مجلة المعارف للبحوث و الدراسات التاريخية
https://www.asjp.cerist.dz/en/PresentationRevue/111
ISSN: 2437-0584/ EISSN: 2437-0584

The Algerian-Tunisian Front (1951–1956): A pioneering experience in unifying Maghreb armed action

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Received date: 16/10/2025 **Acceptance date**: 24 /11 /2025
Publication date: 22 /12 /2025

Abstract:

This article examines the efforts of the Maghreb nationalist movements between 1950 and 1956 to unify armed action against French colonialism, focusing on the model of the Algerian-Tunisian Front. The nationalist parties sought to coordinate their struggle through the Charter of the Maghreb Liberation Committee (1948) and the Maghreb Union and Action Front (1952). However, the divergence between political and reformist orientations on the one hand, and revolutionary ones on the other, limited the effectiveness of these initiatives. With the outbreak of the Algerian Revolution in 1954, coordination attempts were renewed, particularly on the eastern front, where field cooperation emerged between the Algerian and Tunisian resistance movements. The 1955-1956 crisis in Tunisia also contributed to the emergence of the Youssefist movement and the establishment of the Tunisian Liberation Army in coordination with the leaders of the Algerian Revolution.

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ISSN: 2437-0584/ EISSN: 2437-0584
Volume 10 , Issue 03 , (December 2025) PP(426/445)
Keywords: Armed struggle; Maghreb arena; liberation; coordination, unity.

1. Introduction:

During the first half of the twentieth century, the Maghreb witnessed a growing shared national consciousness in the face of French colonialism. National movements in Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco realized that confronting a unified colonial power required unifying efforts at various political and military levels. This trend became clearly evident during the period between 1950 and 1956, when contacts intensified between the leaders of the Maghreb national movements, and conferences and charters were held aimed at coordinating liberation efforts, particularly through the Maghreb Liberation Committee and the Maghreb Union and Action Front. With the outbreak of the Algerian Revolution in November 1954, this coordination acquired a practical dimension, embodied particularly in the Algerian-Tunisian Front, which became a vital arena for military and political cooperation..

The importance of this topic stems from the fact that it sheds light on a crucial stage in the history of the joint Maghreb struggle, and reveals the nature of the relations between the national movements, and the extent of their success or failure in building a unified project for liberation..

Research problem:

How did the Maghreb nationalist movements seek to unify armed action during the period 1950–1956? What factors contributed to the crystallization of the Algerian-Tunisian Front project, and what obstacles did it face?

Hypotheses:

- The unification of Maghreb armed action came in response to common colonial challenges..
- The Algerian revolution played a pivotal role in reviving the idea of joint struggle after political attempts had faltered..

- The Algerian-Tunisian front represented a practical model of cooperation, despite its limitations in the face of political and regional transformations..

Research objectives:

- Highlighting the efforts made by the Maghreb national movements to unify the struggle..
- Analysis of the factors that helped or hindered the establishment of a unified Maghreb front.
- Focus on the Algerian-Tunisian front as a model for field cooperation.

Approved curriculum

In this article, we have adopted the historical analytical approach, by tracing the events, charters, and agreements between the Maghreb national movements, while analyzing the political and military contexts that accompanied this stage, and relying on historical references and relevant academic studies**.**

2. Establishment of the Union and Action Front:

In the aftermath of World War II, the Maghreb national movements were able to develop and coordinate joint unification efforts, embodying their awareness that confronting French colonialism required unified political and military efforts. This approach culminated in the ratification in 1947 of a charter affirming the unity of the struggle for the independence of the Maghreb countries. It was then reinforced in 1948 with the ratification of the Charter of the Maghreb Liberation Committee, which explicitly stipulated that joint revolutionary action in the Maghreb represented the only way to liberate the three Maghreb countries from colonial control..

Based on these principles, revolutionary-minded nationalists took the initiative to coordinate efforts to achieve this goal. However, they clashed with reformist political movements that adopted a negotiating approach with French colonialism to achieve independence, which negatively impacted the path of unity..

By the early 1950s, as events in the Maghreb region accelerated, particularly after the outbreak of revolutionary activity in Tunisia and

France's resort to violent repression to quell it, national leaders realized the limitations of regional political action. Faced with this situation, calls were renewed for unified plans and coordinated efforts to confront the enemy on a single Maghreb front, with the aim of liberating the region from colonial control..

Since 1950, the Maghreb has witnessed profound transformations marked by an escalating confrontation between nationalist movements and the French colonial authorities. The latter resorted to reactivating a policy of comprehensive repression of all forms of liberation activity across the Maghreb, in an attempt to thwart the growing nationalist tide. The discovery of the Special Organization in March 1950 in Algeria represented a pivotal event, exploited by France to justify a widespread campaign of arrests targeting nationalist youth. It also served as a pretext for directing painful blows to activists of the Algerian People's Party - the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties - by imprisoning them, subjecting them to various forms of torture, and imposing the harshest penalties..

These developments revealed the nature of French colonial policy based on systematic repression, and they also highlighted the vitality of the national movement and its determination to continue the path of struggle, despite the severity of the repressive practices(1).

In Morocco, since 1951, the colonial authorities declared that the Istiqlal Party in Marrakesh had become a threat to the state, and considered it the Sultan's duty to disavow it. They used this position as a pretext for implementing a comprehensive campaign of repression throughout the country..

As for Tunisia, at the beginning of 1952, due to the spread of guerrilla activities and the discovery of weapons, the French authorities resorted to using this as a justification for carrying out widespread repression and persecution against the Tunisian people, with the aim of eliminating any liberation activity in the Maghreb region..

In the face of these simultaneous developments, the Maghreb nationalist parties realized the necessity of confronting French colonialism in a

single, unified front, and that the policy of negotiations, reforms, and regional action no longer represented an effective way to achieve independence.(2)Thus, due to the development of events in Tunisia, the Maghreb parties met in "Chantis" in France at the residence of Messali Hadj on January 28, 1952, where they signed a joint statement (3)Concerning Tunisia, it demanded the following:

- Urgent cessation of all forms of pressure in Tunisia..
- Release Bourguiba and all political prisoners..
- Recognizing the independence and sovereignty of the Tunisian people in accordance with the principles of the United Nations.

The United Nations intervenes to implement its charter, which is a factor of peace in North Africa.

The undersigned expressed (4)To declare their complete solidarity with the Tunisian people in their struggle for independence and their strong condemnation of the actions of French policy(5).

After the Maghreb parties discussed the recent developments on the Maghreb coast, with the French colonialists intensifying their repression and persecution in both Tunisia and Morocco, these developments made the Maghreb parties keen to strengthen their unity in their struggle against the common enemy.

The meeting, chaired by Sheikh Al-Bashir Al-Ibrahimi on February 2, 1952 in Paris, was crowned with (6)By establishing the "Maghreb Union and Action Front," the parties signed the Front's charter, through which all parties in the Maghreb pledged to work within a common front to confront French colonialism. The charter included several pledges and decisions, including:

Firstly: The national parties and organizations in North Africa pledge to:

A- Continuing and intensifying the struggle to liberate North Africa from all forms of colonialism and to bring its countries - within the scope of the United Nations Charter - to a system of democratic states enjoying their sovereignty.

b- Coordinating its work to achieve these goals within North Africa and in the French and international arenas..

C- Periodically research the situation in North Africa in light of events at home and abroad.

secondly: It was decided to form a "North African Union and Action Committee" and to establish any other body necessary for the implementation of this Charter.

This charter was signed by the following Maghreb parties:

- About Algeria: Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties, Al-Bayan Party.
- About Tunisia: The New and Old Constitutional Party.
- About Morocco: Istiqlal Party, Shura and Independence Party, Moroccan Unity Party, Moroccan Reform Party(7).

Thus, this front emerged in critical circumstances, as disagreement spread among the leaders of the national movements in the Maghreb regarding the methods of work and the means through which they would achieve the aspirations of the peoples for freedom and independence. After confirming the futility of political work and the regional orientation, the Maghreb Front was established with the hope of serious work and sincerity in liberating the Maghreb and standing up to the common enemy(8).

However, it is noteworthy that the Front's charter remained ink on paper and the Front did not play any role at the Maghreb level, perhaps because of the situation in both Tunisia and Morocco, which led to the disruption of its tasks. The most important developments on the Maghreb scene is the trend towards national action. As for Tunisia, its cause achieved some important results after its inclusion at the external level on the agenda of the United Nations. As for the internal level, military operations against the French army began at the end of 1951(9).

3. Solidarity and cooperation between Algerians and Tunisians before the formation of the front:

Before talking about the coordination to unify the Algerian-Tunisian front, it is worth noting that the manifestations of solidarity between

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Algerians and Tunisians have been known since the start of the resistance in Tunisia at the end of 1951, with the participation of a number of Algerians with the Tunisian resistance fighters in a single front against the French occupier, and they led several battles with his soldiers from the mountains of Tataouine in southeastern Tunisia to the mountains of Gafsa, Nemamcha, Souk Ahras, Kasserine, and Khemir, and along the Algerian-Tunisian border(10).

A group of Algerians participated in the Tunisian resistance and their blood was mixed with the blood of their Tunisian brothers, including: Commander Abdel Hayy Al-Saeed, Al-Azhar Sharaiti, Abbas Laghrour and others. All of them fought against the French forces in Tunisia, and when the Algerian revolution broke out, a number of them joined it, and among them were those who remained in Tunisia and fought within the Tunisian Liberation Army under the leadership of Tahar Al-Aswad.(11)And Saleh bin Youssef, many of whom were killed between 1956 and 1957 in Tunisia and Algeria. A number of them worked in passing weapons to the Algerian revolution(12).

Tunisian resistance fighters took the initiative during the Algerian revolution to join it and join the Algerian National Liberation Army, and with the intensification of resistance against the French army in Algeria, the number of volunteers from Tunisia to enter Algerian territory increased, as French sources mentioned that there were some Tunisian participants with the revolutionaries in Algeria and French newspapers confirmed the existence of coordination between the armed resistance movement in the two countries, and some newspapers also pointed to a clash that took place on December 7, 1954, north of the Wadi Souf region, between a group of Tunisian revolutionaries and a group of French Mahari soldiers(13).

Thus, after the leaders of the Maghreb national movements denied the Tunisian-French agreements, which gave great support to Saleh Ben Youssef, who realized through this that he had to call again to take up arms and support the revolutionary wing in Tunisia, and thus he was recruited to serve the goals of the Maghreb Liberation Committee, and

Ben Youssef launched his campaign from Cairo to oppose the achieved independence, seeking the help of revolutionary elements. This direction of his received full support from the Egyptian authorities and the Algerian and Moroccan leaders, and thus Saleh Ben Youssef became an ally of the project of unifying the joint armed Maghreb struggle, which contributed to strengthening the Maghreb dimension of the Algerian Revolution(14).

To implement this trend, Ahmed Ben Bella and Saleh Ben Youssef met in Cairo after the latter's return from the Bandung Conference, with the aim of coordinating the revival of the armed struggle front in Tunisia, relying on the revolutionary elements with a unionist orientation that rejected the French-Tunisian agreement. Following the meeting, Ben Youssef left Cairo for Tripoli to examine the situation near the Tunisian border and to make several contacts inside to assess the situation on the ground. He then returned to Cairo in early September 1955. After he confirmed the possibility of reviving the armed struggle front in Tunisia and with support from the Egyptian authorities, it was agreed with him to summon Tahar Lassoued to Libya in order to develop a plan to coordinate the armed struggle in the Maghreb arena(15).

Thus, with the increasing enthusiasm and call for unifying the armed struggle, the Maghreb arena would witness, starting in October 1955, the embodiment of the project to Moroccanize the war, with the establishment of the Arab Maghreb Liberation Army and then the establishment of the Tunisian Liberation Army. The Maghreb arena would witness new developments following the generalization of the war against the French enemy at the same time, which we will attempt to address in the following element.

4. Unification of the Algerian-Tunisian front:

In the midst of the intensification of the conflict between Bourguiba and Saleh Ben Youssef, the Tunisian Liberation Army was formed under the leadership of Tahar Lassoued. This was a result of the development of events on the Maghreb scene, including the outbreak of the Algerian Revolution and its emphasis on the Maghreb dimension, in

addition to the launch of military operations of the Maghreb Liberation Army at the beginning of October 1955(16) This is in addition to calling on Saleh bin Youssef to return to taking up arms and continue the armed struggle with the resistance in Algeria and Morocco until the liberation of the three countries(17).

After the Moroccan leaders in the Maghreb Liberation Committee confirmed that Saleh Ben Youssef was calling for the unification of the armed struggle with Algeria and Morocco, the leaders of the Algerian revolution quickly coordinated with him, and Ahmed Ben Bella met with him in Cairo after his return from the Bandung Conference.(18)Without hesitation, Ibn Youssef responded to the offer of political and military coordination and expressed his readiness to revive the fighting front in Tunisia. Following the meeting, he moved to Tripoli to contact the fighters on the Tunisian border and to assess the situation on the ground from close up(19).

Ben Youssef returned to Cairo at the beginning of September 1955 to confirm to the Moroccan leaders and the Egyptian authorities that the supporters of the unionist trend in Tunisia were determined to resume the struggle again, and that they had nominated Tahar Lassoued to lead this armed struggle and at the same time stressed the necessity of Saleh Ben Youssef entering the interior at the beginning of the struggle to lead the political action against Bourguiba(20).

After much thought and reflection, Saleh Ben Youssef decided to enter Tunisia to bet on the political battle. He was received in Tunisia as a leader in September 1955, and began his activity in gathering his supporters and mobilizing the ranks to reject the Tunisian-French agreements(21).

In a speech he gave on October 7, 1955 at the Zitouna Mosque, Ben Youssef revealed his determination to continue the struggle and reject the agreements, saying: “I call on my party and the people behind it not to approve what others have approved. The people must not betray their national faith or let down their brothers in Algeria and Morocco... They must not approve these agreements and must resolve to continue the

struggle to finally free themselves from the yoke of colonialism." These slogans attracted elements who believed in continuing the resistance and unifying it in the Maghreb. Thus, the viewpoints of Tahar Laswad and Ben Youssef converged on continuing the struggle for independence, and coordination took place between military and political action, making the Youssefite movement an organized movement(22).

The Youssefites, who belonged to the General Secretariat of the Constitutional Party, formed a paramilitary organization known as the "Counter Front," which was supervised by Abd al-Rahman Ibn Mahmud al-Shamli (a former security officer). Ibn Youssef approved of this and provided him with money and weapons. It was announced on December 16, 1955, and its goal, according to al-Shamli, was to protect Saleh Ibn Youssef against the acts of violence carried out by the Political Bureau(23)Another organization was established, supervised by Reda Ben Amara, which contributed to the spread of the call to bear arms and prompted Saleh Ben Youssef and Taher Lassoued to agree to recruit resistance fighters to bear arms and coordinate with the Algerians(24).

Thus, Tahar Al-Aswad began preparing for armed resistance and forming the Tunisian Liberation Army. In late November 1955, he traveled to Tripoli and met with Fathi Al-Dib(25)After several sessions in which Tahar Al-Aswad explained his plan to resume armed struggle in Tunisia,26)After the Egyptian side was satisfied with what the latter had offered and they were certain of his seriousness and determination to coordinate with them and with the Algerian revolutionaries, the Egyptian authorities agreed to begin supplying the Tunisian revolutionaries with weapons via Libya with the aim of making good and secret preparations to ensure the start of the fighting in Tunisia(27).

After that, Tahar Aswad returned to Tunisia and worked hard to coordinate with the Algerian revolutionaries and assured them of the unity of the struggle. In this context, he sent a message to the leaders of the revolution inside the country on December 23, 1955, in which he

confirmed the solidarity of the Tunisian revolutionaries with the Algerian revolution and their belief in the necessity of the independence of the Arab Maghreb without discrimination between its three countries, saying: "At the present time, we must only support the single struggle, directed against the only colonialism, which is French colonialism"[28]Through this letter, he pointed out a set of points that would determine the foundations of the relationship with the Algerian revolution, which were:

- Approaching the Tunisian border to enable Tunisian revolutionaries to integrate into the Algerian Liberation Army forces, enabling them to incite the Tunisian people to return to the fight and reject the French-Tunisian agreements. - Staying away from Tunisians loyal to Bourguiba and being wary of them so they would not be able to sabotage the unity effort.
- Inquire about the arrival of weapons from abroad, communicate with the people of Hamma regarding this matter, and beware of Bourguiba's followers who are lying in wait on the weapons' passage to Hamma.
- It is necessary to conduct an investigation into Tunisians who joined the revolution, by finding out all the details about them (knowledge of the village and its location, and the sheikhdom to which they belong).

Tunisians joining the Algerian revolution in the future are required to accept their joining by the following reception sign: "Constantine Bridge", "Soukhras Valley", and no Tunisian should have a leadership position in your ranks [29].

These directives and instructions reveal the extreme fear and caution that Tahar Lassoued, a member of Bourguiba's Political Bureau, displayed regarding the possibility of his ranks being infiltrated, thus undermining the project of joint Maghreb struggle.

Before Saleh Ben Youssef left Tunisia for Tripoli, he held a meeting in his home on January 28, 1956 with the leaders of the Maghreb Liberation Army[30]This meeting was attended by: Ali Al-Zlitni, Al-Taher Al-Aswad, and Al-Tayeb Al-Zalaq from the Tunisian side, and Abdel-Hay and Abbas Laghrour from the Algerian side, and a group of

leaders of the Moroccan Liberation Army led by Muhammad Al-Basri [31]This meeting was decisive in strengthening the relations between the revolutionaries in the Maghreb arena, and through it they emphasized the unity of the joint battle with the French enemy, as well as establishing ties between them and the elements of the Tunisian divisions and coordinating the missions of passing weapons, training, and unifying plans[32].

Thus, after this important meeting, Tahar Lassoued announced on February 12, 1956, the establishment of the Tunisian Liberation Army and its integration into the Maghreb Liberation Army. Tahar Lassoued issued a statement which included the following: "We announce publicly to the Tunisian people, the French people and the entire world that we have created, with God's blessing, a Tunisian national liberation army. The mission of this army is to liberate our dear country from the filth of colonialism and its lackeys. We have decided to integrate our blessed army into the armies of our Algerian and Moroccan brothers"[33].

Based on the ideology of unity, Egypt, under the leadership of President Gamal Abdel Nasser, sought to unify the armed struggle in the Maghreb arena, by creating a unified command to supervise the armed resistance and provide it with the weapons it needed, and thus put pressure on France regarding its policies in the Levant, and on the other hand, to convince the national movements in the Maghreb that the future of their peoples can only be achieved through the unity of the three countries and their connection to the Arab homeland in the Levant to preserve the Arab identity of these countries and liberate them from occupation[34].

Based on this vision, Egypt invited the leaders of the Maghreb Liberation Armies in mid-February 1956 to come to Cairo as soon as possible to hold a meeting to unify the leadership in the Maghreb arena. This meeting was held on February 25 and was attended by: Abdel Karim Al-Khatib, Abbas Al-Mas'adi and Al-Mahdi Ibn Abboud from the Moroccan Liberation Army, Ahmed Ben Bella from the Algerian

Liberation Army, and Tahar Al-Aswad and Bashir Al-Sabah from the Tunisian Liberation Army. The meeting was sponsored by Fathi Al-Deeb and Izza Suleiman from the Egyptian authorities(35).

The attendees discussed many political and military issues, including the status of the resistance in the Maghreb and the dangers of the French policy it intends to pursue in the coming months to confront the Maghreb Liberation Army. The attendees affirmed the option of continuing the armed struggle and agreed on the following decisions:

- Work immediately to unify the armed struggle in North Africa under a unified command that includes the leaders of the liberation armies, with this command responsible for setting the general lines for joint operations in the three countries within the framework of the agreed-upon strategy.
- Each army command should develop plans for its combat operations on the ground in its country and coordinate as much as possible with the other countries, in order to disperse the efforts of the French forces and inflict the greatest losses on them.
- Immediately call for the unity of the countries of North Africa with the aim of achieving unity after the liberation of their peoples, and clarify the importance of this unity, starting with the liberation armies and reaching the popular base.
- Pledge to continue the armed struggle in the three countries and not stop it, no matter how events develop.
- Focus during the month of March on supplying the Tunisian front with the largest possible quantity of weapons to support its ability to conduct armed struggle efficiently and with the ability to inflict the greatest possible losses on the enemy forces(36).

It appears from this meeting that the Moroccan leaders agreed to establish a unified committee to coordinate between the three armies and pledged to continue the Maghreb struggle until full independence. After presenting the results of the meeting to President Gamal Abdel Nasser, he promised to supply this resistance with weapons. The latter suggested that the general command of the North African Liberation

Army be assigned to Tahar Lassoued, while the general secretariat was assigned to Ahmed Ben Bella(37).

Taher Al-Aswad supervised the transfer of weapons from Egypt to Libya and then into Tunisia.38)Then he worked on field coordination with the leaders of the Aures, Nemamcha and Wadi Souf in Algeria. This coordination included drawing up military plans, training and forming joint teams with the Algerian revolutionaries. On the other hand, Tahar Al-Aswad was keen on training and forming the Tunisian Liberation Army, whose most prominent leaders were Tayeb Al-Zalaq, Al-Hadi Kaddoura and others.

The number of armed resistance fighters in southern Tunisia reached between 500 and 700 fighters(39)These units of the Tunisian army were distinguished by their good military professionalism, through the training they received both in Tripoli and in Cairo, and by their possession of two types of advanced weapons, which was approved by the French army, as Commander "Guibon" said about these units: "We are facing important gangs made up of men who are more trained, or at least better armed, trained and supervised"(40).

The coordination between the Tunisian and Algerian armies through the joint teams that were formed led to joint battles against the French army, in which the two armies fought side by side, especially in the areas of Umm al-Arais, Redeyef, Metlaoui and Nefta, and the Tunisian people supported everyone out of their belief in the unity of the joint Maghreb struggle(41).

Thus, the project of unified armed struggle gained great importance, especially as it affirmed its strong presence on the ground from October 1955 until the summer of 1956. It had significant repercussions on the Maghreb scene, prompting France, starting in March 1956, to accept the independence of both Tunisia and Morocco. This was done in order to undermine the Maghreb alliance and pull the rug out from under the feet of Moroccan nationalists who believed in the unity of the common struggle. This paved the way in the next phase for the establishment of a

new strategy: unifying the struggle and solidarity with the Algerian revolution to complete Algeria's independence.

5. Conclusion:

After completing this study, it was possible to reach a number of important results, which can be summarized as follows::

The project to unify Maghreb armed action constituted an objective response to the common colonial challenges faced by the peoples of the region during the 1950s.

The Algerian revolution contributed to reviving the idea of a joint Maghreb struggle, and gave practical impetus to attempts to coordinate between the national movements in Algeria and Tunisia..

The Algerian-Tunisian Front represented a prominent field experience in the field of military and political cooperation against French colonialism, reflecting the depth of historical and militant ties between the two countries.

The geographical, social and tribal factors of the border regions contributed to facilitating field cooperation between the Algerian and Tunisian resistance forces..

These efforts faced political and regional obstacles, primarily the differences in political orientations among national leaderships, and Tunisia's early independence, which reshaped its political and security priorities.

Although a comprehensive armed unification project was not achieved, this experience contributed to consolidating the struggle ties between the Maghreb national movements, and highlighted the unity of liberation destiny in the face of colonialism..

Such a stage is a pivotal point for understanding the development of the joint Maghreb struggle, and the impact of bilateral cooperation in supporting national liberation movements in the region.

And soIt can be said that the experience of unifying the armed struggle of the Maghreb during the period 1950–1956, particularly the model of the Algerian-Tunisian Front, represented a qualitative step in the path of the joint struggle against the French occupation, despite the political

and regional challenges it faced. This experience demonstrated that the idea of a united struggle was not merely a slogan, but rather a practical project that sought field and political coordination between national movements. Studying it also allows for a deeper understanding of the factors that helped bring together liberationist aspirations and those that prevented the building of a unified Maghreb front, making it a fundamental milestone in the development of unity thought and practice in the Maghreb.

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7. References and footnotes:

(1)- Al-Manar Newspaper, Issue No. 16, Jumada Al-Ula 20/February 15, 1952, p. 3.

(2)-same.

(3)_ About the joint statement:Appendix:Number (6), p. 294.

(4)They are: Messali Hadj (Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties), Bachir Ibrahimi (Association of Algerian Muslim Scholars), Ferhat Abbas (Al-Bayan Party) for Algeria, Ben Salem Kaib (Independence Party), Mekki Nasiri (National Reform Party), Al-Wazzani (Shura and Independence Party) for Marrakesh, Saleh Farhat (Old Constitution), Masmoudi (New Constitution), and Al-Taabouri (Tunisian National Front) for Tunisia.

(5)- Al-Manar Newspaper, Issue 15, 6 Jumada Al-Ula 1371/1 February 1, 1952, p. 2.

(6)- Mohamed Belkacem: The Background Rules of the Algerian Revolution 1954-1962, Publications of the National Center for Studies and Research on the National Movement and the November 1st Revolution, Special Edition, Ministry of Mujahideen2007, p. 102.
(7)- Al-Manar Newspaper, Issue 19, 2 Rajab 1371/28 March 1952, p. 3.
(8)-same.
(9)- Mohamed Belkacem, previous reference, p. 102.
(10)- Amira Aliya Al Sagheer:The Youssefites and the Liberation of the Maghreb, 1st ed., Maghrebiyya Printing HouseAdvertisingTunisia 2007, p. 217.
(11)-Taher Lassoud: Born in Gabes in the year1911, worked in agriculture, joined the Tunisian Constitutional Party since his youth, was one of the first whoThey took up arms in 1952, and he became one of the most prominent leaders of the resistance. He sided with Saleh bin Youssef when he was in power. with Bourguiba, foundations Tunisian army in the year1956 and became its actual leader until Tunisia's independence on March 20, 1956, where It happened evidence And between Saleh bin Youssef's disagreement over the army's organization led him to surrender to Tunisian authorities in July.1956 He died in Hamma(1994For more about his life and activities, see: Al-Hadi and the people of Al-Zuraib: Al-Tahir Al-Aswad (General Command of the North Liberation ArmyAfrica), 1st ed., Al-Tasfir Al-Fanni Press, Sfax 2008.
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(13)- Habib Hassan Al-Lulub:AFor Tunisians The Algerian Revolution,c2,t1Dar Al-Sabil for Publishing and Distribution, Algeria2009, pp. 82-84.
(14)Abdullah Maqlati, previous reference, pp. 306-307.
(15)- Fathi Al-Deeb, MSPrevious edition, pp. 132-133.
(16)Abdullah Maqlati, previous reference, p. 308.
(35) -Mohamed Lebjaui: Versions of the Revolution of Algeria, Ed. ANEP, 2010, p. 104.
(18)-The conference was held on April 8, 1955 in Bandung, Indonesia. The National Liberation Front participated as an observer within the Egyptian delegation, and was represented by Hussein Ait Ahmed and Amhamed Yazid.TOhThe conferenceFor the frontan opportunity ATo

raise awareness of the Algerian issue and mobilize support=African and Asian countries, and the conference was an opportunity to begin the internationalization of the Algerian issue, which was included in the work of the tenth session of the CommissionNationsThe museumDIn October 1955, see:

- Slimaen Sheikh: Algeria En Arms Ou Le Temps Des Certitudes, 2e, Ed. Casbah, Alger 2006, p. 96.

(19)Abdullah Maqlati, previous reference, p. 308.

(20)- Fathi Al-Deeb, previous source, p. 133.

(21)Abdullah Maqlati, previous reference, p. 309.

(22)- Arousiya Al-Turki: The Yusuf Movement in Tunisia 1955-1956, Aladdin Library, Sfax/Tunis 2011, pp. 312-314.

(23)- The Turkish bride, previous reference,p. 315-316.

(24)- Amira Aliya Al-Saghir: The Tunisian Resistance in the Fifties, Al-Tafsir Al-Fanni Press, Sfax 2004, pp. 154-155.

(25)The meeting was attended by Abdel Aziz Shushan from Tunisia and Ismail Al-Sadiq from Egypt.

(26)- Regarding Taher Al-Aswad's plan, see: Fathi Al-Deeb, previous source, pp. 136-137.

(27)- The same source, p. 139.

(28)Abdullah Maqlati, previous reference, pp. 312-313.

(29)Abdullah Maqlati, previous reference, pp. 313-314.

(30)- Amira Aliya Al-Saghir: Popular Resistance in Tunisia..., previous reference, p. 159.

(31)- Al-Tahir Abdullah, previous source, p. 131.

(32)- slaveGodMy articles,painbackthePrevious, p. 314.

(33)- Amira Aliya Al-Saghir: Popular Resistance in Tunisia..., previous reference, p. 159

(34)- Arousiya Al-Turki, previous reference, p. 324.

(35)- Fathi Al-Deeb, previous source, pp. 170-172.

(36)-The same source, pp. 173-174.

(37)- Al-Hadi and the people of Al-Zarib,Previous reference,p. 85.

(38)- Arousiya Al-Turki, previous reference, p. 325.

(39)This estimate is according to Condéan Guibon, commander of the French forces in southern Tunisia, and is almost the same number mentioned by Taher.Black, so the number was estimated at between 600to700.

(40)- Amira Aliya Al-Saghir: Popular Resistance in Tunisia..., previous reference, p. 166.

(41)- Taher Abdullah:The Tunisian National Movement: A New Popular Nationalist Vision (1830)_1956), Dar Al Maaref, Sousse/Tunisia 1990,p. 132-133.