

## The French Policy of Exile towards the Pioneers of the Cultural Resistance in Algeria (Omar Bin Qaddour as a Model)

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### Abstract

The following study entitled: "The French Policy of Exile towards the Pioneers of the Cultural Resistance in Algeria (Omar Bin Qaddour as a Model)" aims to study one of the of French punitive law models applied in Algeria against the leaders of the national resistance: the policy of exile. This is by highlighting the legal substance of this punishment and its historical development in the life of mankind, then highlighting it in the beginnings of French practice, and the stations that explained its application. Then comes the embodiment of the punishment of exile after the occupation of Algeria, against several leaders who faced its repressive policy and the contradiction of its promises with its realistic practice. This is especially after the Algerians turned towards peaceful resistance at the end of the 19th century AD and the beginning of the 20th century AD. This coincided with the launch of the cultural resistance as a prelude to the political resistance, shedding light on the personality of "Omar bin Qaddour" and how the exile penalty affected him and his activity in confronting the French occupier.

**Keywords** : Exile, Penal Code, Occupation, Resistance, Omar Bin Kaddour.

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**I- Introduction :**

Conflicts between nations are life's natural order of things that mankind has known since its inception, under many justifications. Contemporary Algeria has gone through a critical historical phase, one of which was known as the period of the French occupation. Colonialism prompted Algerians to declare resistance by various available means, starting with military action within the framework of popular resistance, passing through political resistance at the beginning of the twentieth century, and returning to military confrontation at the end of the century. This is inconsistent with the French goals and aspirations in the country, so the colonialist worked to confront the Algerian resister, whoever he was, with various punitive practices. One of the penalties is the punishment of exile and deportation, which affected a large number of the pioneers of the Algerian resistance, both military and political, and greatly affected it. This leads us to raise the problem centered around the following questions:

- What is the penalty of exile from a legal point of view and does it have historical roots?
- When did the policy of denial emerge in the history of French sanctions?
- Where did France embody the policy of denial towards the Algerian and cultural resistance in particular?

**The penalty of exile in law, history and practice**

From a legal point of view, denial comes in several terms and names, the most important of which is *forced deportation*, and is defined as “forcing a group of residents legally residing on their land to move to another region within or outside the country itself.” This is based on a methodology and planning supervised by the state, affiliated groups, or other stronger groups, in an effort to clear the area based on racial, ethnic, national, religious or even political orientation discrimination. To achieve this purpose, transfer and deportation often resort to several means of coercion and imposition, including resort to lethal violence, destruction and looting of property, and subjecting the group to be transferred to many humiliating and degrading practices. (William , 2014, p. 364)

Exile as a punitive and vengeful measure is ancient and steeped in the history of humanity and its scramble, and it was applied by the great empires in the past. In the stories of the prophets and messengers, we have many pictures of displacement and deportation. It was mentioned in the Almighty's saying: {And the disbelievers said to their Noble Messengers, “We will surely expel you from our land”} [Ibrahim 13]. Moreover, The Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him, was subjected to attempts to kill and exile. The Almighty said: {Remember how the Unbelievers plotted against thee, to keep thee in bonds, or slay thee, or get thee out (of thy home).} [Al Anfal 30]. It continued to be applied during the Middle Ages, until it became a custom applied to the defeated team in conflicts and wars. That is what the Crusaders did after the occupation

of Jerusalem by deporting its inhabitants towards Egypt and the Levant, and the expulsion that the Muslims of Andalusia suffered after the fall of Granada in 1492 AD, and others. (Daghmarsh, 2014, pp. 8-10)

In the French system, exile is considered a political punishment. Its implementation has emerged strongly since the 18th century AD, as an alternative to the death penalty. It applies to criminals who committed violations affecting state security, and it was included in the French Criminal Code issued on September 25, 1791 AD. Other complementary and detailed laws related to the penalty of exile to Guyana "Guyana: It is one of the French overseas territories located on the northern coast of South America. Several colonial powers such as Portugal, Britain and the Netherlands succeeded in it and eventually settled under the authority of France, and turned it into a penal colony by populating it with prisoners and those sentenced to three penalties according to French law" (Zarrouk, 2014, p. 84) were issued regarding monks who dissented from state authority on August 26, 1792 AD. This is in addition to the law issued on March 28, 1793 CE concerning immigrants in France, the law issued on October 15, 1793 CE, and the law of November 01, 1793 CE applied to undeterred beggars, and their exile to Madagascar. Deportation laws followed towards Oleiron Island "Oléron: A French island opposite the Atlantic Ocean near the Antioch Passage, and it is classified as the second largest of the French islands after Corsica", as well as the Seychelles," Seychelles: an archipelago consisting of 115 islands in East Africa, including the Comoros, Madagascar, Mayotte and Reunion. It officially became part of the French possessions in the year 1756 AD, and made it a settlement station starting from 1770 AD with the French and colonial prisoners." until the year 1810 AD. (Belgharbi & Mrabit, 2019-2020, p. 44)

In the year 1795 A.D., the punishment of exile and deportation was used extensively and ferociously, as it was applied several times. As a result, voices rose in rejection of it. However, the years that followed witnessed the continuation of the French authority in applying it, whether in its country or in its colonies, including Algeria. Rather, it gave it legitimacy by issuing strict and irreversible legislation (Zgueb, 2014/2015, p. 29). This was evident in the exile of Napoleon Bonaparte after forcing him to abdicate for the second time, and the issuance of a decision to exile him to Saint Helen Island in the South Atlantic Ocean since 1815 AD. (Hassan Aziz, 2015, p. 56)

With regard to the colonies, many punitive legislations related to exile were issued, such as the Decree of December 8, 1851 AD, which authorizes exile for a period ranging between five and ten years to the penal colony of Guyana or Algeria. The exiled persons are also forced to work in the penal institution, are deprived of all political and civil rights, and are subject to court-martial. (Zgueb, 2014/2015, p. 33)

Specifically, in Algeria, the law stipulates that the sentence issued with a penalty exceeding three years imprisonment is immediately followed by deporting the offender

to the prisons of one of the colonies outside the colony. This indicates that the punishment will be doubled, and it is forbidden for the exiled to communicate with his family and relatives, as an additional measure to intimidate and deter the people" Olivier Lecoeur Granmaison: Colonialism, Genocide, Reflections on War and the Colonial State". (Bouzida, 2007 , p. 322) This law did not stipulate that the offender be prosecuted, but it is sufficient for the Governor-General to issue his decision to directly banish him. (Houari, 2016-2017, p. 150)

France supported its punitive legislation by issuing the most famous banishment law on May 30, 1854 AD, which approved the transfer of civilian prisoners to a colony without specifying, leaving that matter to the discretion of the government. The first destination was Guyana, but it was abandoned by the decree of September 2, 1863 AD, which established New Caledonia as a major destination for exile "New Caledonia: a territory belonging to France located in the southwestern part of the Pacific Ocean in the continent of Oceania, settled by the English and the French during the second half of the nineteenth century, then became part of the French possessions beginning in the year 1853 AD, and became a penal colony for four decades after 1864 AD". This is due to the high number of deaths in Guyana due to the tragic circumstances, especially the nature of this hot tropical climate, as it is limited only to European prisoners, starting from the year 1867 AD. However, the punished from the colonies were sent to Guyana (Zgueb, 2014/2015, p. 30). This was not limited to deportation, but the second article of the 1854 AD law stipulated that they be used in forced labor, "the most onerous", and in all works of public interest. This article remained in effect, with confirmation from subsequent decrees such as the Decree of August 31, 1878 AD, and the Decree of 1891 AD (Zgueb, 2014/2015, p. 30). It is worth mentioning here the cooperation of some Algerians with the French authorities in the field of exile and advising them of its necessity, such as khalifa sidi laribi" Sidi Laribi: He descends from the oldest families that inhabited the prefecture of Oran. The Ottoman authority in Algeria assigned them to administer the Mina and Lower Chlef region with the rank of caliph and other positions, and they continued to do so during the colonial era. Among them, Muhammad Ould Ben Abdallah, Kaddour, Si Lakhel and Ali...". The latter said: "If you want to protect Relizane and your villages from the aggression of the *Fleitas* and others, then be strict... and exile to Senegal or to Guyana the six tribes of al-Shorfa who pushed others to revolt, confiscate their lands and give them to your inhabitants." (Taouti, 2007, p. 116)

Exile, on the practical side, was associated with the Algerian resistance and its pioneers when they stood against the occupier and the colonial policy pursued in the country. The resistance on both its military and political sides. The resistance, on both its military and political sides, confronted the French occupier from the beginning, when the true intentions of the French colonizer became apparent and he began to break the promises he made on the day of the occupation" The text of the document of surrender

and the call of the leader of the French campaign Debremont to the Algerians on the day of the occupation can be found in many sources and references dealing with the contemporary history of Algeria.". General Peugeot"Thomas Robert Peugeot: A French military figure who emerged during the wars of the first French Empire. He was famous in Algeria for his harshness and repression to eliminate the resistance, especially Prince Abdul Qadir. He became governor-general of Algeria in the 1940s, and during that he sought to complete the occupation of the country" (Bin Daha, 2008, p. 490) was one of the most famous French general rulers who pursued the policy of exile, in clear and public procedures to purify and liquidate everyone who resisted his arbitrariness and abuses in Algeria. He expelled many dignitaries, scholars, and judges, including those who exiled him to French prisons outside Algeria, or expulsion to other countries with a specific or unspecified destination. We mention from that the exile of Mufti Mustafa al-Kabati and his nephew to the island of Saint-Marguerite, as well as the exile of Hamouda al-Fakoun and his brother to Alexandria ( Saad Allah A.-Q. , The Algerian National Movement 1830-1900, 1992, p. 302).

France's breach of its promises and its resistance on the part of the Algerians was manifested by its encroachment on religious institutions and endowments .Between 1830-1832 AD, the occupation authority seized fifty-five endowment institutions belonging to Mecca and Medina, and eleven properties belonging to the Great Mosque. This is in embodiment of the decision issued on December 7, 1830, which appends religious institutions and endowments to state property (Baktach, pp. 26-27). These measures were met with fierce opposition and resistance from the notables of the city of Algiers, led by Muhammad bin Mahmoud bin Al-Annabi, the Hanafi mufti. He considered the procedure a matter of great importance and submitted petitions to the Governor-General Clozel as a violation of the terms of the surrender document, and challenged him to resist it by forming a group of individuals to run some endowment institutions, bypassing the French authority. France, however, followed him, imprisoned him, and then issued an exile decision against him, on charges of incitement to revolution. Likewise, we find Hamdan bin Othman Khoja, and despite his tolerance at first with the idea of surrender, he opposed practices that are inconsistent with the reassuring promises that the leader of the French campaign, Charles de Brumont, launched on the eve of the occupation, as well as Ibn al-Kabti, and Ahmed Boudhraba. (Baktach, p. 29)

Ibn Hamdan Khoja was also subjected to exile for his attempts to lift the injustice imposed on the Algerian people. On September 16, 1833, he was assigned by the Algerians to represent them before the French king and inform him of their desires. His speech included two basic demands, the first of which was freedom and independence, and the second was the enjoyment of all the rights enjoyed by Europeans. He also authored his book *Al-miraat* (The Mirror) in order to bring the situation in Algeria into



the minds of French public opinion. Because of the audacity of what he wrote in his book, he was prosecuted for defaming others, and when he tried to appeal the trial, he was refused. The governor-general, Clozel" Bertrand Clausel: A French military figure who participated in the French Revolution and the occupation of Algeria, of which he became general ruler from the beginning of the occupation 1830-1831 AD, then again between 1835-1837 AD" (Bin Daha, 2008, p. 498), also rebuked him and issued a decision against him on September 26, 1836 AD, which included expulsion from Algeria on charges of plotting against France ( Saad Allah A.-Q. , 1982, p. 82). The same fate befell everyone who tried to confront France and its collaborators in Algeria, such as Hajj Hassan bin Hamdan Khoja, who held the position of a member of the municipal council. Clozel exiled him to Alexandria with his wife and family. The same ruling applies to Ali Bourdah, the representative of the Endowment for Subul al-Khairat (the Hanafis), while the second agent, Hajj Muhammad Khoja, was directed to exile in Tunisia with his family ( Saad Allah A.-Q. , The Algerian National Movement 1830-1900, 1992, p. 114).

After World War I, Prince Khaled have risen up in his struggle against French practices in Algeria. In 1922, he founded the "Algerian Brotherhood Association" with the main aim of defending the rights of Algerians and working to improve their material, political and cultural conditions. He adopted the newspaper "The Nation" as a successor to the newspaper "Al-Iqdam", as a platform for his demands and speeches, which made the colonial authorities accuse him of being hostile to the French government and provoking problems. Therefore, an exile sentence was issued against him from Algeria in June 1923 AD, and yet he continued to adhere to the principle of anti-France and fighting it until his death in exile in Syria 1939 AD (Moudjahid , 2021, pp. 258-259).

Likewise, Sheikh Al-Ibrahimi was issued a banishment order with the outbreak of World War II, due to his position refusing to support France during the war against the Axis Powers by giving radio interviews in this regard. His refusal of this matter was based on the contradiction with his case and his famous slogan: "Whoever sells his pen and his tongue has committed an even worse crime than selling a soldier's weapon." (Othmani, 2019-2020, p. 211)

### **Algerian cultural resistance origination and application**

Resistance means, as an expression and application, a set of reactions that can be procedural, remedial or preventive measures. Resistance is undertaken by a group, a system, or an individual in the face of external or internal threats, dangers, and aggressions that ambush or obstruct him and threaten his entity with dissolution or demise, or impede his work and curb his aspirations and hopes (al-Jub, , p. 9). All the civilized and primitive races that live in the jungles, each according to his qualifications, participate in the resistance and rejection of the occupier and the imposed domination. Civilized people resist in the name of national identity, and primitive people in the name

of survival instinct rejecting foreign domination, even if that domination seeks to lift them out of the primitive state (Abu Al-Qasim , 2006 AD, p. 34).

The Algerian resistance began and its military strength intensified during the beginning of the occupation until the end of the nineteenth century, despite its inability to expel it. However, the Algerians did not accept this defeat in any way, and they continued to deal with readiness for resistance. The same applies to the French belief, which considered itself victorious by force of arms, not by the Algerian surrender voluntarily. Manifestations of resistance continued with all available means, such as peasant uprisings, secret religious societies, popular literature, and others. This readiness was not hidden from the French side, and many of them predicted the possibility of its return, such as the writer Jules Soran, who stated, "It is our guns and cannons in Algeria that prevent an Algerian revolution that is more dangerous than the revolution of the French peasants." The same prediction for Ismail Arban, who said that the Algerians "wait with confidence for the hour of revenge." ( Saad Allah A.-Q. , The Algerian National Movement 1830-1900, 1992, p. 74)

As for the cultural resistance, it emerged at the end of the nineteenth century with the birth of what is known as the "Algerian youth" movement, for a group of graduates of French schools and institutes, lawyers, translators and doctors. In the year 1893 AD, a small group of them issued an opposition document called "Al-Haq" (the right), led by a notary named Khalil Kayed Al-Oyoun. Then it soon disappeared, only to reappear in the year 1900 AD bearing a memorandum submitted to a parliamentary committee. It contained: "The educated Muslim youth (in French) does not know what to do with his education (...), so he wanders in civilization, there is no job to be hoped for, and no voice is heard to speak the word of truth, even if it is in the matter of local affairs, or on issues that concern the people exclusively (...) It is not the thirst for theoretical equality, even if it is legitimate, that makes us speak, but rather it is the utmost necessity in defending our most urgent and most urgent material interests." Charles Robert Agron: History of Contemporary Algeria from the Uprising of 1871 until the outbreak of the War of Liberation in 1954 AD" (Mohamed & Sahraoui, 2013 AD, pp. 372-373)

Later on, associations of various student and cultural orientations rose to prominence in the Algerian scene with the mission of raising awareness and educating the community, calling for schooling, simplifying knowledge, fighting pests, alcohol addiction, and taking the people back to their originality by preserving Algerian traditions. Among them, we mention the Rashidiya Association and the Tawfiqi Association in Algiers, the Saleh Bey Club in Constantine, El Shubban Club in Tlemcen, and El-akhawiya Association in Mascara. Written press was the voice of these elite Algerian youth due to its importance in communicating their ideas and voice (Al-Hilali & Kadash, 1987 AD, p. 17). These associations politically demanded reform demands through delegations and petitions to reduce taxes, abolish the indigénat law and deterrent

courts, raise the proportion of Algerians in parliaments and improve education ( Saad Allah A.-Q. , The Algerian National Movement 1830-1900, 1992, p. 258).

The compulsory recruitment law is considered one of the main incentives for the formation of the cultural resistance in Algeria, or what is known as the “Young Algeria” movement, through the formation of the “Committee for the Defense of the Interests of Algerian Muslims” in 1908 AD. The committee began to raise petitions towards government departments and councils, demanding the rights of Algerians to full citizenship in return for the blood tax that this law will impose. The committee also strengthened its activity by sending delegations to Paris for the same purpose, where it achieved an initial response that soon evaporated ( Saad Allah A.-Q. , The Algerian National Movement 1830-1900, 1992, p. 185).

Then the Algerian cultural resistance was manifested at home through journalistic activity, which dates back to its early beginnings with the indigénat law. This was one of the national forms of rejection of the aspects of racism included in this law towards Algerians. Moreover, the pen resistance continued until the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 AD, despite its many shortcomings, such as the mistakes of writers and editors, and the poor turnout for reading newspapers. Its topics were centered on defending the cultural and social rights of the Algerian people, although these pens continued to implicitly recognize the Frenchness of Algeria, as a prerequisite for allowing the issuance of these newspapers. Among the most prominent people who were active in this field at the time were Hajj Ammar, Al-Sadiq Dandan, Omar Bin Qadour, Omar Rasem... (Eldjemi, 2017, p. 147)

Before and during World War I, developments occurred at the local level in reform demands and the crystallization of Algerian national consciousness. This is in addition to the inevitability of external transformations with a global dimension, represented by the pressure of Algerian immigrants, the echo of German-Ottoman propaganda and the Bolshevik revolution, the spread of the idea of self-determination, as well as the conditions left by the war in Europe. All of these developments forced the French authority to concede and issue a package of reforms in February 1919 AD" Also known as the Jonar Law issued on February 4, 1919, as a package of reforms to repay Algerians during the First World War, as the law included opening the way for some positions and jobs for Algerians, which they were prohibited from holding before that" such as "Throwing Ashes in the Eyes", because the reform project contained a formality that did not touch the essence of the Algerian problem, and did not respond to the aspirations of the national elite at the time. From another angle, the continuation of the French oppression of the Algerian individual, by preserving the authoritarian grip of the family law and the conditions it contained ( Saad Allah A.-Q. , The Algerian National Movement 1830-1900, 1992, pp. 258-263).



All of this contributed to the strengthening of the cultural resistance through the increase in national journalistic activity and with more individual and collective professionalism. This is especially during the period between 1925-1937 AD at the hands of a group of reformers, such as Abdel Hamid bin Badis, Aba al-Yaqdhan, Al-Tayeb Al-Aqbi, Hamza Boukoucha, Ahmed Bouchemal. This is in addition to the contribution of active associations such as Al-Wifak Association, and the Association of Algerian Muslim Scholars through its newspaper Al-Muntakid 1925 AD, then Al-Shihab newspaper 1925-1939 AD with clear-worded articles confronting the spread of heresies and superstitions, defending rights and national identity, and resisting the ideas of Frenchness and Westernization. (Eldjemi, 2017, pp. 154-155)

### **Omar Ben Kaddour (1886-1932) as a model**

Omar son Kaddour and BASIN Yamina (daughter Ahmed) were born in the city of Arbaâ, on the outskirts of Algiers, then his family moved to the city of Algiers, where he grew up and learned, in a family that loves science and literature and encourages him, and his father was keen to take him to the councils of knowledge and thought in a mosque Sidi Ramadan, with the aim of raising him on the upright manners of the Muslim individual and the love of prayer (Ben Qina, 2000, p. 33).

Ben Kaddour joined the book at the age of five or six years, and at the same time he was teaching at the Al-Thalabia School. Where he memorized the Noble Qur'an and learned the principles of the Arabic language, then he joined the legal school with bilingual education, as an embodiment of the amendments that took place in the year 1892 AD, in the aspect of education and how the French authorities dealt with the Algerian colony and its ruling mechanism, by creating a class familiar with the Arab and Islamic heritage and at the same time having knowledge of French culture, and he was a student at the time at the hands of the two sheikhs Abd al-Qadir al-Majawi and Abd al-Halim ibn Samaya, then he left quickly to travel to Tunisia and then Egypt to complete his education in the Arabic language and participate in the Egyptian press (Saad Allah A.-Q. , The Cultural History of Algeria, 1989, p. 276).

Ben Kaddour is classified as surpassing his peers in his era with the dominance of his thought and nationalist orientations with an Islamic orientation, as expressed by his writings in the Al-Hadara newspaper in 1909 AD" Al-Hadra: The first unofficial newspaper published in Tunisia after the French occupation; it was published in August 1888 until 1911. It is a weekly, political and literary newspaper that was considered the mouthpiece of the Tunisian reform movement, with a moderate tone towards the French colonialism. Among its most famous editors are Salem Bouhajib, Ali Bouchoucha, Muhammad Senussi and others.", as it contained a comprehensive vision of the conditions for ruling the Arab and Islamic world during that period and alerted them to their renaissance and their return to their ancestors from the era of power and influence. This is in the case of taking the reasons for both scholars and the public (Saad Allah A.-

Q. , The Cultural History of Algeria, 1989, p. 278). In addition to informing him of the political developments that the world is witnessing, and interacting with them, and advocating for Arab issues during the calamities of the nation, such as the Italian invasion of Libya, and the events of Zallaj in Tunisia "The events of Al-Zalaj, or Al-Jalaz: bloody events that took place in Tunis in November 1911 against the protection authority when it decided to register the land of the Al-Zalaj cemetery in the real estate registry, and the events resulted in casualties from both parties, especially from the Italian community, against the backdrop of the Italian invasion of Libya", and imposing protection on the Moroccan Al-Aqsa Mosque, which he predicted through the course of events that preceded it, and explaining the phenomenon of colonialism and the truth of the allegation's European justification (Qurain , pp. 190-195).

Ben Kaddour set out in his vision to rid the Maghreb countries in particular, and the Islamic countries in general, from colonialism and their miserable conditions, by championing the idea of patriotism to confront external dangers. He also called for Islamic unity and reform through acquaintance, cooperation, and the establishment of Islamic associations and solidarity organizations. He also had the initiative to call for the establishment of the "Islamic acquaintance group" in 1914 AD, which included scholars and thinkers from Algeria, Tunisia and Al-Aqsa Morocco, and working to link them with similar ones in the Islamic East.

Ben Kaddour began his journalistic activity while he was in Egypt by joining the family of the Egyptian newspaper "Al-Liwa" and thus gaining a reputation as a journalist. Upon his return to Algeria, he took over the editor-in-chief of the Arabic section of "Al-Akhbar" newspaper "We point out here that this newspaper is affiliated with colonialism, and Ibn Kadour was active in it by virtue of the fact that he does not have the ability to establish a private newspaper that represents his thought and orientation, even from the financial side" (Saad Allah A.-Q. , The Cultural History of Algeria, 1989, p. 279), He used to end all his articles with the words: "Long live Algeria, and long live every free person; وتحيا الجزائر، ويعيش كل إنسان حر" (Ehdaden, 2012 AD, pp. 73-74).

In the year 1913 AD, Ben Kaddour was able to establish his newspaper "Al-Farouk" as a weekly news illustrated newspaper published every Friday. Its efforts focused on combating heresies and evils by returning to the spirit and purity of Islam, and confronting the advocates of stagnation who reject all development. The slogan of his newspaper in its first issue made his famous saying:

"قلمي لسانني ثلاثة بفؤادي ديني ووجداني وحب بلادي" (Khalil , p. 233)

"My pen is my tongue, three in my heart: my religion, my sentiments, and the love of my country".

Ben Kaddour also tried through "Al-Farouk" to call for collective action because individual work, according to his belief, does not work. Al-Farouq newspaper continued

to publish until 1915 AD, when it was stopped due to the laws of war. In 1919 AD, after the end of the war, he sought to restore the newspaper, but he was financially overwhelmed. So, he stopped it and joined the editorial family of "Al-Siddiq" newspaper. (Saad Allah A.-Q. , The Cultural History of Algeria, 1989, p. 279)

The issue of conscription constituted a debate in the Algerian national society, with the enthusiasm and support of the "Algerian Youth" group to recruit and consider it a valid reason and expressive of the demand for political rights. Their position appeared through the newspapers "Al-Islam" and "Al-Rashidi". While "Al-Haq" newspaper stood against them, led by Omar RASIM and Muhammad RAHAL. While Ben Kaddour position was vague, he did not explicitly oppose it, nor did he support it, nor did he devote only a few lines to the subject (Haddad, 2012 AD,, p. 79).

During World War I, Ben Kaddour showed his inclination to the Ottoman Empire, and his enmity with France, which angered the French authorities, and he was accused of complicity with the enemy and issued a decision to exile him from the capital. He was forced to leave the capital and move to the city of Laghouat on foot (Haddad, 2012 AD,, p. 79) . Then the colonial authorities directed him towards Ain Madi, the stronghold of the Tijaniyya order. At the end of his sentence, he announced his adherence to the Tijaniyya order at the hands of Lieutenant Colonel Sidi Muhammad BEN TOUATI AL-AGHWATI, and he defended it by writing the book "Evidence and Repetition in the Course of the Path of Happiness". (Saad Allah A.-Q. , The Cultural History of Algeria, 1989, pp. 280-281)

After the end of the exile sentence, he knew the activity and effectiveness in confronting colonialism, exposing Zionism, calling for reform, and the renaissance of the peoples that distinguished Ben Kaddour towards apathy, and in the twenties he took charge of the "Islamic Youth" school in the capital to teach the Arabic language and the Islamic religion, and it received the approval of the colonial authorities, and it is affiliated with The Sufism movement in Algeria aimed at easing attachment to the Islamic East and its reform movements at that time, then Ben Kaddour soon resigned from it and established a Quranic school in the modern style (Saad Allah A.-Q. , The Cultural History of Algeria, 1989, pp. 280-281).

Some explain the setback that Ben Kaddour suffered as a decline in the severity of his positions on colonialism, with the harsh conditions he was exposed to during and before exile, but this does not detract from his role and imprint in introducing the Algerian issue to the Arab press, and in his confrontation with colonialism with solid positions and his call for Arab and Islamic unity and solidarity. At a very early age compared to what his comrades in the struggle at the time had hoped for merging with the occupier, Nazeer reaped his stoic patriotism by tightening the screws from the occupation authority by stopping his newspaper and confiscating his freedom by exile, with the multiplication of obstacles that dissuaded his resolve and he could not

overcome it until his death in 1932 AD. (Saad Allah A.-Q. , The Cultural History of Algeria, 1989, p. 282)

On the other hand, we find those who investigated his biography after exile, and confirmed his continuity in activity and in the face of French colonialism, through the issuance of "Al-Siddiq" newspaper, starting from August 12 in 1920 AD, with the reformist political personality that was expressed by its slogan: "The Voice of Islam in North Africa". The first issue covered the principles he would follow, such as reform, advocacy for education, work to mobilize Algerians, return to the right religion and refine morals, with a moderate touch in dealing with the occupying power ( Sahel, pp. 112-113).

After his withdrawal from "Al-Siddiq" newspaper, he returned to "Al-Farouk" newspaper on October 8, 1920 AD, where he spoke in its editorial about the atrocities he was subjected to during the ordeal of exile and considered it a sacrifice in order to defend the religion of Islam. And he affirmed his commitment to the goal of educating the people and including his activity within: "Enjoining Good and Forbidding Evil." With the cessation of the newspaper "Al-Farouk" after issuing 15 issues, Ben Kaddour continued his journalistic work in several newspapers, such as the newspaper "Al-Iqdam" by Prince Khaled, which he joined in 1921 AD. It contained his first article containing political contents compatible with the reformist demands of the Emir, through the explicit title saying: "The biggest proof of the Algerian feeling" and he managed it since 1922 AD. He also worked in the newspaper "Al-Taquddum" by IBN AL-TOHAMY until the year 1925, and in the year 1930 AD he started working as a stylist. In the institution of the "Arab Press" of ABU YAQDHAN, and published in his newspaper: "Wadi Mizab". The year 1927 AD witnessed his last articles. ( Sahel, pp. 114-120)

### **Conclusion**

At the conclusion of our study of the issue of the French policy of denial towards the pioneers of cultural resistance in Algeria, we reached the following results:

- The policy of exile as a punitive measure as old as man and the stampede of human groups, imposed by the victorious team on the defeated in the form of revenge after the end of the confrontation between them, has become a valid tradition among the great empires. In the ancient era and the Middle Ages, this policy took on a formal and systematic character with legal enactments in subsequent states, with great controversy in accepting it rather than rejecting it.

- France, like other countries, has used the policy of exile and included it in its criminal system since the eighteenth-century AD to punish those who opposed it, or those who committed crimes affecting the internal security of the country. The same applies to its colonies by banishing all those who tempted themselves to confront their

existence or resist them among the people of the country, and they gave them a legitimacy through many decisions and decrees.

- The French presence in Algeria and its breach of the promises and commitments made on the eve of the occupation were considered the most important drivers of the Algerian national resistance in the military style that covered the 19th century AD, and due to its inability to expel the occupier despite the ferocity and totalitarianism, the national trend was towards peaceful resistance with the pen through journalistic activity, associations and clubs, as a prelude to systematic political action.

- The French suppression of the Algerian resistance did not differentiate between the violent military resistance and the peaceful cultural resistance, by imposing the punishment of exile, despite its harshness and severity, on the pioneers of the two teams without discrimination. The peacefulness of the second party and its distance from the military method did not intercede in mitigating the sentence. Rather, the occupation authority continued to issue the sentence of exile, either at home or abroad.

- The "family environment", the "Arab school", and the "internal and external Islamic world" were among the most important factors influencing the formation of Omar Ben Kaddour personality, his early maturity, and his journalistic talent, in light of the tragic conditions the Islamic world was experiencing at the time. With his weakness and falling under the authority of European colonialism.

- The courage that distinguished Ben Kaddour journalistic writings, the strength of his love for the homeland and his jealousy over the Islamic world, as well as his quest to liberate it and restore its glories, by getting rid of the grip of the European occupier, all of them put him in confrontation with the occupation, which found nothing but exile as a means to suppress it and limit its activity, but it did not reach its goal in any way, but the man carried on his patriotic sense and resistance activity, albeit in a less strident manner.

### **Perspectives**

After studying this topic, we suggest in the future:

- Shedding lighter on the policy of denial against the Algerian resistance, so that it fulfills its right to dissect the justifications of the French for its use, and how it affected the course of the resistance negatively and positively, as well as exposure to this policy in the various colonies, not just Algeria.

- Researching more about the life of Omar Ben Kaddour and his national journalistic activities before and after his exile, to get a closer look at the extent to which he was affected by that tragic experience, especially since what we found of references does not address his situation during exile.

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