



*the role of emir shakib arslan in resisting French Barbaric olitics:
"berber dahir as a model"*

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Abstract

France attempted to sow division among the different groups within maghreben society, to segregate MAGRIBs into two ethnic categories, Berbers and Arabs, in a strategy to weaken national unity and social cohesion. France exploited its experience in Algeria by subjecting the Amazigh people to French court law through the issuance of Berber Dahir. This was France's goal in separating Arabs from Berbers. Prince Shakib Arslan made significant efforts to combat French Berber policy in maghreb, which, according to him, aimed to undermine Islam, the Arabic language, and the maghreben people's components, tearing apart their unity and homogeneity and integrating them into French territory in pursuit of a means to permanently control North Africa.

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1. **Introduction**

The colonial phenomenon that swept through the Arab territories and domains at the beginning of the 20th century was not a mere coincidence; rather, it was a fourth crusade built on the deep-rooted hatred of the Arabs and Muslims, who once enriched the heart of Europe. A strong desire took hold of them and infiltrated every soul, prompting them to penetrate the heart of the Arab world. They relied on three layers to achieve this: the Orientalists, the missionaries, and the colonialists. These three collaborated, supported each other, and appeared united, all working as one hand. They delved into every hidden aspect of the Islamic world—its general and specific conditions, its scientists and ignorants, its wise men and fools. They left nothing unexamined, unexplored, or improbable. The most significant layer to emerge from this was that of the prominent Orientalists. From there, the foundations of colonialism were laid, and the roots of proselytizing were firmly established. Europe, upon realizing its newfound strength, secured its dominance not through the mere force of arms but through means subtler than the impact of weapons.

I might have burdened you and taken you on a distant journey, but I wanted you to witness the reality of the French barbaric politics as applied by France in maghreb, known as "Berber Dahir (2) (Ahmed Atta Allah, p. 769)." It stemmed from the realm of Orientalism, beginning in Algeria and

ending in MAGRIB. Subsequently, schools and institutes were established to implement this policy. Among them is Holder of specialized studies in sociology and anthropology Edmond Douuté, a pillar of the colonial school in Algeria; Henri Brousson, professor at the Higher School of Arabic Language and Berber Dialects, Paul Marty, who dedicated his life to researching the Barbary issue; Henry Simon, a proponent of barbarism in Algeria; and Georges Sorel, who had significant interests in the Barbary issue. (1) (Boudrassa, 2010, p. 2)

2. **❖THE ROOTS OF FRENCH BARBARIC POLITICS IN maghreb :**

Before discussing the roots of barbaric politics in Maghreb, one must address the cultural and intellectual conditions of this region. Cultural development and its institutions were not subject to political influence to the extent they were subjected to the historical evolution of Arab-Islamic civilization, thought, and education. Education in Marrakesh, before French and Spanish protection, generally consisted of Quranic schools and some elementary schools, with the forefront being the University of Al Quaraouiyine. The sciences taught there were religious and literary sciences, pure Arabic sciences that remained the sole source of culture in Marrakesh until the modern protection era.

When Sultan Abdul Hafiz assumed power, a law mandating compulsory

education and school reforms was introduced. However, various circumstances hindered the implementation of this law, leading to the continued dominance of traditional Islamic education in remote parts of Maghreb at the beginning of the 20th century. This education mainly consisted of Madrasas and Quranic schools financed by Al Makhzen (the state) or some dignitaries.

In the northern regions of Maghreb, the Rifians (the rural populations) stood out for their strong emphasis on knowledge. Here, the reformers of the scattered zawiyah and scholars from the University of Al Quaraouiyine played a crucial role in enlightening the local population. Their efforts resulted in the establishment of educational institutions across different Rif tribes (countryside tribes), which were complete branches of Al Quaraouiyine University. The evident benefits of these initiatives prompted universities to set up mosques for students, significantly benefiting the residents of the northern areas.

French policy towards Arabism and Islam in the Arab Maghreb region aimed to encompass the entire population through educational and proselytizing initiatives backed by all available ecclesiastical resources. The focus was particularly on the Berbers for short-term and long-term goals serving colonial objectives. In this regard, General Lyautey, the French Resident-General in Maghreb and the

Godfather behind the Berber Dahir stated after the occupation of Maghreb: "We must fight by all means at our disposal against the spread of the Arabic language and Islam, even in the regions adjacent to the Barbary countries."

The French General Resident Lyautey, the founder of the Berber policy in MAGRIB assigned the task of formulating Berber policy in Maghreb to a group of colonial experts led by George Sorel. Their objective was to create a legal framework for Berber customs, presenting them as facts through fabricated research. These customs were then consolidated by the colonial authorities under the label of "Berber customary law."

The Berber Dahir of 1930 was not the initial law put forth by the French authorities in Maghreb. It was part of a series of Berber policies implemented by France in Islamic Arab Maghreb since 1830, based on colonial motives. Prior to the enactment of May 16, 1930, Dahir, France had issued several Decrees (Dahir) considered precursors, such as :

•Dahir of September 11, 1914 :

Dahir aimed to lay the first cornerstone of the French barbarian policy in Maghreb. Through this Dahir, the French authority managed to manipulate reality, using the Sultan as a means to implement its policy. This policy emphasized the existence of the Berber race in Maghreb and the independence and uniqueness of this race,

which encompasses both Arabs and Berbers (3) (Al-Fassi, p. 142) (Abdallah., pp. Vol. 2, n.d., p. 118.). Dahir affirmed the presence of Berber laws alongside Islamic laws in Maghreb, laws that completely contradicted Islamic laws. It also asserted that Maghreb had never known a real government since ancient times, and it was never a state on any day. Maghreb was nothing but a collection of tribes fighting each other. The Berber tribes never recognized the authority of any Maghreben sultan (4) (Al-Aqad., 1985, p. 283). However, the truth is that there was a state called the MAGRIB State, distinguished by its independent personality, which never merged except within the Islamic state, not the European one.

Sultan Yusuf issued a Dahir on September 11, 1914, consisting of two chapters:

First Chapter:

Barbarian customary tribes are governed and organized according to their laws and customs, under the supervision of the authorities, and remain governed and organized as well.

Second Chapter:

Decisions are issued by our Grand Minister (Prime Minister) in agreement with the Secretary-General of the Noble Government, appointing gradually and as needed.

Firstly, tribes that fall under the scope of the barbarian custom (5) (Abdelhamid

Ahsaine, 1987, p. 183) (Luqman Saleh Al-Qattan, 1987, p. 49).

Secondly, the texts of laws and regulations applied to the barbarian customary tribes.

•Dahir of 1915:

The committee decided that the Berbers could be classified into three categories:

In 1915, Lyautey issued a Dahir to establish the Berber Studies Committee, which would be chaired by Colonel Simon and would publish a periodical called "Berber Documents," from which four Volumes were issued between 1915 and 1920.

The committee decided that the Berbers could be classified into three categories:

The first category consists of the pure Berber element, which retains Berber dialects. Their number amounted to one and a half million people, including the Riffians (rural populations), the High Atlas, and the Middle Atlas tribes.

The second category includes Maghreben tribes that have been Arabized and the authorities want to classify them into the first category and include them in the Berber customary system.

The third category consists of Berber tribes historically under Islamic Sharia courts, deeply entrenched in Islam, with their traditions primarily focusing on criminal issues. The combined population of the

second and third categories amounts to two and a half million people (6) (Salah Al-Aqad, 1985, p. 284).

Dahir of June 15, 1922:

The French authority, through the issuance of the Dahir on June 15, 1922, employed one of its methods to subjugate the Berbers to the French authority. They found that, according to Berber customary law, the lands of each Berber tribe could not be sold to foreigners (7) (Gharabia, p. 159). Foreigners could not become owners within the Berber tribe unless there was unanimous consent from all members of the tribe to sell the lands to foreigners (8) (Kridia Ibrahim, 1984, p. 38). Additionally, Berber customary law grants the right of preemption to all members of the tribe to acquire the lands intended for sale whenever they wish and to exclude outsiders from it (9) (Luqman Saleh Ahmed Al-Qattan, The Berber Policy of French Protection in Morocco;, 1984, p. 56).

Dahir of May 16, 1930:

The French authority continued to implement its Berber policy in Maghreb, persisting with the idea of establishing exceptional customary courts alongside primary customary courts. Therefore, a committee for organizing justice was formed, and the French authority called for the abolition of the Islamic judiciary in all tribes of Maghreb (10) (Mohammed Meki Al-Nasseri, France and Its Berber Policy in

Morocco: Report Presented to the General Islamic Conference and All Muslims of the World by the Eastern Committee for the Defense of Morocco, p. 71). Then, all significant property, commercial, and criminal cases were transferred to French courts to be judged according to French law. Only French judges ruled, and Muslim Sharia judges were expelled from all the rural areas. Civil matters were entrusted to French administrators, while Sharia judges were retained for major cities, governing personal matters on a narrow scale. All these matters were enacted in the form of a new Dahir on May 16, 1930 (11) (Amin Al-Rihani, Journey in the Spanish Protectorate Region,, 1975, p. 234).

In reality, Ribot was the mastermind behind this Dahir. He presented the draft of the Dahir in his thesis, for which he obtained a doctorate from the University of Algiers. His printed book was released in Algiers on March 8, 1930, just a week before the Sultan's Dahir came out (12) (Mohammed Meki Al-Nasseri, Journey in the Spanish Protectorate Region,, 1975, p. 71). The difference between Ribot's Dahir and the Dahir issued by Lucien Saint (13) (Luqman Saleh Ahmed Al-Qattan, Previous source , p. 59 65), endorsed by Sultan Mohammed V, lies in the fact that the general residency extended French influence over Berber tribes, completely isolating them from national governance (14) (p. 63). For instance, Ribot's Dahir specifies in its third section that the appellate courts must be overseen by a

permanent French judge, segregating the customary lower courts without the necessity of a French judge in them (15). (Amin Al-Rihani, Same source, pp. Vol. 2, p. 234;) (Al-Hassan Bouayad, p. 449)

SHAKIB ARSLAN'S STANCE ON THE BERBER DAHIR:

The Arab dimension and Islamic unity stood as key pillars in Emir Shakib Arslan's struggle against European colonialism in the Arab region, particularly in the Arab Maghreb, which was then most affected by colonialism (16) (Meki, Alaqa Al-Amir Shakib Arslan bilmantiqah al Khalifiyah fi Shimal Al-Maghrib, 2021, p. 140). The Maghreb cause held significant importance in which Emir Shakib Arslan played a significant and prominent role. His focus shifted towards Maghreb and the Maghreb nations in general after settling in Geneva, where he became acquainted with a group of elite Maghreb figures especially the Association of Muslim Students of North Africa (17) (Association of Muslim Students of North Africa.)

Emir shakib arslan's historical involvement with MAGRIB:

It can be said that Emir Shakib Arslan's actual interest in Maghreb dates back to the Rif War of 1921-1926 (18) (Abdel Nabi Baqadir, Shakib Arslan wa Dawruhu fi Tahreer Al-Maghrib Al-Arabi, p. 70). It was the first issue that connected the prince to the Maghreb cause, as he considered what Abdelkrim El Khattabi (19) did as a

heroic act (20) (Meki, Same Source , p. 141).Where we find that Shakib Arslan devoted a considerable space to his comment on his book "The Present of the Islamic World" (21) (Lucien Golvin, See: Shakib Arslan, Hadir Al-Alam Al-Islami, 1973, p. 175).Emir made a call in the newspaper Al-Shura, saying: "O Arabs, wherever Abdelkrim is, he is from you and to you. This man has proved that you have not died, whether he is with Berbers or Arabs. Everyone is Arab and Arabized. Shouldn't you reward this man for reviving the name of the Arabs.." (22) (ALS)

3. Emir Shakib Arslan describes the heroism of Mohammed Ben Abdelkrim Khattabi in the Rif War, stating: "We are not exaggerating when we say that Prince Mohammed Ben Abdelkrim Khattabi has defeated Spain and its armies in the Rif despite the differences in equipment and armament(23) (Lucien Golvin, Same Source , p. 176)." El Khattabi called on the Islamic world to support his liberation movement, but his call did not achieve its purpose due to the preoccupation of Arab countries with their national issues regarding colonialism. Emir asked his friend Mohammad Reda Rashid to write articles praising Abdelkrim El Khattabi and urged MAGRIBs to donate money.

On June 28, 1925, Emir Shakib Arslan was in the city of Mersin, Turkey, where he wrote an article about France's atrocities against the rural population of the Rif, which was published in the magazine

"Kawkab al-Sharq"(24) (Mohammed Meki, p. 141). In early July 1925, Arslan wrote to a key figure in the League of Nations, questioning the purpose of colonialism if the organization, meant to stop bloodshed globally, did not intervene in the brutal bloodshed in the countryside (25) (Ahmed Al-Sharbasi, 1987, p. 128). Later, on October 14, 1925, Shakib Arslan sent a detailed message to the President of the United States (Calvin Coolidge), outlining the colonial tragedies Marrakech faced and urging for action to send medical teams to alleviate the war's impact (26) (Abdel Nabi Baqadir, Same Source, p. 72).

Emir Shakib Arslan played a role in bringing awareness to the Islamic world about the Maghreben Rif issue during his battles against the Spanish and French forces, advocating for support towards this uprising. Algerian intellectual Malek Bennabi (27) (Nabi M. I.) remarked: "The impact of the Rif War in 1925 resonated with my generation in Algeria, intertwined with the Rif conflicts where Shakib Arslan (28) (Nabi M. i., 1984, p. 250) had a hand." However, the French historian Juliette Pétris has refuted all the claims that Prince Shakib Arslan had interests in MAGRIB before 1930 (29). (Bessis, Chakibe Arslan et les mouvements nationalistes au Maghreb, Avril-juin 1978, p. 475)

❖EMIR SHAKIB ARSLAN'S HISTORIC VISIT TO Maghreb :

We do not need to mention the reasons that led the Emir to undertake a historic visit to Maghreb when we see him making this visit immediately after the issuance of the Berber Dahir. He led a substantial campaign against Dahir beyond MAGRIB (30) (Hakim, Wathaiq Siriyah Hawl Ziyarat Al-Amir Shakib Arslan lil-Maghrib, 1980, p. 12), both in the East and Europe. Considering Emir Shakib Arslan's journey as a pivotal moment in MAGRIB's history and the Maghreben national movement (31) (Baqadir A. N., p. 79), it coincided with the release of the Berber Dahir on May 16, 1930. This visit was initiated by MAGRIB students in Paris, where the Emir met with students Ahmed Bela Freij (32) (Landau, p. 185) and Hassan Al-Wazzani (33) (p. 154), discussing his forthcoming trip to Maghreb (34). (Maki, Same source , p. 142)

Everyone agreed that the year 1930 was decisive for the Maghreben nationalist movement, as it marked its first significant inception. It was unanimously agreed that the issuance of the Berber Dahir on May 16 was the catalyst for this beginning. This Dahir aimed to disperse national unity (35) (Al-Tayyib, Al-Ziyarah Al-Tarikhiyah lil-Amir Shakib Arslan ila Shimal Al-Maghrib wa Nataijuhu, 2013, p. 142), nationalism, and creed unity, and fragment the MAGRIB society from within, attacking the Islamic religion and the Arabic language. As Professor Ghallab stated, "No specific direction or group was speaking on behalf of the entire Maghreb, but rather

there were groups and tribes still searching for a way to express their thoughts and consciences. The issuance of Dahir was an explosion for this energy."

This is probably true, but we still need to determine who deserves credit for this and whounited the loyal Maghreben in the national arena, guiding them politically in a manner that oversaw the campaign against the Berber Dahir and against French and Spanish colonization outside of Maghreb.

Without a doubt, all credit for uniting loyal Maghreben in the national arena, guiding them politically in their campaign against the Berber Dahir and against French and Spanish colonization outside of Maghreb, belongs to Emir Shakib Arslan. He sparked the interest of Maghreben nationalists with a historic visit to Maghreb and closely engaged with leaders of the nationalist movement, gathering them in one place (36) (Hakim & Labaz Al-Tayyib, Same source, pp. 14 , 05).

Historian Charles André Julien states: "The Berber Dahir allowed Emir Shakib Arslan to intervene in Maghreb affairs through the 'L'Action Arab'." Emir Shakib Arslan was determined to visit Maghreb, and he entrusted his friend Ahmed Tawfik Al-Medani (37) (1978, p. 161) with this task. The latter corresponded with their Maghreben friend, Mohammed Dawood, which led Abdel Salam Bennouna of the Nationalist Movement in the North to

invite him and personally take charge of his reception (38). (Al-Tayyib, Same source, p. 05)

The visit of the Emir to Maghreb was not a coincidence as some accredited writers claim. In one of his articles, Emir Shakib Arslan stated that he came to Maghreb for tourism only, but he was on a political mission (document) resulting from the issuance of Dahir (39) (Document). Emir Shakib Arslan wanted his visit to Maghreb to be kept highly confidential, possibly due to concerns about the reactions of the French and Spanish occupiers who could obstruct his entry into the country. He did not mention any surveillance in his communications.

Opting to enter Maghreb via Spain, which had adopted a neutral position in the conflict between Maghreb and France over the Berber Dahir, Spain, being relatively new to the Rif experience, did not pay much attention to the successive protests by the French government demanding his expulsion from Tetouan. When the Spanish government learned of the Emir's intention to visit Maghreb, they informed the resident general in Tetouan that there was no objection to allowing him to enter the northern region if the prince wished (40). Interestingly, The Spanish government did not show any interest in the successive protests filed by the French government urging them to expel the prince from Tetouan (41) (Hakim, Same source , p. 17). Emir Shakib visited Spain to further his

research and studies of Andalusia. He travelled to Barcelona, Zaragoza, Cordoba, Seville, and Granada. In a letter to the Maghreben historian Ibn Zidan, he mentioned his plans to visit Cordoba, Seville, and Granada in two days, then head to Tangier and Tetouan before returning to Andalusia (42). (AL-Alwi, 1994, p. 289)

According to the documents and letters mentioned by Mohammed Ben Azzouz in his book "Secret Documents about Emir Shakib Arslan's Visit to MAGRIB," it is confirmed that the Emir had already intended to visit the remote areas of MAGRIB, and his trip to Spain was merely a gateway to entering MAGRIB (43) (-Documents of the Prince's visit to Maghreb). He had meticulously arranged a specific itinerary for his visit (44) (p. 153).

❖THE EMIR'S ARRIVAL IN TANGIER :

On August 10, 1930, the Emir arrived in Tangier, which was the 14th of Rabi' alAwwal, 1349 AH. Opting to stay at the Villa de France hotel (45) (Arslan S. , Urwat al-Ittihad Bayn Ahl al-Jihad, p. 153) (Azouz, Same Source , p. 22), he chose Tangier due to its status as an international zone shared by France, Spain, and England (46) (Baqadir A. a.-N., p. 80). To avoid drawing attention from MAGRIBs who faced repercussions from the French because of him (47) (Arslan S. , Urwat al-Ittihad , p. 154), the Emir decided not to reveal his identity initially. However, his

anonymity was short-lived as he joined a funeral procession the following day, engaging in the recitation of Surah Yasin with the attendees. This act marked him as a stranger, sparking curiosity among the locals who then began visiting him (48) (Biography). Among the visitors was Hajj Abdel Salam Benouna, who warmly welcomed him and proposed a trip to the city of Tetouan.

Tayeb Bennouna mentioned in his book "Our National Struggle" the exchange of letters between Emir Shakib Arslan and Hajj Abdel Salam Bennouna that Mr. BahriYunus (49) (al-Tayyib, Nidaluna al-Qawmi : Fi al-Rasail al-Mutabadilah Bayn alAmir Shakib Arslan wa al-Hajj Abd al-Salam binouna, 1980, p. 16)(the Iraqi tourist) visited MAGRIB months before the Emir. He had a personal relationship with the Emir and was a reason for establishing the spiritual relationship between the Arslan and Bennouna (50) (Binouna, Dec 2 , 1930).

During his stay in Tangier, Emir Shakib Arslan visited the local Spanish supervising consul, Asidero de las Cádiz. They discussed the details of the visit, and the consul expressed no objection to the Emir's visit to Tetouan, which he reached on August 14, 1930. It is worth noting that the Spanish consul invited the Emir to drink tea with him, celebrating him in the MAGRIB style (51) (Maki, Same Source , p. 143).

Emir Shakib Arslan visited Abdel Salam Benouna's home in Tetouan during the festivities of the Prophet's birthday (52) (Jelloun, June 1987, p. 37). Upon hearing about his presence, a delegation from the French-influenced region, comprising Ahmed BlaFreij, Mohammed Zabadi, and Mohammed Ben Al-Abbas, as well as a group from Fez including Hajj Omar Abdel Jalil, Mohammed Al-Ghali Al-Fassi, and Boubekeur AlMalawi (53) (Arslan S. , Urwat al-Ittihad, p. 154), visited him. France was vigorously seeking to expel the prince from northern MAGRIB by pressuring Spain (54) (al-Tayyib, Same Source , p. 25). In Tetouan, a committee was formed comprising several prominent figures, including Tiamey Al Wazani as president, Abdulkhaliq Al Torres, and Mohamed Al Mahmoudi, Mohamed Al Wazani, Abdessalam Al Tanji, and Haj Mohamed Bennouna as secretary. This committee organized the festivities, invitations, and receptions held in honour of the Emir (55) (p. 25). On August 17, 1930, a public reception was held attended by more than 200 people. Bennouna began with a welcoming speech to the Emir, followed by Abdul Khaliq Torres delivering a splendid sermon welcoming the Emir and expressing gratitude for his visit on behalf of the city of Tetouan. He was given a MAGRIB jalabiya and burnous as symbols of the visit (56) (Arslan S. , Urwat al-Ittihad , p. 154). In his speech, the Emir greeted the audience, thanked them for their hospitality, expressed his

admiration for the Maghreben nation, and praised the Maghreben youth, all while tactfully avoiding any negative remarks about France to prevent any potential repercussions (57) (Azouz, Same Source , p. 50).

The Emir is criticized for mentioning a connection between the Arab and Spanish nations, which is seen as a compliment to the Spanish in his speech. Back when Emir Shakib Arslan resided in Tetouan and Tangier, the French colonial rulers were uneasy with his presence, viewing him as a political threat. Consequently, he was summoned to the International Police headquarters (58) (Arslan E. S., 1930), a move he contested as an unjust decision by the International Police authorities.

Emir Shakib Arslan described his visit to Tetouan by saying, "I felt a strong resurgence in Tetouan that I had not anticipated. I noticed the proficiency of the youth in the Arabic language. The speeches delivered in front of me were all well-composed, eloquent, and I did not hear any speaker falter" (59) (Al-Maki, p. 144).

On August 18, 1930, Arslan departed Tetouan for Tangier in the company of Ahmed Dawood and Al-Hajj Abdul Salam Benouna, before continuing his journey to Spain and then Geneva (60).

4. The visit of Emir Shakib Arslan to Maghreb led to several outcomes, including :

Arslan established a closer connection between himself and the secret political activities in Tetouan, Rabat, and Fez, coordinating campaigns against France following its announcement of the Berber Dahir.

Tetouan became the main axis of the Maghreben nationalist movement after Shakib Arslan's visit.

The establishment of the Barbarian Association, known as "Al-Zaouia," in the city of Fez on August 23, 1930.

The inception of the first Maghreben association dedicated to advocating for the MAGRIB cause abroad in Cairo, proposed by Abdelkhaleq Torres, named "The Association for the Defense of the Maghreben Cause" on November 23, 1930, which would play a pivotal role in confronting the Berber Dahir (61) (Mohammed, 2005, p. 11).

The establishment, in collaboration between the Emir and Abdessalam Benouna, of the Maghreben branch of the Syrian-Palestinian Committee, subsequently became known as the " Maghreben Syrian-Palestinian Committee" (62) (Issa, Dec 2016 , pp 206-225).

❖SHAKIB ARSLAN'S POSITION ON THE BERBER DAHIR :

As soon as Shakib Arslan learned of the issuance of this Dahir, he immediately organized a visit to Tangier and Tetouan in 1930. During this visit, he closely examined the Dahir's contents, its implications, and the reactions of the Maghreben towards it (63) (Bessis, Shakib Arslan and the Nationalist Movement in the Maghreb , Historical review , June 1978 , p. 348). Following the visit, he sent personal messages to Abdul Hamid Said, the leader of Egypt's "Muslim Youth Association," Mahbub Al-Khatib, the publisher of Al-Fath magazine, and Rashid Rida, the owner of "Al-Manar" magazine. In these messages, he elaborated on the French colonial policy in Maghreb, urging them to mobilize Muslims against it. Additionally, he corresponded with his acquaintances from the French Socialist Party, like Jean Long, requesting them to highlight the Berber issue in the party's newspaper "Le Populaire."

Shakib initially targeted the Arab media, where his articles raised awareness among Arabs and Muslims, alerting them to the danger of that policy aimed at removing Berbers from Islam (64) (Sakr, 2002, p. 143). Emphasizing the gravity of this issue above all others facing the Arab and Islamic world, Shakib Arslan successfully brought the "Barbarian Issue" to the attention of the European public through

his magazine "L'Asie Française," published in Geneva in French.

He described the Berber courts mandated by the Dahir of March 16 as primitive and a despicable attempt to weaken and divide Muslims. He also criticized the policy of Resident General Lucien Saint, which resulted from Dahir. Shakib had clearly outlined the contours of this policy and its objectives in an article titled "The Issue of Removing Berbers from Islam" (65) (AL-Hasnaoui, p. 144) in Al-Fath magazine, and he mentioned them in the magazine of the Arab League, owned by Munif Al-Husayni. Its objectives were as follows :

The cancellation of Islamic Sharia among the Berbers is a pure assault on all Muslims.

The strong opposition of the Berbers to this Dahir refutes French claims of their acceptance of it.

Refutation of France's claim that the Sultan issued this Dahir.

France's non-compliance with its commitment to respect the Islamic religion according to the protection treaty.

Preventing Islamic religious scholars from interacting with the Berbers and allowing only Christian missionaries to do so.

France's halt of mosque construction in Berber areas and permission for building churches.

The uprising of the Maghreb people (Arabs and Berbers) against this policy is evidence of their adherence to their religion.

The silence of Arabs and Muslims on this policy will encourage colonial powers occupying large parts of the Islamic world to follow in France's footsteps (66) (Arslan S. , The Issue of Removing the Berbers from Islam , Oct 13 , 1930).

❖EMIR SHAKIB ARSLAN'S EFFORTS AGAINST THE BARBARY DAHIR :

In an article by Shakib Arslan, published in the Al-Fath newspaper under the editorship of Mahbub al-Din al-Khatib, the headline read: "(Protesting France for the Berber Issue)(67). (Al-Hasnaoui, p. 149)" Arslan strongly advocates for a commercial and economic boycott of France, even sending a stern message to Spain, citing historical examples from Andalusia to highlight their treatment of Catholics at the time. He insists on the repeal of the unfair Dahir against the Berber community.

Another article by Amir al-Bayan, also featured in Al-Fath, titled "What Did Muslims Do for the Berbers?", sees Shakib Arslan urging the Islamic world to dispatch trustworthy missions to Maghreb to uncover the reality of French colonialism's impact on MAGRIBs. He calls for the establishment of Islamic schools and the restriction of Muslim children from attending Catholic institutions.

Extensive propaganda in Europe and America aims to expose the true nature of the colonizers and their oppressive practices against the Berber Muslims in MAGRIB, often overlooked by the Muslim community. Addressing Muslim princes, kings, and rulers, urging them to forsake pleasantries and subservience to religion in order to confront the French colonizer and unveil its policies. The Emir stated that France hinders the Berbers in Maghreb from fulfilling the pilgrimage duty by rejecting passport applications and even resorting to threats of violence.

One of the most prominent actions taken by Shakib Arslan regarding Dahir is that he made it a matter concerning the entire Arab and Islamic world, not just Maghreb. He emphasized that the struggle should not only be against MAGRIB but against all colonial powers occupying the Arab homeland (67). Emir Shakib Arslan began resisting the Barbary Dahir by sending personal messages to influential figures in both Arab and French circles. In late 1930, he sent a letter to Abdelhamid Bey Said, the president of the Muslim Youth Association in Egypt, explaining the dangers of the Barbary Dahir and requesting him to read the letter to the association members (68) (Arslan, p. 160). He also wrote a letter to Haggi Abdel Salam Ben Nouna on September 14, 1930, mentioning that the French socialist leader Jean Long (69) (al-Qadri, p. 94) was responding to him on this issue and that he would publish it in the "Popular" newspaper. In the same letter,

Shakib Arslan mentioned that he wrote to Mahbub Al-Khatib to publish the issue in "Al-Fath" magazine and also to Mr Muhammad Rashid Rida, the owner of "Al-Manar" magazine. Emir Shakib Arslan asked his Egyptian brothers to translate the appeal regarding the Barbary Dahir and distribute copies to newspapers in Europe, in addition to sending copies to deputies, senators, and ministers in France, England, Germany,(70) (p. 95) and Italy. He also contributed to the publication of numerous articles related to the Barbary Decree in his magazine "La Nation Arabe."

Conclusion:

In 1930, France issued the Berber Dahir, revealing its true intentions towards Maghreben society. This Dahir aimed to disrupt and weaken the MAGRIB social structure, creating divisions among its people, and contradicting the essence of the protection treaty. The Berber Dahir sparked a significant wave of anger among the Maghreben and Arab masses, which played a crucial role in the early stages of the Maghreben national movement.

As much as the Berber Dahir was a scourge upon the Maghreben people, it was also a blessing in fostering Arab solidarity, as prominent political and intellectual figures stood in solidarity with their Berber brethren. The persona of Shakib Arslan, the Emir of Eloquence, had a significant impact in highlighting the MAGRIB cause on international platforms through his writings and articles that emerged on the

horizon. He managed to influence other Arab elites such as Sheikh Muhammad Rashid Rida and Muhyiddin al-Khatib, emphasizing the danger of French-Berber policy and its repercussions on the Islamic world.

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11. Amin Al-Rihani, MAGRIB: Journey in the Spanish Protectorate Region, Vol. 2," Dar Al-Ma'arif, Egypt, 1975, p. 234. (Amin Al-Rihani, Journey in the Spanish Protectorate Region,, 1975)
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13. He is the French Resident in magrib, who managed to obtain the Barbary Dahir from Sultan Mohammed V in 1930 with the help of Mohammed Al-Maqari, who forcibly converted the Berbers and introduced them to Christianity but failed to complete his work. Luqman Saleh Ahmed Al-Qattan, previous

- source, pp. 59 65. (Luqman Saleh Ahmed Al-Qattan, Previous source)
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19. Mohammed Meki, Same source, p. 141. (Mohammed Meki)
20. See: Shakib Arslan, Hadir Al-Alam Al-Islami", by Lucien Golvin, Vol. 2, Issue 3, 4th edition, Translated by Amman: Noheh, Year unknown, Shakib Arslan, 1973, p. 175. (Lucien Golvin, See: Shakib Arslan, Hadir Al-Alam Al-Islami, 1973)
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26. Malek ibn Nabi, is one of the prominent figures in Islamic thought in the twentieth century, considered one of the pioneers of the Islamic intellectual renaissance. He can be seen as an extension of Ibn Khaldun. He was born in the city of Constantine on January 1, 1905. He authored several works on thought and civilization. He passed away on October 31, 1973. (Nabi M. I.)
27. -Malek ibn Nabi, "Mudhakarar Shahid Al-Qarn", Vol. 2, Dar Al-Fikr, Beirut, 1984, p. 250. (Nabi M. i., 1984)
28. Juliette Bessis, Chakibe Arslan et les mouvements nationalistes au Maghreb: In Revue Historique, N526, Avril-juin 1978, p. 475. (Bessis, Chakibe Arslan et les mouvements nationalistes au Maghreb, Avril-juin 1978)
29. Mohammed ibn Azouz Hakim, "Watha'iqSiriyahHawlZiyarat Al-Amir Shakib Arslan lil-Maghrib", Abdulkhaleq Torres Foundation for Culture and Thought, Tetouan, 1980, p. (Hakim, Wathaiq Siriyah Hawl Ziyarat Al-Amir Shakib Arslan lil-Maghrib, 1980)
30. Abdel Nabi Baqadir, Same source, p. 79. (Abdel Nabi Baqadir, Same Source)
31. Ahmed Bela Freijis one of the leaders of the MAGRIB nationalist movement, who fought for the independence of his country. He memorized the Quran. He studied at the Dour School and high school in Rabat, then

continued his university studies at Fuad University in Cairo, where he obtained a diploma in higher studies. He was one of the resistors against French-Berber policy. (Reference: Rom Landau, "History of MAGRIB in the 20th Century," p. 185) (Landau)

32. -Hassan Al-Wazzan: He was born in Fez and belonged to the Athran family of Zan. He studied at the Islamic College of Fez and also attended the Institute of Oriental Languages in Paris and the Free School of Islamic Sciences. He obtained a diploma in 1930 and worked as a secretary for the General Union of Muslim Students in Paris. He was among the opponents of the Berber Dahir and French policy, participating in protests and being imprisoned. (Reference: "Independence Movements in Maghreb," p. 154) (Independence Movements in Morocco)

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34. -Mohammed Maki, Same source, p. 142; Mohammed ibn Azouz Hakim, Same source, p. 12; Labaz Al-Tayyib, "Al-Ziyarah Al-Tarikhiyah lil-Amir Shakib Arslan ila Shimal Al-Maghrib wa Nata'ijuhu", Assina Journal of Research and Studies, University of Ziane Achour Djelfa, Issue 8, December 2013, p. 05, 142. (Al-Tayyib, Al-Ziyarah Al-Tarikhiyah lil-Amir Shakib Arslan ila Shimal Al-Maghrib wa Nata'ijuhu, 2013)

35. Mohammed ibn Azouz Hakim, Same source, p. 14; Labaz Al-Tayyib, Same source, p. 05. (Hakim & Labaz Al-Tayyib, Same source)

36. "Le Maghreb aux impérialismes, 1415-1956", Edition J.A., 1978, Paris, p. 161. (Le Maghreb aux impérialismes, 1415-1956, 1978)

37. Labaz Al-Tayyib, Same source, p. 5. (Al-Tayyib, Same source)

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38. See Annex No. in the telegram from the Director of the MAGRIB and Colonies Administration to the Resident General, No. 1538, dated August 7, 1930.

39. Mohammed ibn Azouz Hakim, Same source, p. 17. (Hakim, Same source)

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42. Same, See Annex to the Prince's Visit Program. (same, See Annex to the Prince's Visit Program.)

43. -Shakib Arslan, "Urwat al-Ittihad Bayn Ahl al-Jihad", p. 153; Mohammed ibn Azouz, Same source, p. 22. (Arslan, p. 22)

44. Abd al-Nabi Baqdir, Same source, p. 80. (Baqadir A. N., p. 80)

45. -Shakib Arslan, "Urwat al-Ittihad", p. 154.- 48 Same, p. 154. (Arslan S., Urwat al-Ittihad)

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47. Bonuna al-Tayyib, "Nidaluna al-Qawmi: Fi al-Rasa'il al-Mutabadilah Bayn Amir Shakib Arslan wa al-Hajj Abd al-Salam binouna", Dar al-Amal Tangier, Vol. 1, 1980, p. 16. (al-Tayyib, Nidaluna al-Qawmi: Fi al-

- Rasail al-Mutabadilah Bayn alAmir Shakib Arslan wa al-Hajj Abd al-Salam binouna, 1980)
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