

The Path of the Maghrebian Unity According to the Current of the Algerian National Movement The Reformist Movement and the Independence one

مسار الوحدة المغاربية عند تيارات الحركة الوطنية الجزائرية
التيار الإصلاحى والتيار الاستقلالى

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Abstract:

The common Maghrebian unity and the Maghrebian struggle have always been the goal which the Algerian movement and the Maghrebian one sought to realize it and over time, and especially the two movements; the reformist and the independence currents in Algeria which is what we tried to tackle in our article, and trying to highlight the role that these two currents played concerning the Maghrebian unity and in order to analyse this topic, we tried to answer these following problems:

- How was the role of the reformist and independence movements in the issue of unit?
- How did the national personalities (figures) of the independence and reform movements emerge in developing the idea of unity?
- How was the path of defending the unity of the independence and reformist movements?

Keywords: Through our study of these problems in order to solve them, a group of keywords appeared from which The Maghrebian Unity; The Algerian National Movement; The Independent Current; The Reformist Current; The Maghrebian Countries.

الملخص:

أن الوحدة المغاربية والنضال المغاربي المشترك لطالما كان هدف سعت إلى تحقيقه تيارات الحركة الوطنية الجزائرية والمغاربية معا وعبر الزمن وخاصة التيارين الإصلاحى والاستقلالى في الجزائر وهو الأمر الذي حاولنا

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في مقالنا هاته التطرق له ومحاولة إبراز الدور الذي لعبه هاذان التياران في ما يخص الوحدة المغاربية ومن أجل معالجة هذا الموضوع حاولنا الإجابة على الإشكاليات التالية:

- كيف كان دور التيار الإصلاحى والاستقلالى في قضية الوحدة؟
- كيف برزت الشخصيات الوطنية التابعة للتيار الاستقلالى والإصلاحى في بلورة فكرة الوحدة؟
- كيف كان مسار الدفاع عن الوحدة عند التيار الاستقلالى والإصلاحى؟
- ومن خلال دراستنا لهته الإشكاليات لعلها برزت أمامنا مجموعة من الكلمات المفتاحية منها:
- الوحدة المغاربية؛ الحركة الوطنية الجزائرية؛ التيار الاستقلالى.
- التيار الإصلاحى؛ الأقطار المغاربية.

Introduction

The one who follows the development and activity of the Algerian national movements, must stop at the curve of the maghrebian unity in the literature of the national currents, as well as their personalities (figures) and this is through what they adopted from unitary ideas that emerged in their laws and principles, it is the case which changed into a goal that must be achieved, that was emerged among the two movements; the reformist and independence one. Both of them appeared in the united Maghrebian area over a long period of time that witnessed many important milestones in the history of these two currents the act which contributed to the development of the idea of struggle for them.

1-The Reformist Current:

There was a relationship between the Arab Maghrebian people in various field and especially the policy, and this what emerged in the currents of the national movement, especially the reformers in Algeria, the reformist movement in the Maghreb has been progressing slowly but on solid foundations (ArkounMohamed, 1985, p. 161) It can be summarized in:

- The colonialism, which tried to obliterate everything related to Arabism and Islam.
- The fall of the Islamic caliphate (The Ottmans) . (DehachElsaddek, 2009, p. 316)
- The return of immigrants, students and scholars from the end of the first world war carrying ideas of reform, preaching and nationalism after being affected by the Arab nationalities.
- Being influenced by the emergence of nationalist parties that held the unity idea. (KhorfiSalah, 1995, p. 130)
- The Islamic conferences which increased the development of the spirit of Arab nationalism and society.
- The development of the Palestinian cause and the attempt of the Jews to establish a state in the center of the Arab world, which led to rise of the claim of unity to liberate the Arab countries and Palestine from Colonialism.

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- The establishment of the Arab league in 1945, which adopted the idea of defending the issues of Arab colonial countries, and the Algerian issue was among the priorities of its annual sessions and conferences. (HayderNasser, 2014, p. 20)
- The lessons learned at the Zeitouna mosque affected the Algerians and tried the growth of the Arabism idea. (AlzaidiMoufid, 2007, p. 549)
- The visit of Arab and Islamic personalities to Algeria and their attempt to spread the spirit of unity and collaboration and instill the idea of nationalism especially in associations, clubs, students and politicians in Algeria.
- The appearance of clubs and societies that began to take an interest in the issue of unity. (SaadallahAboukacim, 2011, pp. 114-115)
- Reformists' contact with national personalities such as Chakib Arslan (SaadAllahAbouKacim, 2011, p. 121) , who said in a sermon published in Elshihab newspaper; "... as for north Africa, it is connected Arab countries ... in bad times ... we are with north Africa with bottom of our hearts." (Elshiheb, 1938, pp. 525-526).

The reformists held the slogan of the unity in the case of the framework of the Maghreb nation,, and this is what is observed in the defence of the unity since the beginning of the 20th century and the defence can be traced back to two reasons:

- Considering all the reformists been graduated from "zaouia" and mosques, holding high culture and more familiar with history, geography books and travelers, this is why they knew people in the Maghreb space.
- The frequent travel of reformers to the other countries for study and research which led them to mixing with many feet, which formed a bond with them and developed the idea of the nationalist and the one unity for them. (LouniciRabah, 2014)

However, the student of the reformist movement in the period after the first world war will see that its activity was scarce for several considerations, and that journalistic and written production * was little in the absence of any association or party under which the reformers were active, and this what made the calls for the unity nearly non-existent during that period.

Concerning the one who wrote about it during that period, we will find either personalities active abroad on those who entered Algeria loaded with ideas of unity through their trips (ElmadaniAhmadToufik, 1977, p. 08). However, it entered another curve after the year 1925 through the development of the unitary principles, and the Maghreb trend and the people of the reformists who tried to spread this thought through various means, including the mosque pulpits and the establishment of schools, clubs and

societies, and the press which began with official propaganda in 1925 through the critic newspaper then Elchiheb one. (MerradAli, UD, p. 354)

In this context, many reformers who believed in the idea of unity emerged, such as Aham Toufik Elmadani, who was active in the Tunisian national movement to return to Algeria in 1925 to join the reformists bringing thoughts of Maghrebian unity against one enemy (ElmadaniAhmadToufik, 1977, p. 09) abdelhamid Ben Badis who was one of the advocates of unity and this what appeared in his writings and speeches till he saw that Algeria would not succeed without the great Arab Maghreb, and gave a lecture at the end of 1936 entitled (for whom I live).

“... and the closest homelands are the near and the far Maghreb which are and the middle Maghreb one country. (Elchiheb, 1937, pp. 483-487)

Then ElBashir Ibrahimy appeared also through his writings and his unionist positions till he was called the unionist due to his unitary efforts at the eternal or Maghreb level according to what he came with in the fifth conference to the students' association of the north African Muslims held between (6-10 September 1935) in Telemcen with the slogan “The Arab Maghreb unity” in his speech (ElibrahimiELbachir, 1951) , he did not get this title in vain, he was the most defender of the unity and the owners of the totalitarian and unitary view which was excessive and the conflicts in the sake of unity which he worked for.

Concerning Mohamed Said, Elzahiri ** one of Ben Badis' student, he called for the necessity of speeding the Maghreb unity, it is the unity that emerges in the collective willing and the collective struggle ¹⁸ and this what appeared in his articles which were mostly published in the Tunisian newspapers such as “Elwazir newspaper” and he spoke in his articles about the necessity unity through highlighting the customary, linguistic and civilizational elements (ZahiriMohamed, 1929)

These ones are a drop in the sea of a reformist who advocates unity and who contributed in the spread of the unitary ideology, thanks to their various activities such as preaching and guiding in mosques, schools, publishing, journalism, associations and clubs all to link relations between other Maghreb countries (AregonCh-R, 1979, p. 349) and this what made the reformist movement among those who advocate unity and those who claimed it.

Elwartilani, after he was asked in the newspaper No.860, told us about the possibility of the Maghreb unity and he answered that unity has a sacred duty referring to a set of factors which link the people of the Maghreb, and he also mentioned that the only obstacle is the colonialism (ElouartilaniElfoudil, 2009, pp. 56-57)

From all this, we can say that the reformists called for unity after an experience which lasted for several years. Their objective was to unite efforts to form Maghrebian

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unity in the framework of the Arab Islamic nations which might contribute to expelling French colonialism from Arab countries.

2-The Unity in the Independence Current:

The great cohesion between people of the Arab Maghreb and their common issue throughout history, made the Algerian independence trend work from the early age to achieve unity with the Maghreb countries and the coordinated work among them to confront colonialism (BouAzizYahia, 2009, p. 24) After the emergence of Maghreb national thought in the mid-twentieth, many historians such as (SaadAllah) and (Guenanech) that prince Khaled when he was exiled to France in (1923), met the Moroccan workers and told him to continue his work. He started his activity in France through publishing a letter containing the Moroccans rights (KhaddachMahfoud, 1987, pp. 129-133) (l'humanité le 03-07-1924)

And some Italian newspapers, considered him as the man with big importance in the Islamic world of the national movement in the three countries, and as the historians have attributed that the prince who taught the word and the idea of north African independence through his lectures and movements (LibJouiMohamed, 1970, pp. 15-20) as appeared workers' political movements in Francetaking the name (The Star of North Africa) in 1926.

And this movement carried the slogan (The unity of the Maghreb struggle for independence in the countries of the Maghreb) (Ageron-CH-R, 1972, pp. 280-281) despite the creation of the star abroad, that did not prevent his militants to work on how to unite the Maghreb countries, and that refers to the immigrant who was always missing his original country, then the meeting of the Maghrebian there, made them form one epic as considered colonial by France, thus the tar was considered the voice calling for the independence of those countries. (BenYoucefBenkhada, 2009, p. 26)

The path of defending the unity appeared in principles and laws of the basic star on Sunday, June 20, 1926 in the article 901 of its basic laws as (association of Muslims in Algeria, Tunisia and the far Maghreb), and the article 03 came with the objective of the star, represented in defending material, moral and social interests of north African Muslims. However article 04 the association is based on laws which educate the north African Muslims for the life in France and raising the demands of the north African people in front of public opinion. But, the article 05 was represented in the drafting of the study of the urgent demands shared between the three countries and aimed to achieve it by all means in order to free all muslims in north Africa (Mahfoud & Guanach, 2013, pp. 63-64)

Hence, we notice that the basic law of the star did not differentiate between Algerians, Moroccans and Tunisians but spoke about the laws of all the Maghrebians

and the star looked again about laws on February 19, 1928 and approved the unity of the Maghreb as a goal of the common struggle in article 04 to return on it in its public association on May 28, 1933 and its focus on national Maghreb movement based on the national components of the Maghreb (Mahfoud & Guanach, 2013, pp. 66-67) and returned on May 1933 then made changes to the strategy of the unitary work in the basic texts of the star to become into the goal of the struggle for the complete independence of the countries of North Africa and its unity (Iouma, 1937) , then came back on February, 1936 and put a demand in the program of immediate demands for north Africa submitted to the emotional front, represented that no Maghrebian, Tunisian or Algerian will be subjected to be bothered according to political, ideological or religious views, as well as the equality between the French, Tunisians, Moroccans and Algerians, and the applying of a labor equal law to the salary for north African workers with other workers (Mahfoud & Guanach, 2013, pp. 102-103) the star was in close contact with all the national movements in Tunisia and the far Maghreb *** as well as with the Arab personalities and trans-Arab known for their hostility to colonialism **** and the star cooperated with some elements from the new constitutional party ***** and this cooperation represented the mutual support between the Maghrebian national movement.

After that, the star went away, the people's party appeared a another movement leading the independence movement in 1937, but they continued working together according to the Maghrebian ideology, and the party developed a special policy for the Arab Maghreb for solidarity and unity (AregonCh-R, 1979, p. 356) and it was reported in the Algerian parliament newspaper that the idea of unitary work for North Africa was adopted by the people's party. It established the coordination committee in Paris on July 1936 (Guenanech & Mahfoud Kaddach, 2013, p. 70) the party called in its program to form a single front of Tunisian, Marakeshians and Algerians to fight against colonialism. (EldjabiriMohamed, 1983, p. 07) Then the other parties accepted this invitation, and the militants of people's party continued their activities in overt and secrete manners, especially after the wave of arrests that colonialism imposed on its leaders, and this what was written in their newspapers dealing with the issues of Algeria or the Maghreb as a whole. Then when they were pressured, they referred with their articles to Tunisian newspapers, especially the Tunisian newspaper Al Fatat or the second one Labor newspaper or Tunisian Labor one. (Guenanech & Mahfoud Kaddach, 2013)

In 1941, a member of the people's party (Choufi Mostefaoui) went to the far Maghreb and stayed with the brothers Youcef and AlBachir Belabbes in Marrakech and spent a week with them then went to Casablonca to meet with a group of leaders such as Abdallah El Djillali and talked with them about cooperation and coordination

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between Algerian people's party and the other parties, planning and material abilities (BouAzizYahia, 2009, p. 24) and the Algerian people's party renewed contact with the Moroccan independence party, then its purpose was to form a North African front between the three parties (the people's party – the independence party – the new constitutional party) (BouAzizYahia, 2009, p. 25)

In the same framework, the secretary Dabaghin and Moubarak Fillali visited Tunisia secretly on May 1945, and Chadli Elmekki joined them then contacted cheikh Benachour and Chadli Elglibi member of the party of the old constitution, and the lawyer Gilati, Salim Elmandji and Ali Elbahlaouani from the leadership of the new constitution party and declared the readiness to work with the people's military party in the south and politically in the north (BouAzizYahia, 2009, p. 25)

Then, from Tunisia he moved to Oujda and to Merrakech and called Mehdi Ben Braka, who was a leader in the Morocco independence party, and met them with other leadership group in independence party and agreed on two points;

- Preparing collective action across North Africa for the independence for the three countries even with armed action.
- Preventing each party from negotiating alone with the colonialism without agreement of the other parties.

And the secretary Dabaghin from the Algerian people's party, Elmounji Salim, Ali Elbahlaouani from Tunisia new constitutional party and Mohamed Benaceur from the Maghrebian independence party signed the agreement (BouAzizYahia, 2009, pp. 25-26) The people's party also participated in the establishment of the collective of colonial organizations on May 1937 with the aim of defending the general interests which concern the people of the French colonies and exchanging help. (l ouma, 1937) As he participated in the general strike which was declared by the Tunisian constitutional party on (November 20th, 1937) in solidarity of victims of colonialism. (l ouma, 1937)

From here, it emerges to us that the people's party made the united struggle one of its interests, even its more interest was towards Algeria and the work towards Elquataria, and tried to postpone the Maghrebian unity issue, so that the people's party continued its struggle with another meaning and it is a movement of the success of democratic freedom and participated in many newspapers such as (The Arab Magheb) newspaper ***** and (The Free Algeria) newspaper in French on August 1949, and most of the national newspapers published in Algeria were interested in the Maghrebian cause. (BenYoucefBenkhada, 2009, p. 208)

And in the same 1949, the contacts were continued between national parties in the Maghreb, so that (H/ A/ H/ D) party took the initiative to expose the idea of unity again

at the level of Maghreb, and that while they were in Cairo at the Arab Maghreb office, to see the cause again in conference (Z. dine) in Chlef was held by the end of 1948 and the beginning of the year 1949, and in its report "... The Arab Maghreb is a unity ... and every liberation action which does concern all the Maghreb isn't considered as a liberation action ...). (YoucefiMohamed, 1984, p. 58) In 1951, he returned to call for one Maghrebian front, and it appeared in a speech demanding for the need to establish Algerian front to defend the freedoms and their respects, and with this appeared (The Maghrebian front for independence). (AlfassiAllal, 1955, p. 141)

It came back and called for union between the Maghrebian parties in the struggle against the common enemy in a general meeting. (Al manar, 1371-1952) and the party went through a crisis of division during the year 1952, and that stopped the common Maghrebian work in that period and the change of the leaders of the independence movement in Algeria in the attempt to prepare a big action against French colonialism, after Tunisia and the far Maghreb entered negotiations at the expense of Algeria. (Al manar, 1371-1952) Adoption of the independence movement of the idea of the common struggle was one of the basic foundations on which this movement was based since its emergence, we can say that he did not give any opportunity without asking for unity and the common struggle in it, and this is what made it lead this idea till the last days of the Algerian national movement, after that he went to the preparation of Algerian revolution (BenYoucefBenkhada, 2009, pp. 189-242)

This was an overview about what the currents of Algerian national movements played especially the reformist and the independence movement in the field of the Maghrebian common struggle, and it is the role that we can say about it that was the leading role and effective one in the Maghrebian area, and that what appeared in what the leaders of those currents did, and also what came in their laws and principles throughout their struggle against colonialism.

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- * The writings were modest and it was dangerous to call for the unity as a revolution against France, therefore, we see many reformist figures in Algeria are conservative and tried to keep space with France and maintain a good relationship with it, especially after disrupting newspapers and information and thus aborting unionist action or resistance, (The critic, p.14, Thursday 10, October/ 1925, pp.251/253)

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** Mohamed Said Zahiri; a poet, writer and journalist from among the men of the reform movement in Algeria, born on 1899 in a village of Liana near Biskra, He studied in Constantine at the hands of the scholar Abdel Hamid Ben Badis, then at the Zaytouna mosque in Tunis. He published the Algeria newspaper 1925, Elwifak 1938, the Arab Maghreb 1947, however he wrote in the Orient Arab newspaper such as a letter, the extract, the conquest, also the Tunisian newspapers the renaissance and the minister and the Algerian reformist movement newspaper (Salah Khorfi, Mohamed El said El zahiri, MWK, Algeria, 1986, p.09)

*** Among these movements are the committee for the defense of freedom in Tunisia and Syrian Arab Association.

**** Among those personalities Chakib Arslan, Hafi Antoni and Andri Parton

***** The new constitutional party was established on March 02, 1934 in Tunis, and its general secretary was Bourguiba and its president, Dr El Mestari. The dispute between the old and the new constitutional parties was that the old program was limited to some demands, while the new exceeded the immediate demands for independence.

***** Weekly newspaper edited by a set of Algerians headed by Mohamed Said Elzahiri, it was published in Algeria in May 1947, and it is the first newspaper whose speaking on the name of (HIHD) and it was interested in the issues of the Maghreb, 1956 after the assassination of its editor president (Mohamed Ben Salah Nacer, Algerian Arab newspapers from 1947 to 1954 Alpha publishing, second edition, Algeria, 2006, p 263).