears that, like many children in the capital, he frequented bookshops. He may have attended the French Algerian Islamic School. He received education from Abdul Qadir al-Majawi and Abdul Halim ben Samaiya.

Omar ben Qadour moved to Egypt and wrote articles for the newspaper "Al-Liwaa." He also collaborated with the Tunisian newspaper "Al-Hadira" and the Ottoman newspaper "Al-Hadara," published in Istanbul. He returned to Algeria in 1908 and became active in journalism alongside Omar Rasm. For more information, please refer to: Abu Al-Qasim Saadallah, Cultural History of Algeria 1830-1954, Vol. 5, pp. 276, 282.

⁴⁷Muhammad Belqassem: op.cit,p.24,25.

⁴⁸ Mehfoud Kaddache, History of the Algerian National Movement 1919-1939, Vol. 1, translated by Mohamed El Bar, Dar Al-Ummah for Publishing and Distribution, Algeria, 2011, p. 11.

⁴⁹Muhammad Belqassem: op.cit,p.25.26.

⁵⁰Abu Al-Qasim Saadallah, Cultural History of Algeria 1830-1954, Vol. 5, pp. 278.

⁵¹Ibid, p279.

⁵²Muhammad Nasser, Omar Rasem Al-Muslih Al-Tha'ir (Omar Rasem, the Reformer and

Revolutionary), National Printing Arts Institution, Reghaia, Algeria, 1984.p8.11.

⁵³Muhammad Belqassem: op.cit,p.24.

⁵⁴Al-Mukhtar Nizar, The Unity of the Arab Maghreb: The Idea and Application 1918-1958, Tunisian House of Books, Tunis, 2011, pp. 38-39.

⁵⁵Muhammad Belqassem: op.cit,p.31.

⁵⁶Alalal Al-Fassi, op.cit, p.48.

⁵⁷Muhammad Belqassem: op.cit,p.32.33.

⁵⁸Ibid, p34.

⁵⁹Abu Al-Qasim Saadallah, Cultural History of Algeria 1830-1954, p604.

⁶⁰Muhammad Belqassem: Ibid,p35

⁶¹Ibid, p.36.

⁶²Ibid, p.36.37.

⁶³ Hamad Abid Al-Jabri and others, Wahdat Al-Maghrib Al-Arabi (The Unity of the Arab Maghreb), 1st ed., Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, Lebanon, 1987, p. 18.

⁶⁴Abu Al-Qasim Saadallah, Al-Harakah Al-Wataniyyah Al-Jazairiyyah (The Algerian National Movement), Vol. 2, 5th ed., Dar Al-Basa'ir, Algeria, 2007, p. 285.

⁶⁵Abdul Aziz al-Tha'albi, Ibid, p.11.11

⁶⁶Charles-Robert Ageron sees Prince Khaled as the younger son of Emir Abdelkader. He believes that Prince Khaled is the founder of the Algerian nationalist movement, which began with the spread of his political activities. This became evident after World War I through the enactment of the 1919 law by the French authorities, granting French citizenship to some Algerians who were steeped in French culture. Consequently, they imposed formidable conditions on Algerians desiring integration into French society, according to his consistent opinion. This illustrates that the French administration does not want all Algerians to obtain citizenship, given that they constitute the majority of society (5 million Algerians).

On the other hand, the French authorities do not wish to eliminate the old governance system represented by the authority of administrators in mixed municipalities to maintain their control over Algerians. This led Prince Khaled to express

significant criticisms towards them. Refer to the source for more details; Ageron (Charles Robert), «Une politique algérienne libérale sous la III^e République (1912-1919)», Revue d'histoire Moderne et contemporaine , Tome VI , Presse Universitaires de France , Département des périodiques, 1. Place Paul-Painlevé, Paris, Avril-Juin 1959, pp146-147 .

⁶⁷Muhammad Qannash and Mahfoud Kaddache, The Algerian People's Party, pp. 31, 35.

⁶⁸Ahmed Tawfik Al-Madani, This is Algeria, p. 163.

⁶⁹Abdul Aziz al-Tha'albi, Ibid, p17.18.

⁷⁰Editorial Board, The Tunisian Situation, Al-Iqtidam, Vol. 1, No. 3, Algeria, September 24, 1920, p. 2.

⁷¹ Editorial Board, Civil Laws in the Kingdom of Tunisia After Arabization, Al-Iqtidam, Vol. 1, No. 8, Algeria, October 12, 1920, p. 2."

