

Algerian National Activism during World War I and Its Impact on the Development of the National Movement after 1918

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Abstract:

The World War I marked a pivotal phase in modern Algerian history. It was not merely a global conflict among major powers but a transformative event that deeply affected colonies, including Algeria under French rule since 1830. During the war, France intensified human and economic exploitation through forced conscription, taxation, and strict security control, increasing tensions between colonial authorities and the local population. This study addresses a central question: to what extent did wartime conditions and international transformations contribute to the activation of Algerian resistance and the emergence of political consciousness that paved the way for the national movement after 1918? International events fostered hope for change, such as the Arab Revolt of 1916, the principle of self-determination, and the influence of the Bolshevik Revolution with its anti-imperialist ideas. Germany and the Ottoman Empire also launched propaganda campaigns targeting Muslim populations in colonies. Domestically, resistance appeared through armed uprisings in the Aurès and Hoggar (1916), guerrilla actions, and symbolic cultural resistance, especially popular poetry. After 1918, Algerians shifted toward organized political struggle, driven by wartime participation and reform promises, leading to diverse political trends advocating equality, reform, or independence.

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Algerian National Activism during World War I and Its Impact on the Development of the National Movement after 1918

Key words: World War I; Algerian resistance; political struggle; Algerian national movement; political currents.

Introduction:

World War I is considered one of the most important pivotal stages in contemporary history, due to the profound transformations it produced, which were not limited to the warring European states alone, but extended to the colonies, including Algeria, which had been under French colonial control since 1830. This period represented an exceptional circumstance in which military, economic, and political pressures overlapped, causing Algerian society to live under the weight of intensive human exploitation, mainly manifested in forced conscription, the imposition of taxes, and the tightening of security control, which deepened the severity of tension between the colonial administration and the local population. Amid these conditions, Algeria was not isolated from the major international transformations that accompanied the war, as events such as the Arab Revolt in 1916 and the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, with the ideas they carried related to freedom and self-determination, in addition to the political propaganda practiced by some of the warring powers, contributed to creating a shake in the intellectual and political structure of Algerian society, and opened the way for the formation of a new political consciousness more sensitive to the idea of liberation from colonialism. Within this general context, this research addresses the topic: “The Algerian national situation during World War I and its impact on the national movement after 1918,” as its importance is not limited to studying the war period only, but goes beyond it to analyze the profound transformations produced by this stage in the course of the Algerian national movement, which subsequently moved from forms of traditional resistance to new patterns of organized political action. Based on this framework, this paper raises the

following problem: to what extent did the conditions of World War I and the transformations that accompanied it contribute to shaping Algerian political consciousness and to paving the way for the emergence of the organized Algerian national movement after 1918? This study seeks to achieve a set of objectives, most notably: highlighting the nature of French colonial policy during the war and its repercussions on Algerian society, analyzing the impact of international transformations on the formation of political consciousness, monitoring the various forms of resistance during World War I, and then explaining how Algerian struggle after 1918 transitioned from traditional resistance to organized political action and the emergence of different national currents. Methodologically, this paper relies on the analytical historical method based on studying events in their chronological context and linking internal factors with international developments influencing the Algerian national trajectory. Accordingly, the topic will be addressed through four main axes: French colonial policy during World War I, the impact of international transformations on Algerian political consciousness, forms of resistance during the war, and then the impact of this stage on the emergence and development of the Algerian national movement after 1918.

1- French Colonial Policy in Algeria during World War I

World War I represented a pivotal moment in the history of Algeria under French colonial rule, as the country was transformed into a field for intensifying colonial policies in their security, economic, and human dimensions. The French administration sought to mobilize all available resources to ensure support for the war effort, within an exceptional international context that required the reorganization of instruments of control and mobilization. Within this general framework, it is possible to trace the various manifestations of

Algerian National Activism during World War I and Its Impact on the Development of the National Movement after 1918

French colonial policy in Algeria during the war years and the profound transformations they produced across different aspects of Algerian society, which explains the nature of the measures taken by the colonial administration at the outbreak of the war in 1914.

With the outbreak of World War I in 1914, Algeria entered a critical phase characterized by the tightening of the French colonial grip, as the colonial administration hastened to adopt a set of exceptional measures of a security and political nature, in anticipation of any resistance movement by Algerians. This policy was based on a historical background burdened with previous experiences, most notably the Mokrani Revolt in 1871, which remained present in the colonial memory as evidence of the potential for unrest to erupt in the event of weakened French control, especially in the context of France's preoccupation with the European war.

Within this framework, the colonial authorities took the initiative to impose a state of emergency, accompanied by the tightening of control over various aspects of public life, whether in the political, social, or cultural sphere. This preventive policy was embodied in the expansion of the powers of administrative and security bodies, allowing them to intervene rapidly to suppress any signs of protest or rebellion. The system of surveillance was also reinforced, especially in rural areas and regions known for their history of resistance, reflecting the preemptive nature of this policy.

Among the most prominent manifestations of this tightening was the colonial administration's renewal of the application of the "Indigénat Code" on 15 July 1914 for an additional seven years. This law is considered one of the fundamental pillars of the colonial system, as it institutionalized legal discrimination between Europeans and Algerian natives, and granted the authorities broad powers to punish the indigenous population outside the ordinary judicial framework. Despite the

accompanying discourse about introducing certain amendments, these did not affect the essence of the discriminatory system; rather, they maintained the authoritarian structure governing the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. This sparked a wave of criticism in the Algerian press, which regarded it as a continuation of policies of exclusion and marginalization¹.

Within the framework of strengthening this policy direction, the colonial authorities issued on 23 October 1915 a decision providing for the reactivation of the provisions of the law of 19 May 1897, which granted French administrators in mixed councils broad powers, enabling them to take exceptional measures without resorting to the judiciary. This measure constituted a consolidation of the authoritarian nature of the colonial administration, especially in the absence of any real representation of Algerians within these bodies. The role of the police apparatus was also strengthened in municipalities with full powers, allowing for strict surveillance over the movements of the population, the monitoring of their daily activities, and direct intervention to suppress any activity suspected of being oppositional².

In addition, France adopted an intensive policy of recruiting Algerians, considering them a key human resource to support the war effort. This recruitment took on a compulsory character, especially after the law of 1912, as various means were used to ensure the mobilization of the largest possible number of Algerian youths. Alongside direct coercion, the authorities resorted to employing a religious and fatalistic discourse linking military service to fate and divine decree, in an attempt to give conscription a sense of legitimacy. Persuasion methods were also used, particularly toward poorer groups, through promises of material benefits or limited social privileges, which contributed to the recruitment of significant numbers of

Algerian National Activism during World War I and Its Impact on the Development of the National Movement after 1918

Algerians, either as fighters on the European fronts or as workers in factories and mines³.

This policy had repercussions on the demographic structure of Algeria, as villages and rural areas experienced a human drain due to the recruitment of young men, which affected agricultural activity and local production. At the same time, a large part of the Algerian labor force was directed toward France to compensate for the severe shortage of manpower caused by the war, reflecting the exploitative nature of the relationship between the colony and the metropole.

At the economic level, Algeria was transformed during the war into a rear base for the French economy, as its natural resources were harnessed to serve the war effort. Agricultural exports, particularly cereals and foodstuffs, recorded a significant increase, and animal resources such as wool and hides were also exploited and directed toward French markets. This orientation led to an imbalance in the internal economy, as production was redirected toward export at the expense of the needs of the local population⁴.

Agricultural input prices also witnessed a significant increase due to rising demand and resource shortages, as some tools recorded record increases, such as ploughshares by 500%, carts by 1400%, and fertilizers by 166%, which negatively affected Algerian farmers, especially small landowners who were unable to cope with these rising costs⁵.

In the same context, these economic transformations led to a deepening of social inequalities, especially in rural areas, where the colonial administration exploited the conditions of the war to expand land expropriation from peasants, whether through taxes, debts, or administrative procedures. This resulted in a large number of farmers losing their land and becoming a class of unstable agricultural laborers, known as “khammāsīn,” who worked in exchange for a share of the harvest without owning the means of production⁶.

This category witnessed a remarkable increase, rising from approximately 407,050 in 1914 to 634,600 in 1930, reflecting the profound structural transformation in Algerian rural society and its shift from a traditional ownership pattern to a dependent model serving the colonial economy.

These conditions also led to demographic transformations, manifested in a partial migration of the population from rural areas, especially the High Plateaus, toward urban or semi-urban centers, where they settled on the outskirts of European settlements under precarious living conditions. This contributed to accelerating the pace of unplanned urbanization and the creation of marginal neighborhoods suffering from poverty and exclusion⁷.

At the human level, statistics reveal the extent of depletion experienced by Algerian society during this period, as the number of conscripts reached approximately 177,000 soldiers, in addition to 75,000 workers, while human losses were estimated at 56,000 killed and 82,000 wounded, reflecting the heavy price paid by Algerians in a war that did not concern them directly⁸.

French colonial policy during World War I was not limited to temporary measures imposed by wartime conditions, but rather constituted an integrated system of political control, economic exploitation, and human mobilization. This policy led to a deepening of social inequalities and a restructuring of the economic and demographic fabric of Algerian society. It also contributed to the growth of political awareness among Algerians, through their recognition of the nature and limits of the colonial system, which paved the way for the emergence of the Algerian national movement in the post-1918 period.

2- The Impact of International Transformations of World War I on Algerian Political Consciousness

During the early twentieth century, Algeria witnessed a clear interaction with a set of international events and

Algerian National Activism during World War I and Its Impact on the Development of the National Movement after 1918

transformations that contributed to the activation of political consciousness and the reinforcement of forms of resistance, whether symbolic or practical. This interaction was linked to transnational intellectual and political contexts, most notably the idea of Islamic unity, international rivalry during World War I, the rise of the principles of self-determination, as well as the impact of revolutions and political movements in the Arab East and Europe.

In this context, the Islamic unity movement, adopted by Sultan Abdul Hamid II, had a significant impact on Algerian circles since the late nineteenth century, where he was regarded as a spiritual and political symbol of Muslim unity. This attachment was clearly manifested in the 1906 incident, when an Ottoman ship docked at the port of Algiers, and some Algerians boarded it and appealed to the Sultan to intervene to save their country from French colonialism, in a direct expression of their attachment to the Ottoman Caliphate and their perception of it as a political and religious support⁹.

His removal from power in 1908 also came as a major shock to Algerians, given the unifying symbolism he represented.

With the outbreak of World War I, the religious and political factor entered a more intense phase, especially after the declaration of jihad by the Ottoman Empire in 1914, with the support and incitement of Germany, which sought to exploit the Islamic dimension to weaken its colonial adversaries. The French writer Octave Dépont indicated that some Algerian regions, such as Mزاب, showed support for this call and even backed the Hoggar uprising of 1916, while the echo of this appeal remained limited in other regions due to the tightening of French colonial surveillance and its attempts to curb the spread of jihadist ideas¹⁰.

In the same context, Algerian political activity in the diaspora also emerged, as they participated in international movements of a liberation nature, most notably the Lausanne

Conference on Nationalities in 1916, which was attended by the Tunisian leader Ali Bach Hamba, who called for granting autonomy to the peoples of North Africa. A committee called the “Committee for the Independence of Algeria and Tunisia” was also established in Geneva, which published the magazine *Al-Maghrib*, expressing Algerians’ attachment to their national and religious identity in the face of French claims. In Berlin, a similar committee was formed under the leadership of Salih al-Sharif¹¹, including a number of Algerians who had fled the French army, such as Muhammad Maziyan al-Tilimsani, within the framework of political activity opposing colonialism¹².

Algerians were also influenced by new global political ideas, most notably the principle of self-determination advocated by U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, which found wide resonance in nationalist circles as an intellectual tool to oppose colonialism and demand political rights. In contrast, the Arab Revolt of 1916 against the Ottoman Empire had a particular impact, as Algerians residing in the East (in Istanbul, the Hijaz, Egypt, and Syria) became active in anti-French propaganda campaigns, accusing France of fighting Islam, preventing pilgrimage, and imposing forced conscription, reflecting the intertwining of religious and political dimensions in the nationalist discourse of the time . In addition, the Bolshevik Revolution 1917 attracted the attention of Algerian elites, who were impressed by its slogans concerning social justice and liberation, and they discussed the possibility of applying its principles in the Algerian context¹³.

At the level of practice, Algerian resistance methods during this period were diverse, ranging from limited armed action to non-violent forms of resistance such as popular literature, publications, demonstrations, and protests. However, this period was marked by the absence of a unified political leadership, due to the decline in the activity of elites, associations, and the press that had been active before the war

Algerian National Activism during World War I and Its Impact on the Development of the National Movement after 1918

(1900–1914), which affected the effectiveness of the national movement¹⁴.

During the war, Algerians developed a positive perception of both Germany and the Ottoman Empire as enemies of France and therefore potential allies in the struggle for liberation. The French writer Desparmet noted that German propaganda in Algeria had begun as early as 1900, through networks of traders, tourists, and spies who worked to spread anti-French ideas¹⁵.

The Ottoman Empire also exploited this context, due to its alliance with Germany and its position as an Islamic power, to strengthen its symbolic influence, particularly through the declaration of jihad issued by Shaykh al-Islam Khayri ibn ‘Awn al-Rukubi at the Fatih Mosque in Istanbul on 14 November 1914, calling on Muslims under colonial rule to revolt. This was accompanied by intensive propaganda activity, including the publication of pamphlets from Istanbul and Switzerland, edited by Algerians and Tunisians such as Lieutenant Rabah Boukabouia, who criticized discrimination within the French army and called on Algerians to desert it, as well as other publications such as the newspaper *Al-Wajib*, which reached Algeria via Seville¹⁶.

These publications carried an explicitly inciting discourse calling for an Islamic revival and the liberation of homelands from colonialism, as stated in one of the 1915 pamphlets: “The time has come for the awakening of Islam... and it is time to proclaim that Algeria belongs to Algerian Muslims and Tunisia to Tunisian Muslims”¹⁷.

The German role was not limited to propaganda; it also included symbolic military operations, such as the shelling of the ports of Annaba and Skikda, in an attempt to disrupt the French presence in Algeria.

Accordingly, these international transformations played a decisive role in shaping Algerian national consciousness, by linking the Algerian question to broader global contexts and

integrating it into transnational intellectual and political networks, which gradually paved the way for the emergence of a more organized national movement in later stages.

3- Manifestations of Algerian Resistance during World War I

During World War I, Algeria witnessed the emergence of multiple forms of resistance that reflected Algerian society's rejection of French colonial policy, especially under the exceptional conditions imposed by the war, such as forced conscription, emergency laws, and tightened security control. This resistance was characterized by diversity, combining both armed and non-armed forms, and was marked by its local nature and the absence of organized political leadership, due to the decline in the activity of elites, associations, and newspapers that had been active during the period (1900–1914), which weakened its capacity for coordination and comprehensive organization¹⁸.

Within this framework, cultural and symbolic resistance emerged as one of the most important forms of expressing popular rejection, as Algerians resorted to indirect means to express their positions under conditions of severe repression and restrictions on freedom of expression. Popular poetry was among the most prominent of these means, serving as a space to express daily suffering, criticize colonial policies, and evoke hope for the end of occupation. One telling example is the phrase written on one of the doors of the Great Mosque of Algiers: "This is a time of silence; whoever speaks falsehood is affirmed, and whoever speaks the truth is put to death," which reflects the state of repression imposed by the emergency law of 1914 and reveals a popular awareness of the nature of the period¹⁹.

Algerians also circulated popular proverbs reflecting caution and vigilance in dealing with the colonial reality, such as: "The forest has ears and the fence has eyes," a saying that reflects a

Algerian National Activism during World War I and Its Impact on the Development of the National Movement after 1918

collective awareness of the danger of the situation and the need for caution in expression and behavior. In addition, long popular poems emerged addressing the events of the war and their repercussions, including the poem “Ghenya Mta‘ al-Hajj Ghioum”(The Song of al-Hajj Guillaume”), which consisted of 127 verses and followed the course of the war in terms of victories and defeats. It also described the suffering of Algerian conscripts on the European fronts and the conditions of their families at home. The poem concluded with prayers for the victory of Germany and the Ottoman Empire, reflecting a popular tendency that saw in France’s defeat an opportunity for liberation²⁰.

The manifestations of Algerian resistance during this period were not limited to cultural and symbolic forms alone, but also extended to armed resistance. In this context, the Beni-Chougrane uprising of 1914 broke out, with its first signs appearing on 27 September 1914 during census and conscription operations conducted in the douar of Sidi Dahou, belonging to the mixed commune of Mascara, where the colonial administration resorted to disciplinary powers, sentencing thirteen notables of the douar to five days in prison. During their transfer to places of detention, six of them managed to escape, while the inhabitants attempted to intervene to free the remaining prisoners by throwing stones at the mounted guards, in an early indication of the transformation of administrative tension into a collective confrontation²¹.

On 5 October 1914, the colonial authorities organized a military parade accompanying conscription operations in the douar of Farâkwegh, aiming to intimidate the population and demonstrate force, as the civil administration was accompanied by a military unit consisting of fifty soldiers. However, the inhabitants of the douar, belonging to the Ouled Cheikh tribe, ambushed this force and opened fire upon it as it approached, reflecting the expansion of local resistance. From the beginning

of October 1914, rumors began to spread in the Mascara district that alarmed the colonial administration, suggesting the possibility of French defeat at the hands of the Germans and even their potential takeover of Algeria, along with promises to abolish taxes and return confiscated lands to their original owners. The mayor of Thiersville (now Ghriss) and the deputy governor confirmed the widespread circulation of these ideas among the population, who expressed aspirations linked to a radical change in the colonial situation²².

At the military level, the movement developed into a widespread revolt that extended to other areas of western Algeria and continued until the end of October 1914. The colonial authorities responded by sending a large military force of about 1,500 soldiers under the command of General Labitte, which proceeded to besiege the areas of rebellion and use artillery and machine guns in repression, in addition to burning houses and looting property. These operations resulted in the arrest of a large number of inhabitants; 35 people were tried in Oran, 14 of whom were executed, while others were transferred to punitive detention camps such as “Kyan,” where several of them died, reflecting the severity of the colonial response to this movement²³.

In 1916, the Aurès uprising broke out, considered one of the most prominent armed movements during this period. It began in mountainous regions such as Metlili and Ouled Sultan, targeting settlers and their economic interests, as well as agents of the colonial administration. The insurgents relied on hit-and-run tactics and ambushes, taking advantage of the mountainous nature of the region. The Ouled Aouf tribe also played an important role in encouraging other tribes to refuse forced conscription. This uprising was manifested in a coordinated attack on the town of Aïn Touta, led by Muhammad bin al-Nawi with the participation of the Khedran and Ouled Aouf tribes, resulting in the killing of the municipal governor, the burning of

Algerian National Activism during World War I and Its Impact on the Development of the National Movement after 1918

the palace, and the seizure of weapons. The operations also extended to the regions of Blezma, Arris, and Aïn M'lila, led by Omar bin Musa and the Ben Zelmata brothers, who succeeded in recruiting a large number of volunteers. Despite the expansion of the uprising, it did not include all villages, as the number of participating villages did not exceed 22 out of 113 ²⁴.

In this context, the figure of Mas'ūd Ben Zelmāt emerged as one of the most prominent symbols of popular resistance in the Aurès region, as he led armed operations against the colonial administration and its agents starting in 1917. The Governor-General Charles Lutaud imposed a siege on the region to suppress this movement and declared Ben Zelmāt an outlaw, while the local population celebrated him as a popular hero. He was sentenced to death in 1920 ²⁵.

The southern Algerian region witnessed the outbreak of the Hoggar uprising in 1916, led by Ahmad Sultan and Sheikh Abd al-Salam, which was influenced by jihadist ideas linked to the Islamic Unity movement. The insurgents managed to achieve military successes, including the siege of Djanet and the penetration of Fort Charley, forcing French forces to surrender. They also killed the missionary Charles Eugène de Foucauld in Tamanrasset on 1 December²⁶.

This uprising continued for several years, benefiting from the rugged terrain and the region's distance from colonial administrative centers, and France was unable to suppress it until after the end of the war, when it sent military reinforcements in 1919. The movement was characterized by its alignment with the Sanusiyya, which was active in Libya against Italian occupation, reflecting the regional dimension of resistance in southern Algeria²⁷.

Alongside these uprisings, Algerians adopted guerrilla warfare as an effective means of resisting colonialism, carrying out scattered attacks against settlers, military posts, and communication lines. Deserters from the French army also

contributed to strengthening these operations, especially during 1915–1916, as a large number of them joined the mountains and formed secret cells to continue armed struggle. The activity of these attacks extended from Tébessa in the east to Béjaïa, then expanded to include western Algerian regions as far as Oran. Among the most notable operations was the attack on the city of Ténès in October 1916, involving factory workers, during which eight military vehicles were seized, several gendarmes were killed, and a quantity of weapons and equipment was captured²⁸.

Statistics for the period (1916–1918) show the intensity of these operations, as attacks against persons reached 377 in 1916, 370 in 1917, and 274 in 1918, while attacks against property amounted to 1,414 in 1916, 1,113 in 1917, and 1,036 in 1918, in addition to hundreds of other attacks, reflecting the expansion of resistance despite its unorganized nature²⁹. In contrast, the colonial authorities confronted these movements with a harsh repressive policy, referred to as the “just repression,” relying on the intervention of the regular army and military police, and arresting large numbers of Algerians, especially in the Kabylia and Ténès regions, in an attempt to suppress these movements and prevent their spread.

In conclusion, the manifestations of Algerian resistance during World War I reflect the vitality of Algerian society and its ability to adapt to conditions of repression, as resistance took diverse cultural and armed forms, combining local and regional dimensions, paving the way for the emergence of a more organized political struggle in the post-war period.

4- The impact of World War I on the formation and development of the Algerian national movement after 1918

The Young Algerians, who emerged during the years 1911–1912 in the context of demanding reform and equality within the colonial system, are considered the first preparatory stage in the formation of the Algerian national movement. However, the

transformations that followed World War I in 1918 revealed the limitations of this approach, leading, from 1919 onward with the movement of Emir Khaled, to the emergence of the first features of a shift from reformist demands to political expression with a national dimension. During the 1920s, this trajectory was reinforced by the emergence of the North African Star in 1926 as a radical organization that explicitly called for independence, in contrast to the continuation of the moderate reformist current through the Federation of Elected Muslim Representatives of Algeria in 1927, which adhered to the option of political assimilation. With the beginning of the 1930s, the centenary celebration of the occupation in 1930 constituted a decisive turning point in deepening national consciousness, followed by the establishment of the Association of Algerian Muslim Scholars in 1931, which expressed a reformist current with a religious and cultural reference, while the Algerian Communist Party emerged in 1935 representing a social internationalist tendency. Thus, this trajectory reflects the progression of the Algerian national movement from the stage of reform and assimilation to a diversity of political tendencies, leading to the formation of a growing national consciousness that was gradually crowned by the articulation of the demand for liberation.

4-1- The Young Algerians: A preparatory stage for the formation of the Algerian national movement:

The Young Algerians organization, at the beginning of the twentieth century, constituted the first organized political expression of the concerns of the Algerian elite under French colonialism. Since 1911, it put forward a set of reformist demands mainly centered on achieving equality with the French, such as expanding political participation, reforming the tax system, and enabling Algerians to have effective representation within elected institutions. This orientation was further reinforced in 1912 through clearer demands calling for

the reform of the administrative and judicial system and ensuring fair representation in local councils and the French parliament³⁰.

However, the discourse of the Young Algerians remained far from an independence-oriented approach, as it largely adopted the idea of integration within the French framework, while showing a degree of caution toward anything related to nationalism or the idea of the Islamic nation, which was reflected in the statements of their leaders who affirmed their loyalty to France and their rejection of opposing its sovereignty³¹. Despite some limited forms of protest, their activity remained confined to the educated elite and did not develop into a broad mass movement.

After the end of World War I in 1918, the Young Algerians maintained their cautious reformist orientation, preferring to work within the colonial system, which was reflected in the establishment of non-political associations, such as the Association of Muslim Students of North Africa in 1919, which declared its commitment to a union and educational framework away from direct political activity³². Accordingly, the Young Algerians movement represented a preparatory stage in the development of the Algerian national movement, as it contributed to the emergence of some political and social demands, but it remained limited due to its attachment to the idea of integration within the French framework, which prevented it from becoming a national movement in the true sense.

However, the profound transformations brought about by World War I, from the growth of political awareness to the rise of aspirations for greater rights, contributed to the emergence of a bolder new generation. In this context, Emir Khaled emerged as one of the most prominent representatives of this phase, as he shifted the struggle from merely demanding reforms to adopting a clearer and more organized political discourse, benefiting

from the international conditions that followed the war, especially the principle of the peoples' right to self-determination, which made his movement a decisive turning point in the development of the Algerian national movement after 1918.

4-2- Emir Khaled's Movement (1919): From Legal Legitimacy to the Beginnings of Algerian National Consciousness

Emir Khaled's movement, which emerged in 1919, is considered one of the most important transitional milestones in the history of the Algerian national movement, as it reflected a qualitative shift in the methods of struggle from armed resistance to organized political action based on legal legitimacy. This movement arose in the context of the transformations that followed World War I, which contributed to deepening political awareness among the Algerian elite and pushed it to exploit the new international circumstances to present its demands within a reformist framework based on equality and rights.

In this context, the French reforms of 1919, particularly the law of 4 February 1919, constituted a new political framework that somewhat allowed the expansion of Muslim electoral participation, although it remained constrained and limited. These reforms culminated in the organization of municipal elections in the capital, Algiers, in December 1919, which represented an important turning point in the trajectory of the Algerian national movement, as they revealed the limitations of the colonial policy of assimilation and, in contrast, showed the early formation of a new Algerian political consciousness³³.

These elections led to a division of the Algerian elite between an assimilationist current calling for integration within the French system, and an oppositional current that began to take shape in a reformist political direction, reflecting the early emergence of modern political alignment within Algerian

society. The results also led to the rise of a new political leadership represented by Emir Khaled, who benefited from his social status and the symbolic prestige of his lineage to Emir Abdelkader, which granted him historical and symbolic legitimacy that helped him achieve significant electoral results, reflecting the inclination of part of Algerian public opinion toward rejecting assimilation³⁴.

These elections also demonstrated that Algerians, despite the legal and political restrictions imposed on them, were able to use the ballot box as a means of political expression, which paved the way for the emergence of later opposition political organizations, such as what became known as the “Reform Party,” which expressed the beginning of the formation of a political current opposed to assimilation³⁵. Hence, the elections were not merely an administrative event, but rather a practical mechanism that allowed the political transformation to materialize and a new national leadership to emerge.

In this context, the petition initiative addressed by Emir Khaled can be considered a fundamental preparatory stage that paved the way for the crystallization of this new political trajectory, which was no longer limited to situational appeals, but developed into a political program seeking to integrate Algerians into public life within a clearly defined reformist framework³⁶.

Emir Khaled is descended from the lineage of Emir Abdelkader, which gave him great historical symbolism and made him a link between two distinct stages in Algerian history: the stage of armed resistance against colonial conquest in the nineteenth century, and the stage of modern political struggle in the twentieth century, thus embodying a qualitative shift from the logic of military confrontation to the logic of rights-based demands through legal and political means.

The features of Emir Khaled’s movement clearly crystallized in 1919 in the context of the post–World War I conditions, as

Algerian National Activism during World War I and Its Impact on the Development of the National Movement after 1918

thousands of Algerians participated in combat alongside France, which created within them a growing sense of what is known as the “blood tax,” meaning political entitlement in exchange for military sacrifices. This movement was also influenced by Woodrow Wilson’s principles regarding the right of peoples to self-determination, in addition to the colonial reforms of 1919, which somewhat encouraged limited political participation³⁷.

In this context, Emir Khaled adopted a political discourse based on legalism, calling for the integration of Algerians into French political life, the abolition of exceptional laws, and the achievement of equality in rights and duties. However, this project contained a fundamental contradiction, represented in the attempt to reconcile the demand for full French citizenship with the preservation of the cultural and religious specificity of Algerian society, namely the maintenance of the “personal status”³⁸.

The 1919 law did not pass without opposition, both from Algerians and Europeans alike, as Emir Khaled expressed his rejection of the idea of naturalization as stated in the law, and also opposed the principle of assimilation advocated by some members of the elite, despite the fact that the new reforms had provided some facilitation for this orientation. Emir Khaled embodied this position by refusing to apply for French citizenship, despite his demand for political equality, preferring the principle of limited political participation instead of full integration. This stance reflects an early awareness of the limits of the colonial assimilationist project, and an understanding of the impossibility of reconciling full belonging to the colonial state with the preservation of Algerian national identity³⁹.

In the context of the transformations that followed World War I and the emergence of the principle of the peoples’ right to self-determination proclaimed by U.S. President Woodrow Wilson (Woodrow Wilson), an important political initiative led by Emir Khaled emerged, consisting of submitting a petition in

1919 to the President of the United States during the Paris Peace Conference. This action took place within a delegation of five Algerian members, who met the American Peace Commission at the Hôtel Crillon in Paris on 23 May 1919, where the petition was presented to Lieutenant George B. Noble, who in turn forwarded it to President Wilson's secretary, Close, who confirmed its receipt and that it had been brought to the attention of the President⁴⁰.

The motives behind this initiative were linked to the new international context produced by the war, particularly Wilson's discourse on the right of peoples to self-determination, as well as the growing political awareness among Algerian elites influenced by their participation in the war and their contact with European society. The petition also denounced French colonial policy in Algeria by highlighting manifestations of repression, taxation, exceptional laws, and compulsory conscription, considering them a continuation of the violation of French promises and the deprivation of Algerians of their fundamental rights⁴¹.

Politically, the petition called for the sending of freely elected representatives to represent Algerians in determining their fate under the supervision of the League of Nations, based on the principle of not forcing peoples to submit to sovereignty that they do not accept, which reflects the shift of Algerian political discourse from reformist demands to the adoption of the concept of self-determination, without explicitly declaring independence. This position was considered a bold step at that time, although it received no response from the American delegation, and no clear official position was recorded from President Wilson regarding the petition⁴².

This initiative reveals, in essence, a transitional phase in the development of the Algerian national movement, as it expressed the growing political awareness of the educated elite and its use of the new international context to attempt to internationalize

the Algerian issue, in light of the disappointment that accompanied the outcomes of the Peace Conference and the decline of the hopes that colonized peoples had placed in Woodrow Wilson's principles, especially the principle of self-determination (Woodrow Wilson)⁴³. Emir Khaled's petition to the American president was nothing but a practical expression of this new orientation, as it sought to transfer Algerian demands from the narrow local framework to the international arena, in an attempt to pressure the French colonial authorities through the use of global rights discourse.

4-3- North African Star (1926): Emergence, Organization, and the Crystallization of Liberation Consciousness

In the context of the political transformations that the French sphere experienced after World War I, the category of Algerian migrant workers emerged as a key actor in shaping the first modern Algerian national organization, represented by the North African Star. The emergence of this organization was linked to an international context marked by the rise of revolutionary movements and the growing anti-colonial discourse, especially under the influence of the ideas of Vladimir Lenin and his speech at the Baku Congress in 1918, in which he called on the peoples of the East to liberate themselves from colonial domination and to draw closer to the Russian Revolution, which found its echo among the Maghrebi elites active in France⁴⁴.

This trajectory was also influenced by the transformations that the French political scene underwent, particularly after the split of the socialist party during the Tours Congress in 1920, which resulted in the establishment of the French Communist Party. A number of Algerian activists joined this current, among them Hadj Ali Abdelkader⁴⁵, who contributed to linking the Algerian struggle with the communist movement and opened the way for a broader interaction between the Algerian national

cause and the international struggle against colonialism. In this context, the role of Messali Hadj also emerged, who would later become one of the most prominent symbols of the Algerian national movement⁴⁶.

These developments coincided with the activity of Emir Khaled in Paris in 1924, where the meetings he organized with French and Maghrebi political elites-whether in liberal or communist circles-constituted a space for the convergence of anti-colonial currents. They also contributed to deepening the political awareness of Algerian activists and pushed them toward thinking about the creation of an independent organizational framework that would express their national aspirations⁴⁷.

Within this framework, preliminary consultations began in October 1925, culminating in December of the same year in the establishment of an organization for which the name “North African Star” was proposed by Hadj Ali Abdelkader, before its official announcement in June 1926 at the trade union headquarters in Paris, in the presence of figures from various Arab countries, which reflected from the outset its transnational character⁴⁸. French administrative documents indicate that this organization was established as an association bringing together Muslims from Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco, according to a statute approved on 20 June 1926, which defined its objectives as defending the material, moral, and social interests of North African Muslims, and working to raise their political awareness, in addition to preparing a common program of demands to be pursued through various means, such as the press, meetings, and political action⁴⁹.

However, the importance of the North African Star was not limited to its organizational structure; rather, it was primarily reflected in the intellectual and political transformation it expressed. It adopted a new conception of struggle based on linking the Algerian national cause with the international

Algerian National Activism during World War I and Its Impact on the Development of the National Movement after 1918

struggle against colonialism, influenced by the socialist and revolutionary ideas prevalent at the time. Thus, the struggle was no longer framed as a reformist demand within the colonial system, but as a liberation struggle aimed at achieving complete independence from colonial rule for the peoples of North Africa⁵⁰. This orientation was also embodied in the call for the unity of the Maghreb countries—Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco—as a common field of struggle, and in the adoption of the principle of alliance with the working classes and oppressed groups, reflecting the interconnection between the national and social dimensions in its political project.

In the context of the development of this awareness, the year 1927 marked a decisive turning point in the trajectory of the North African Star, as the demand for independence appeared explicitly for the first time during the major meeting held at the “La Grange-aux-Belles” hall on 30 January 1927, which was attended by more than 800 participants. The attendees approved a resolution that included a set of demands, foremost among them: the independence of Algeria, the abolition of the Code de l’indigénat, and the guarantee of political, trade union, and social rights for Algerians, in addition to protesting against policies of forced displacement and demanding the release of political prisoners⁵¹. This shift reflects the transition of political discourse from reformist demands to the adoption of a clearly defined national liberation project.

This development also coincided with a decline in communist influence within the organization and a reduction in the impact of the currents associated with it, including the indirect influence of Emir Khaled, in contrast to the growing presence of a revolutionary national tendency that gradually took root within the ranks of the Star. In this context, the organization participated in the Brussels Anti-Colonial Congress held between 10 and 15 February 1927, which is considered one of the most important international anti-colonial

events of that period. It brought together representatives of liberation movements and trade unions from various parts of the world and expressed the voice of hundreds of millions of colonized peoples. This gave the Star an opportunity to internationalize the Algerian cause and link it to the global anti-colonial movement⁵².

Accordingly, the North African Star can be regarded as a pivotal milestone in the development of the Algerian national movement, as it represented a qualitative shift from limited reformist activity to organized political struggle with a liberation-oriented horizon. It also contributed to the formulation of a new national discourse based on independence, Maghreb unity, and international solidarity, which would later form the foundation upon which the various Algerian national currents were built.

4-4- Federation of Muslim Elected Representatives of Algeria (1927): Reformist Elite and the Limits of Political Integration

The Federation of Muslim Elected Representatives of Algeria, officially established on 18 June 1927, is considered one of the most prominent political organizations representing the elected elite current in Algeria during the colonial period. This federation was characterized by a limited representative nature, as its membership was restricted to Algerian elected officials, and it was headed by Dr. Ibn al-Tahami, who is considered one of the most important political figures expressing this moderate reformist trend. The newspaper “al-Taqqaddum” (Progress) also played an important role in expressing the orientations of this group, continuing from May 1923, i.e., after the exile of Emir Khaled, until February 1931, in defending demands for political and social reform⁵³.

The program of this federation focused on a set of reformist demands that reflected a gradual and integrationist approach in dealing with the colonial authority. These can be summarized

Algerian National Activism during World War I and Its Impact on the Development of the National Movement after 1918

as: representation of Algerians in the French parliament, equality between Algerian and French employees in rights and privileges, establishing equality in military service, lifting restrictions on the migration of Algerian workers to France, in addition to calling for the abolition of the Indigénat Code, the development of education and vocational training, the application of social laws in Algeria, and the reorganization of electoral bodies to improve political representation in general councils and financial delegations⁵⁴.

This current included a number of Algerian intellectuals and politicians, most notably Dr. Ibn al-Tahami, known for his opposition to Emir Khaled, alongside Ibn al-Hajj, al-Zanati, al-Fasi, Taharāt, al-Lichani, Ferhat Abbas, and Dr. Ibn Jaloul, reflecting the diversity of intellectual backgrounds within this moderate reformist current⁵⁵.

Despite the relatively moderate and partly pro-administration tone that characterized the discourse of this federation, its demands for equality did not receive any effective response from the colonial authorities, which led to a decline in its political influence. The federation was dissolved in 1930 into three regional branches corresponding to the three provinces of Algeria, and its activity continued within a framework of political competition, particularly in its growing opposition to the emerging Algerian People's Party⁵⁶.

It can be understood from this trajectory that the failure of the policy of “gradual reform” and “politics of petitions” contributed to a qualitative shift in Algerian political consciousness, pushing some young elites to move beyond the discourse of peaceful demands toward adopting the idea of radical struggle. This paved the way for the emergence of more radical currents, including the North African Star, which expressed the transition of the national movement from reform to the demand for independence⁵⁷.

4-5- The Centenary Celebration of 1930 and the Founding of the Association of Algerian Muslim Ulema (1931): Transformations in Algerian National Consciousness

The centenary celebration of the French occupation of Algeria in 1930 represented a pivotal moment in the history of colonial Algeria, as the colonial authorities sought through it to glorify what they considered the “civilizational success” of colonialism and to highlight its alleged achievements. However, rather than reinforcing the legitimacy of the colonial presence, these celebrations exposed the stark contradiction between official discourse and the social reality experienced by Algerians, where manifestations of marginalization and discrimination persisted across political, economic, and social spheres⁵⁸. This contradiction contributed to the deepening of national consciousness among broad segments of Algerian society, especially with the growing phenomenon of urbanization, as cities began to turn into major centers of political and intellectual activity. Daily comparisons between the conditions of Europeans and Algerians also helped fuel a sense of injustice and inequality, which became a key factor in the development of the national movement⁵⁹.

Amid these transformations, there emerged a need for a new reformist project that went beyond the legal-political demands that had characterized the previous phase, focusing instead on rebuilding Algerian society from within. This was embodied in the founding of the Association of Algerian Muslim Ulema on 5 May 1931, led by Abdelhamid Ben Badis, with the participation of a group of Algerian scholars mostly affiliated with the Salafi reformist current⁶⁰. This foundation represented a qualitative shift in the trajectory of the national movement, as the center of gravity moved from demands for equality within the colonial system to a focus on religious and cultural reform and the strengthening of national identity based on Islam and the Arabic language, in opposition to the assimilation and

Algerian National Activism during World War I and Its Impact on the Development of the National Movement after 1918

Frenchification policies imposed by colonialism, particularly in the context of the centenary celebrations⁶¹.

The Association was chaired since its founding by Imam Abdelhamid Ben Badis, who led it until his death in 1940, after which he was succeeded by Mohamed Bachir El Ibrahimi until 1956, the year in which the colonial authorities decided to dissolve it amid the escalation of revolutionary activity. This leadership represented the continuity of a reformist current aware of the challenges facing Algerian society and seeking to reshape it on solid scientific, cultural, and religious foundations.

As for its principles, Ben Badis summarized them in a unifying triad: “Arabism, Islam, science and virtue,” considering them the pillars of the Algerian renaissance and the foundations of the reformist project adopted by the association. He believed that these principles were capable of preserving the identity of Algerian society and linking it to its civilizational authenticity⁶². In this context, the association affirmed in its statutes that its aim was to combat social and moral ills such as ignorance, superstition, and deviation, as well as to confront anything that could weaken society or corrupt its intellectual and cultural structure. Its activity took on a comprehensive reformist character, working to spread education, especially in the Arabic language, and to revive Arab-Islamic culture in the face of the colonial policy of cultural erasure. It also sought to fight ignorance, stagnation, and charlatanism, and to encourage learning through various means, whether in Arabic or foreign languages, within a balanced reformist vision that combined authenticity and openness⁶³.

On the other hand, the association faced two types of challenges: the first was internal, represented by certain deviant religious practices that it considered a factor in weakening society; the second was external, represented by French colonialism, which sought to erase national identity and eliminate the Algerian personality⁶⁴. The association made the

confrontation of these two challenges a central axis of its activity, considering that religious and cultural reform was a necessary condition for political liberation.

As for its practical objectives, they consisted in purifying Islam from innovations and superstitions, reviving and spreading the Arabic language, and working—albeit indirectly—to resist policies of Frenchification, Christianization, and assimilation, in addition to the long-term pursuit of Algerian independence and the restoration of its sovereignty, as expressed by Ibn Badis in his statements affirming that independence is a natural right of every nation⁶⁵.

4-6- Algerian Communist Party (1935)

The Algerian Communist Party was founded in 1936 in an international and organizational context linked to the orientations of the Communist International aimed at restructuring communist branches in the colonies and connecting them to the global communist movement, in order to ensure the unification of political and ideological lines within an international framework. This process culminated in the organization of the party's first congress in Algeria, with the participation of diverse groups of workers, trade unionists, and intellectuals, reflecting the expansion of its organizational base and its aspiration to play a political role within colonial society.

However, this expansion was not without structural difficulties, mainly represented by the party's weak integration into the Algerian social reality. Some reports indicated that a number of its cadres dealt with the "indigenous population" in a simplistic manner lacking a deep understanding of the local social and cultural structure, which led to hasty decisions that negatively affected its political effectiveness. This situation reflects the persistence of the old problem of the gap between theoretical internationalist discourse and the requirements of the Algerian colonial reality⁶⁶.

Algerian National Activism during World War I and Its Impact on the Development of the National Movement after 1918

The roots of the communist position's ambiguity toward the Algerian national question go back to the establishment of the Algerian Communist Federation in 1924, in a political context marked by tension between communists—most of whom were Europeans—and the French colonial administration, especially after the French Communist Party's support for the uprising of Abd el-Krim al-Khattabi in the Rif region of Morocco. The positions of the federation in its early stages reflected a clear hesitation in adopting an independence-oriented stance, as some of its branches, particularly in the city of Sidi Bel Abbès, refused to fully adhere to the directives of the Communist International calling for the liquidation of colonialism, arguing instead that support for colonized peoples should come through intensifying party and trade-union work and spreading class consciousness, rather than through immediate demands for independence⁶⁷.

The federation also refused to respond to the appeal issued by the Executive Committee of the Communist International on 20 May 1922, which explicitly called for the liberation of Algeria and Tunisia. This reflects the continued dominance of an integrationist perspective aligned with the French center within its ranks. This orientation was further confirmed by the internal election results of 1925, in which a faction opposed to colonial independence won the majority, while the independence-oriented tendency remained weakly represented⁶⁸.

However, a gradual shift began to take shape starting in 1926, when the French Communist Party intervened to reorient the federation's policy in line with the resolutions of the Communist International, which had come to consider independence a fundamental condition for confronting colonialism. From that moment onward, the federation began raising slogans calling for the full independence of Algeria, while acknowledging the existence of a growing national

consciousness among Algerians and seeking to mobilize them through trade-union and party work.

Despite this shift, the federation's influence remained limited within Algerian society, as it failed to attract large numbers of Algerian workers inside the country. Its presence was more visible among emigrant communities in France, through figures such as Abdelkader Hadj Ali and Mohamed Ben Akhoul, who contributed to energizing political activity abroad⁶⁹.

The federation continued as a branch of the French Communist Party until 1935, when it declared its organizational independence during the Villeurbanne Congress in France, transforming into the Algerian Communist Party. Despite its contribution to spreading political awareness, its relationship with the national movement remained fluctuating and often subject to French political considerations⁷⁰.

Conclusion

The following findings represent a synthesis of the most important results reached by the study regarding the impact of World War I on the development of political struggle within the Algerian national movement and the transformations that accompanied it.

1- It has been shown that World War I constituted a profound turning point in the nature of French colonial policy in Algeria, as it shifted from traditional administration to a comprehensive system based on heightened security measures, economic exploitation, and intensive human mobilization. This led to structural disruptions within Algerian society, especially in rural areas, through the dismantling of the agricultural structure and the deepening of social inequalities, thereby creating a fertile environment for the growth of popular and political rejection of colonialism.

2- International transformations linked to World War I, such as the principle of self-determination, the Bolshevik Revolution, and Ottoman-German propaganda, contributed to the

Algerian National Activism during World War I and Its Impact on the Development of the National Movement after 1918

emergence of a new political consciousness among Algerians. This awareness was characterized by a shift from traditional religious belonging to a broader understanding of the international context and the possibilities of politically exploiting it, despite the limited impact of these transformations due to the absence of an organized national leadership within Algeria during the war period.

3- Algerian resistance during World War I, whether armed or cultural, demonstrated the persistence of popular rejection of colonial rule despite harsh repression. This resistance reflected the ability of Algerian society to adapt to wartime conditions; however, it remained localized and lacked central organization, which prevented its transformation into a comprehensive national movement, although it helped establish traditions of resistance that would later develop further.

4- The consequences of World War I accelerated the formation of the Algerian national movement, which moved from the reformist discourse represented by the Young Algerians and Emir Khaled to the emergence of more conscious and organized movements such as the North African Star and the Association of Algerian Muslim Ulema. This development reflected a qualitative shift from demands for equality within the colonial system to the adoption of a liberation project based on independence and the reconstruction of national identity.

Recommendation: The study recommends the need to deepen research into the role of the leaders of the Algerian national movement in shaping political consciousness and directing the course of the struggle, through analyzing their political and revolutionary thought and its interaction with international factors and transformations, in order to highlight their contribution to the development of the national movement and the determination of its orientations within its historical context.

Footnotes:

¹ - Charles André Julien, *Afrīqiyyā al-Shamāliyya tasīr*, tarjamat: al-Manji Sālīm wa ākhārūn, al-Dār al-Tūnisiyya lil-Nashr, Tūnis, 1976, p. 50.

² - Abū al-Qāsim Sa‘d Allāh, al-Ḥaraka al-Waṭaniyya al-Jazā’iriyya (1900–1930), al-juz’ al-thānī, Dār Nāfi‘ lil-Ṭibā‘a, al-Qāhira, 1977, p. 220.

³ - Andrī Brīyān wa ākhārūn, *Al-Jazā’ir bayna al-māḍī wa al-hāḍir*, tarjamat: Istanbūlī Rābiḥ wa Munṣif ‘Āshūr, Dīwān al-Maṭbū‘āt al-Jāmi‘iyya, al-Jazā’ir, 1984, p. 414.

⁴ - ‘Abd al-Laṭīf bin Ashnahū, *Takawwun al-Takhaluf fī al-Jazā’ir*, al-Sharika al-Waṭaniyya lil-Nashr wa al-Tawzī‘, al-Jazā’ir, 1979, p. 155.

⁵ - Ibid. p.157.

⁶ - Ibid. p.158.

⁷ - Ibid., p. 160. on Ageron, *al-Jazā’iriyyūn al-Muslimūn wa Faransā*, al-mujallad al-thānī, p. 1169.

⁸ - Ibn Ashnahū, op. cit., p. 161.

⁹ - Saadallah, op. cit., p. 125.

¹⁰ - Ibid., p. 224.

¹¹ - Sheikh Salih al-Sharif was born in 1859 in Tunisia. He studied at al-Zaytuna University and later emigrated to Istanbul. He was appointed as a teacher in Damascus, and after the deposition of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, he remained loyal to the Ottomans and later joined the Unionist movement. During World War I, he was sent to Tripoli, where he spent fifteen months. In 1917, he was appointed as an instructor for members of the imperial family’s students in Berlin, and then he traveled to Switzerland in 1918, where he died the following year in 1919 at the age of sixty-two. For details about his life, see: Yūsuf Munāṣiriyya, *al-Shaykh Ṣāliḥ al-Sharīf al-Mufakkir al-Islāmī 1859–1919*, *Ḥawliyyat al-Mu’arrikh*, *Ittiḥād al-Mu’arrikhīn al-Jazā’iriyyīn*, issue 1, 2002, pp. 231–245.

¹² - Saadallah, op. cit., pp. 229–230.

¹³ - Ibid., p. 229.

¹⁴ - Ibid., p. 222.

¹⁵ - Jean Desparmet, *La Chanson d’Alger pendant la Grande Guerre*, *Revue Africaine*, No73, 1932, Office des publications Universitaires, Alger, 1986, p.48.

¹⁶ - Charles-Robert Ageron, *Tārīkh al-Jazā'ir al-Mu'āšira min Intifāḍat 1871 ilā Harb al-Taḥrīr 1954*, t. 2, tarjamat Jamāl Fāṭimī wa ākhārūn, Sharikat Dār al-Umma lil-Ṭibā'a wa al-Nashr wa al-Tawzī', al-Jazā'ir, 2008, pp. 428–429.

¹⁷ - Ibid., p. 429.

¹⁸ - Saadallah, op. cit., p. 222.

¹⁹ - Desparmet, Op. Cit., p.55.

²⁰ - Desparmet, Op. Cit., pp.75–83.

²¹ - Antonin Plarier, *Des bandits face au pouvoir colonial. Algérie, 1871-1920*, Lyon, ENS Éditions, coll. « Sociétés, Espaces, Temps », 2025, p224.

²² - Ibid. p.225.

²³ - Ghalam Muhammad, *Intifāḍat Mascara aw Dināmiyyat al-Niḍāl al-Sha'bī fī Maṭla' al-Qarn al-'Ishrīn*, Majallat al-Tārīkh, al-Markaz al-Waṭanī lil-Dirāsāt al-Tārīkhiyya, al-Jazā'ir, no. 21, al-awwal min sanat 1996, pp. 89–95.

²⁴ - 'Abd Allāh al-Shāfi'ī, *Thawrat al-Awrās 1916*, Majallat al-Dirāsāt al-Tārīkhiyya, Ma'had al-Tārīkh, Jāmi'at al-Jazā'ir, no. 4, 1988, pp. 163–165.

²⁵ - Abū al-Qāsim Sa'd Allāh, *Tārīkh al-Jazā'ir al-Thaqāfi*, al-juz' al-rābi' (1830–1954), Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, t. 1, Bayrūt, 1998, p. 215.

²⁶ - Émile-Félix Gautier, “Deux Algériens”, *La Revue de Paris*, t. 15, Paris, 1912, p. 285

²⁷ - Saadallah, *al-Ḥaraka al-Waṭaniyya al-Jazā'iriyya...*, pp. 241–244.

²⁸ - Ibid., pp. 236–237.

²⁹ - Ibid., p. 245.

³⁰ - Mahfoud Kaddache, *Tarikh al-Haraka al-Wataniyya al-Jaza'iriyya*,: Mohamed Ben El-Barr, al-juz' al-awwal (1919–1939), Sharikat Dar al-Umma li al-Tiba'a wa al-Nashr wa al-Tawzi', 2012, p. 99.

³¹ - Ibid., p. 100.

³² - Ibid., p. 101.

³³ - Abd al-Rahman bin Ibrahim Bin Al-Aqun, *al-Kifāh al-Qawmī wa al-Siyāsī min Khilāl Mudhakkirāt Mu'āšir*, al-juz' al-awwal, al-Mu'assasa al-Waṭaniyya lil-Kitāb, al-Jazā'ir, 1986, pp. 96–97.

³⁴ - Ibid., p. 99.

³⁵ - Saadallah, *al-Ḥaraka al-Wataniyya...*, p. 321.

³⁶ - Sulayman al-Sheikh, *al-Jazā'ir taḥmil al-silāh – dirāsa fī tārīkh al-ḥaraka al-waṭaniyya wa al-thawra al-musallaḥa*, tarjamat: Muhammad

Hafiz al-Jamali, *manshūrāt al-dhikra al-arbaʿin li-l-istiqlāl*, Wizārat al-Mujāhidīn, al-Jazāʿir, 2002, p. 26.

³⁷ - Ibid., p. 26.

³⁸ - al-Sheikh, *Op.Cit.*, §. 26.

³⁹ - Aḥmad al-Khaṭīb, *Hirz al-Shaʿb al-Jazāʿirī*, al-juzʿ al-awwal, al-Muʿassasa al-Waṭaniyya lil-Kitāb, al-Jazāʿir, 1986, §. 73.

⁴⁰ - Abu al-Qāsim Saʿd Allāh, *ʿArīḍat al-Amīr Khālīd ilā al-Raʾīs Wilson* 1919, *Majallat al-Tārīkh*, al-Markaz al-Waṭanī lil-Dirāsāt al-Tārīkhiyya, al-niṣf al-thānī min sanat 1981, pp. 5–6.

⁴¹ - Ibid., pp. 6-8.

⁴² - Ibid., pp. 7-8.

⁴³ - Ibid., p. 9.

⁴⁴ - Maḥfūz Qaddāsh; Muḥammad Qannānash, *Najm Shamāl Ifrīqiyyā 1926–1937 – Wathāʾiq wa Shahādāt li-Dirāsāt al-Tayyār al-Waṭanī al-Jazāʿirī*, *Dīwān al-Maṭbūʿāt al-Jāmiʿiyya*, al-Jazāʿir 2013, p. 47.

⁴⁵ - Hadj Ali Abdelkader (1883–1957) was a politician and activist in the French Communist Party and one of the founders of the North African Star. He was born on 23 December 1883 in Sidi Saada in Relizan, and belonged to a family of landowners that, from a material standpoint, was close to the bourgeois class. Like all Algerians, he did not complete his studies due to the exclusionary policies pursued by the colonial authorities, and he left school at the age of 14. In 1905, he departed for France, and before World War I he went to France where he worked as an itinerant trader.

⁴⁶ - Qaddāsh & Qannānash, *Op. Cit.*, p. 48.

⁴⁷ - Ibid., pp.48-49.

⁴⁸ - Ibid., pp.59-60.

⁴⁹ - Ibid., pp.50-53.

⁵⁰ - Ibid., p.50.

⁵¹ - Muḥammad Qannānash, *al-Ḥaraka al-Istiqlāliyya fī al-Jazāʿir*, bayna 1919–1939, *al-Sharika al-Waṭaniyya lil-Nashr wa al-Tawzīʿ*, al-Jazāʿir, 1982, p. 41.

⁵² - Ibid., p.41.

⁵³ - Al-Khaṭīb, *Op. Cit.*, p. 83.

⁵⁴ - Ibid., p.83.

⁵⁵ - Ibid., p.83.

⁵⁶ - Ibid., p.84.

⁵⁷ - Ibid., p.85.

⁵⁸ - Al-Shaykh, *Op. Cit.*, p. 27.

⁵⁹ - Ibid., p.27.

⁶⁰ - Turki Rabeh, al-Ta'lim al-Qawmī wa al-Shakhṣiyya al-Jazā'iriyya (1931–1956), al-Sharika al-Waṭaniyya lil-Nashr wa al-Tawzī', al-Jazā'ir, 1981, p. 195.

⁶¹ - Al-Shaykh, Op. Cit., p. 27.

⁶² - Rabeh, Op. Cit., p. 195.

⁶³ - Ibid., p.196.

⁶⁴ - Ibid., p.197.

⁶⁵ - Ibid., p.198.

⁶⁶ - Boussaada Khira, al-Ḥizb al-Shuyū'ī al-Jazā'irī bayna al-'ajz wa al-intiāsh 1936–1954, “Āfāq Fikriyya” Journal, vol. 11, no. 2, 2023, pp. 170–171.

⁶⁷ - Al-Khaṭīb, Op. Cit., p. 81.

⁶⁸ - Ibid., pp.81-82.

⁶⁹ - Ibid., p. 82.

⁷⁰ - Al-Khaṭīb, Op. Cit., p. 83.