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Cultural Orientation in the Programs of the Association of Algerian Muslim Ulama and Its Manifestations during the Algerian National Movement, 1931-1954

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Abstract:

The Association of Algerian Muslim Ulama was among the national movements most concerned with cultural issues. It called for cultural independence and civilizational progress. Its intellectual vision rested on knowledge, faith, and action. This position appeared in many forms throughout its rich and diverse writings. The Association confronted the colonial administration and its repressive laws against Islam and the Arabic language. It believed that education served the nation and preserved its heritage. It therefore gave direct attention to Arabic education, despite all colonial administrative obstacles. It defended clubs and cultural associations. It also supported scouting, theatre groups, and sports teams. These activities helped spread its educational message and defend the foundations of national identity. Its firm defense of these core elements helped restore confidence among Algerians. It also demonstrated the Association's important role in resisting colonial attempts to undermine the national culture.

Keywords: Association of Algerian Muslim Ulama; culture; national identity; Algerians; colonialism.

Introduction:

After the Second World War, the currents of the Algerian national movement entered a new phase of struggle. Several cultural issues became prominent in their programs and demands. They also appeared in articles published in national newspapers, in speeches, and in personal writings. The importance assigned to these issues varied among the nationalist currents. Some upheld fundamental national values and Algerian culture. Others showed fragmentation and uncertainty in their cultural affiliation.

It is no exaggeration to say that the leaders of the Association of Algerian Muslim Ulama initiated a cultural revolution in Algeria after the First World War. A group of Algerians had returned home after studying various disciplines at Islamic institutes and universities. They had also witnessed many important events. The Association ultimately achieved a substantial part of its cultural and reformist project. It relied on systematic work, opened independent schools, strengthened places of worship, improved the guidance offered in mosques, and sent student missions abroad. These efforts allowed it to lay a new foundation in Algeria's cultural history.

Cultural Orientation in the Programs of the Association of Algerian Muslim Ulama and Its Manifestations:

The Association of Algerian Muslim Ulama was among the major nationalist currents most concerned with cultural issues. It called for cultural independence and civilizational progress. Its intellectual vision rested on knowledge, faith, and action¹. This position took several forms in the Association's rich and diverse writings.

1- Protecting Islam:

Islam occupied the foremost place in the Ulama's vision. Cultural change in Algeria was accelerating, and the Association worked to defend the fundamental components of national identity, especially Islam. In its view, Islam was the only force

¹ Ahmed Meriouché, "The Status of the Arabic Language in the Programs of the Algerian Political Movement, 1926-1954," *Journal of Research and Studies*, University of El Oued, Algeria, no. 16, 2013, p. 262.

capable of uniting the different elements of society. It used schools, mosques, associations, and clubs as strongholds for forming a generation aware of its historical circumstances.

The Association also took responsibility for confronting the colonial administration and its repressive laws against Islam and the Arabic language. Throughout its years of activity, Islam remained central to its discourse and demands. The first principle in the Association's founding statute stated: "Islam is God's religion. He established it to guide His servants, sent all His messengers with it, and perfected it through His Prophet Muhammad"¹.

From the 1930s onward, the Association continued to demand that Islam be separated from French authority. This demand appeared clearly and repeatedly in its newspapers. After 1946, Sheikh El Ibrahim and Sheikh El Okbi were among its strongest advocates. El Ibrahim called for freedom for mosques and their personnel through the separation of religion from the state². He also travelled to France in December 1950 specifically to pursue this demand³.

El Okbi was also among the Algerians who most strongly insisted on the application of Islamic law. He believed that Algerian politicians were unable to legislate in accordance with its rules. He therefore considered it necessary to appoint religious scholars alongside legislators so that the law would derive from religion⁴.

In 1948 and 1950, the Association submitted a memorandum to the Algerian Assembly. It called for respect for Islam and religious freedom, and for the protection of Islamic institutes and endowments. The memorandum stated: "When we speak in the name of the nation within our field of religious competence, we do so out of religious duty. You are the nation's representatives, and your representative duty requires you to place the nation's interests above all else"⁵.

The issue apparently received neither support nor approval from the Assembly's members. The representatives were slow to implement the decision to separate religion from the government. This delay reflected their limited knowledge of Islamic legislation. Sheikh El Ibrahim wrote: "Yet, in this Assembly, the voice of truth is drowned out by the voices of falsehood and ignorance. They do not allow one who speaks the truth to speak, nor do they listen when he does. The Assembly was under the spell and awe of revelation and had not recovered from its stupor"⁶.

The separation of religion from the state generated wide debate in 1950. The Association published a statement in *Al-Basa'ir* demanding the independence of Islam from the government. It also demanded that Islamic institutions and endowments be entrusted to the Muslim community. The statement further called for a Supreme Islamic Council composed of figures who would represent the community in religious affairs⁷.

In the same statement, the Association condemned the stagnation of the religious question. It also denounced the colonial administration's control of Islamic affairs under the guise of secularism. It demanded that the occupation authorities treat Islam in Algeria on an equal footing with other religions⁸. One year later, the Algerian Front for the Defense and Respect of Freedoms was established in 1951. Through its participation in the Front, the Association explicitly demanded that Islam be freed from colonial control⁹.

2- The Arabic Language in the Association's Programs and Orientations:

¹ Mohamed Kheireddine, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, Dahlab Press, Algeria, p. 109.

² Sheikh El Ibrahim was one of the figures most concerned with separating religion from the state. He raised the issue in his demands to the French government and followed it within the Algerian Assembly. He applied pressure and advised representatives to implement the separation decision. Because of its importance, the issue received extensive coverage, especially in the second series of *Al-Basa'ir*. The newspaper exposed colonial intentions with the same frankness it had shown since the time of Sheikh Ibn Badis. The separation of Islam from the state occupied more front-page space than other issues. Relevant headlines included "The Three Religions in Algeria," "The Wronged Religion," "Statement from the General Secretariat of the Association of Ulama," and "Separating Religion from the State Is Inconsistent with Its Connection to It," among others. See *Al-Basa'ir*, no. 57, 22 November 1948; no. 122, 5 June 1950; no. 208, 1 December 1952; no. 210, 22 December 1952; and the Memorandum of the Association of Algerian Muslim Ulama on the Separation of Religion from the Government.

³ Archives nationales d'outre-mer (A.N.O.M.): 81F767, Rapport de Monsieur le préfet des services de l'Algérie et des départements d'outre-mer, concernant la présence des dirigeants de l'Association des oulémas d'Algérie.

⁴ Ahmed Meriouché, Sheikh Tayeb El Okbi and His Role in the Algerian National Movement, 1st ed., Dar Houma, Algeria, 2007, p. 311.

⁵ Nouredine Thenio, *The Problem of the State in the History of the Algerian National Movement*, 1st ed., Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Beirut, 2015, p. 376.

⁶ Mohamed Bachir El Ibrahim, "Separating the Government from Religion," *Al-Basa'ir*, 27 February 1950, p. 1.

⁷ The statement summarized a memorandum that the Association of Ulama submitted to members of the Algerian Assembly in 1947 concerning implementation of the law separating religion from the government. See *Al-Basa'ir*, "Statement from the General Secretariat of the Association of Ulama: The Association Demands the Independence of Islam from the Government," no. 122, 5 June 1950, p. 8.

⁸ *Al-Basa'ir*, "Statement from the General Secretariat of the Association of Ulama: The Association Demands the Independence of Islam from the Government," no. 122, 5 June 1950, p. 8.

⁹ Salwa Lahali, *The Cultural Question in the Writings of the Algerian National Movement (1919-1954)*, doctoral dissertation in Modern and Contemporary History, Department of History, University of Algiers 2, 2016/2017, p. 114.

The Association's leaders regarded Arabic as the official language of Islam and the language of the Algerian nation. They also viewed it as the primary means of understanding Islam. They therefore made it one of their central concerns. They believed that spreading Arabic among Algerians and teaching it to young people would strengthen religious commitment and the moral education of the new generation. It would also unite Algerians and reinforce their national unity. By contrast, they believed that linguistic diversity would lead to fragmentation and weakness.

The first issue of the second series of *Al-Basa'ir* stated the following about Arabic: "It is the official language of Islam and, therefore, the official religious language of Muslims. This language has two firmly established rights over the Algerian nation, each of which makes learning it obligatory. How much stronger is the obligation when the two are combined: its right as the language of the nation's religion, since the nation is Muslim, and its right as the language of its people, since the nation is Arab"¹.

The use of Arabic and the demand for its recognition were among the Association's founding principles and recurrent themes in its speeches. It regarded Arabic as the language that expressed Algeria's identity. Its students memorized the slogan, "Algeria is our homeland, Islam is our religion, and Arabic is our language"². The establishment of the Association marked the beginning of genuine Arabization in Algeria. This pioneering experience later influenced both the national movement and the liberation revolution.

A study of the press movement and the Association's writings reveals many articles that stressed the importance of Arabic. Sheikh Ibn Badis affirmed that the Algerian people possessed a cultural identity and that Arabic was one of its components³. He also emphasized the role of Arabic in building cultural and national unity. He stated: "The Arabic language and Arabic literature are the voice of the entire Algerian nation"⁴.

Sheikh El Ibrahimi likewise gave Arabic the highest priority and wrote many articles about it in *Al-Basa'ir*. He stated: "The Arabic language in Algeria is neither foreign nor intrusive. It is in its own home, among its protectors and supporters. Its roots extend deep into the past, its bonds with the present are strong, and its branches will reach far into the future"⁵.

Sheikh El Okbi held a similar position. He wrote forceful responses to the French educational policy that sought to establish bilingual education for Algerians in independent schools through Governor General Chataigneau's 1945 decree. He wrote: "The implementation of the February decree has caused deep discontent throughout Algeria, and that discontent is justified. Regrettably, they have struck at the reformist idea itself. They have offended an entire people in what it holds most sacred. They have made that people understand that they wish to separate it from a language whose foundations were consolidated over centuries and which formed the structure of its existence. No human power, however great, can deprive it of that language"⁶.

The Association developed a genuine form of linguistic nationalism through which it sought to impose a single culture throughout the country. The Ulama's discourse largely disregarded popular cultures. For them, Arabic was not merely a means of disseminating knowledge. They regarded it as a pillar of religion and a means of educating and cultivating the people. Their efforts to renew Arabic were not intended to place it in competition with French. Rather, they sought to make it a barrier against all foreign influences⁷.

Despite French repression and obstruction, the Association put this demand into practice. It built the Ibn Badis Institute in 1947, as noted above, along with dozens of independent Arabic schools. A sign displayed from the Association's first meeting read: "We demand freedom of education and recognition of Arabic on the same basis as French"⁸. The Association also restored the status of Arabic and refuted the occupation administration's claim that it was static and backward⁹. These efforts were expressions of linguistic and cultural resilience.

In the press, the Association published Arabic-language newspapers such as *Al-Basa'ir*, *Al-Shihab*, *Al-Sirat*, *Al-Shari'a*, and *Al-Sunna*. It did not publish a French-language newspaper until the 1950s, when it launched *Le Jeune Musulman*. This newspaper addressed the French-educated Algerian elite who did not read Arabic well. The Association created it after recognizing the need to reach this group.

3- Education and Arabic Instruction in the Association's Programs:

¹ Mohamed Bachir El Ibrahimi, "Opening Editorial," *Al-Basa'ir*, no. 1, 25 July 1947, p. 3.

² Abu al-Qasim Saadallah, "The Arabic Language in the Charters of the National Movement," *Al-Kalima*, Algerian Association for the Defense of the Arabic Language, Algeria, no. 4, January 1993, p. 10.

³ Abdelkader Djeghloul, Omar Carlier et autres, *Lettrés, intellectuels et militants en Algérie, 1880-1954*, Office des publications universitaires, Alger, 1998, p. 22.

⁴ Mohamed El Mili, Ibn Badis and Algeria's Arab Identity, 2nd ed., National Publishing and Distribution Company, Algeria, 1980, p. 48.

⁵ Mohamed Bachir El Ibrahimi, *Uyun al-Basa'ir*, vol. 2, National Publishing and Distribution Company, Algeria, p. 221.

⁶ Tayeb El Okbi, "Free Arabic Education in Algeria and Our Position on the Law of 27 November 1944," *Al-Islah*, no. 52, 12 June 1947, p. 1.

⁷ Mohammed Harbi, *The Algerian Revolution: Years of Travail*, trans. Najib Ayyad and Saleh al-Mathlouthi, Mofem Publishing House, Algeria, 1994, pp. 117-118.

⁸ Abu al-Qasim Saadallah, "The Arabic Language in the Charters of the National Movement," previously cited, p. 10.

⁹ Salwa Lahali, previously cited, p. 118.

The Association of Algerian Muslim Ulama believed that education served the nation and preserved its heritage. It gave direct attention to Arabic education, despite every administrative measure intended to suppress it¹. It regarded the Arabic education whose freedom and advancement it sought as part of general education. General education was a means of cultural formation and a national necessity².

The Association established independent schools where students learned Arabic, Islam, history, geography, arithmetic, and other subjects. These schools attracted large numbers of Algerians. One of its major scholarly achievements after the Second World War was the construction of the Ibn Badis Institute. The first chapter of this study discussed the Institute, examples of these schools, and the curricula used to educate young people.

The 1940s and early 1950s were a golden age for the Association's educational activity. During this period, it offered Arabic education through modern methods. It sought to provide places for all children excluded from schooling. It also aimed to eradicate superstition and religious innovations and to resist assimilation and Christianization³. Establishing independent Arabic schools was therefore essential for confronting French education. The Association nevertheless accepted French education with caution, and Sheikh El Ibrahimî did not oppose it. He believed that both Arabic and French education could bring future academic and practical benefits. The Association also emphasized education for girls, especially those from poor families, to promote equal educational opportunity and broad social awareness⁴.

The Association's schools followed modern designs and systems, and most were elegant and impressive. Sheikh El Ibrahimî described them as follows: "All these schools are modern in design and organization. Most are beautiful and imposing. All belong to the nation and were built with the nation's money"⁵. The schools also shared a unified Islamic architectural style. Their design combined the beauty of Islamic architecture with contemporary taste. The Association wanted future generations to see that they arose from a single idea. The unified architecture was intended to form Algerian generations whose tastes and thinking were harmonious and whose general national orientation was shared⁶.

By October 1951, the Association of Algerian Muslim Ulama operated 125 schools with more than 300 classrooms. Daytime enrollment reached 16,286 pupils, including 10,590 boys and 5,696 girls. A further 20,000 pupils attended at night because they worked in French offices during the day. The Association's schools therefore enrolled nearly 37,000 pupils in total⁷.

The Association's educational activity also extended into prisons and detention camps. In his memoirs, Ibn al-Aggoun described what he witnessed at El Koudia Prison in Constantine. Intermediate and secondary lessons were organized there. A hizb of the Qur'an was recited daily after the sunset prayer, and a daily lesson offered preaching and guidance. At El Harrach Prison, detained scholars affiliated with the Front, including Sheikh Said Salhi and Sheikh Mohamed El Anbari, also delivered lessons in preaching and guidance⁸.

The Association's independent schools played a major role in raising and strengthening the educational level of young people. Their curricula and programs were derived from the Association's principles⁹. Clear differences emerged between the Association's pupils and those educated in French schools. Most pupils in the Association's schools excelled in language and composition, read well, and developed good handwriting. They recited the Qur'an accurately and understood what they had memorized. They also understood the purposes conveyed by Qur'anic verses. Like pupils in French schools, they acquired basic knowledge of mathematics and the natural sciences, including arithmetic, geography, history, and elementary health science¹⁰.

At first, the Ulama followed the model of Islamic institutes. They used many of the books taught in Tunisian schools and institutions such as Al-Zaytuna, as well as books used in several Eastern institutes and schools. Their numbers were initially small, and their capacity for writing and printing was limited. Over time, the Association's schools employed

¹ Mohamed Bachir El Ibrahimî, "Opening Editorial," *Al-Basa'ir*, no. 1, 25 July 1947, p. 3.

² *Ibid.*

³ Mohamed Hassan Fadla, *The Pioneering Development of Free Arabic Education in Algeria: The Constantine Sector*, vol. 1, 1st ed., Dar al-Umma Printing, Publishing and Distribution, Algeria, 1999, p. 15.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

⁵ Rabeh Turki, *National Education and National Identity*, National Book Enterprise, Algeria, 1975, p. 217.

⁶ Djamel Makhoulfi, *Free Arabic Education in the Chelif Basin, 1930-1956*, Master's thesis in Modern and Contemporary History, Department of History, University of Oran, 2008/2009, p. 43.

⁷ Mohamed Bachir El Ibrahimî, "The Association's Literary Report," *Al-Basa'ir*, nos. 172-173, 15 October 1951, p. 3.

⁸ Abd al-Rahman ibn Ibrahim Ibn al-Aggoun, *The National and Political Struggle through the Memoirs of a Contemporary (1936-1945)*, vol. 2, National Book Enterprise, Algeria, 1984, pp. 390-391.

⁹ Mouloud Aouimer, "Study Day on the Schools and Institutes of the Association of Algerian Muslim Ulama, Organized by the Association and the Center for Arts and Culture," *Islamiyyat al-Ma'rifa*, International Institute of Islamic Thought, year 17, no. 65, 2011, p. 180.

¹⁰ Naim al-Naimi, "The Difference between Pupils of Independent Schools and Others," *Al-Basa'ir*, no. 90, 5 September 1949, p. 5.

teachers who could write textbooks suited to the Algerian context. After the Second World War in particular, the Ulama produced schoolbooks in several fields¹.

The Association's schools treated the teaching of Arabic as one of their highest objectives. They saw the language as the strongest fortress against colonial abuses and as a means of protecting Algerian lives. The colonizer had sought to destroy those lives by eradicating the people's language². In the 1950s, the Association argued that many more independent Arabic schools had to be created. It held that the nation could no longer endure colonial methods that humiliated the people's past and destroyed the most important element of their life: their language³.

Alongside the traditional religious and linguistic disciplines, the Ulama taught Islamic history, Algerian history, and the geography of Algeria. Their independent schools also offered complementary modern subjects such as physical education. Music, drama, and anthems were used for cultural enrichment. These subjects reflected the spirit of modernity and allowed the schools to compete with French institutions⁴.

Examinations in the Association's schools were carefully organized and usually held in June each year. Successful pupils received various prizes as encouragement⁵. School holidays totaled 165 days each year, while each pupil was required to attend for 200 days. The total instructional time was estimated at 1,200 hours. A pupil whose attendance fell ten days below the required 200 without an acceptable excuse was not permitted to sit the examination⁶.

4- Cultural Associations and Clubs:

The Association of Algerian Muslim Ulama responded to the restrictions imposed on associations and clubs by the decree of January 1938. These organizations had alarmed the colonial administration. The second series of *Al-Basa'ir* explained that the administration closed Islamic clubs because it knew they were not ordinary meeting places. They served as refuges for activists, venues for lessons and lectures, and bases for establishing associations. *Al-Basa'ir* therefore continued to report on the clubs and associations opened by the Association⁷, although few were established after the events of 8 May 1945.

Al-Basa'ir defended these clubs and associations because they helped disseminate the Association's educational mission. They also defended the foundations of national identity and educated a conscious generation capable of resisting brutal colonialism. The newspaper stated: "The Association of Ulama believes that the Islamic clubs it establishes or supervises form a meeting ground between the school and the mosque. A large segment of the nation's youth can receive the message of religion and knowledge from the Association only through these clubs"⁸.

One of the largest organizations to energize cultural, literary, and artistic life before the revolution was the Algerian Student Mission Association of the Association of Ulama in Tunis. It received extensive coverage in *Al-Basa'ir*. The organization held major literary competitions for Algerian students and invited them to demonstrate their literary abilities. It rewarded distinguished participants and winners by publishing their names and best stories and works in various newspapers⁹. This occurred, for example, in the competition organized in 1954. These contests introduced students to literature and intellectual inquiry¹⁰.

5- Formation of the Muslim Scout Movement:

The Association used several means to achieve its aims. These included forming scout groups and opening clubs, associations, theatre companies, and sports teams. The first Algerian scout troop was formed in Algiers in 1935 through the efforts of the martyr Mohamed Bouras¹¹ and under the inspiration of Sheikh Ibn Badis. It was named the *Al-Falah*

¹ Abu al-Qasim Saadallah, *The Cultural History of Algeria (1830-1954)*, vol. 3, 1st ed., Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, Beirut, 1998, p. 254.

² Ahmed Toufik El Madani, "Le Chemin est tracé," *Le Jeune Musulman*, no. 10, 28 novembre 1952.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Abu al-Qasim Saadallah, *The Cultural History of Algeria*, vol. 3, previously cited, pp. 254-255.

⁵ Abderrahmane Chibane, "Examinations Are Approaching: What Have We Prepared for Our Outstanding Pupils?" *Al-Basa'ir*, no. 38, 7 June 1948, p. 3.

⁶ *Al-Basa'ir*, "Schedule of Holidays in the Schools of the Association of Ulama," no. 11, 20 October 1947, p. 8.

⁷ Salwa Lahali, previously cited, p. 151.

⁸ Mohamed Bachir El Ibrahimi, "Opening Editorial," *Al-Basa'ir*, previously cited, p. 3.

⁹ Belkacem Baghdadi, "Winners of the Literary Competition of the Algerian Student Mission Association," *Al-Basa'ir*, no. 268, 23 April 1954, p. 8.

¹⁰ "Activities of the Algerian Student Mission Association of the Association of Ulama in Tunis," *Al-Basa'ir*, no. 256, January 1954, p. 8.

¹¹ Mohamed Bouras was the son of Lakhdar and Fatima Mostaghanmi. He was born in Miliana in February 1908 and grew up in a modest family that valued learning, knowledge, faith, sincerity, and concern for others. He received his primary education at the French school in his hometown. From an early age, he became aware of the colonial methods used against the Algerian people. He had several talents, especially in football and athletics. He helped organize many public demonstrations against the colonial authorities' interference and repression of free citizens. In 1935, he obtained authorization to establish an Algerian Muslim scout movement in Algiers. Other scout associations were later created throughout the country. They sought to instill patriotism in Algerian youth and give them a sound education. Bouras devoted himself to supporting and organizing the Muslim Scouts and to upholding noble principles and values. He sought

Troop. In 1937, scouting expanded into a national movement. Its first congress was held in July 1939 under the Association's slogan, "Islam is our religion, Arabic is our language, and Algeria is our homeland." Bouras chaired the congress. The occupation authorities later executed him on the charge of inciting revolution. Most members and leaders of the scout troops were also affiliated with the Association.

The Ulama's interest in Muslim scouting formed part of their cultural, educational, and religious mission. The relationship between the two organizations was close and complementary. The Ulama viewed scouting as a noble educational and moral movement that was not subject to political direction or fluctuation¹. Under their patronage, the activities of the Algerian Muslim Scouts expanded. They promoted national awareness among their young members and the wider Algerian public. Songs and dramatic performances encouraged determination and patriotic enthusiasm. These works had a mobilizing character. They portrayed the harsh conditions endured by Algerians and criticized the colonial administration. Scout songs played an important role in spreading national awareness and unifying the people. The Scouts also taught young people Arabic and its basic rules.

The close relationship between the Association of Ulama and the Algerian Muslim Scouts was also evident in the Scout movement's use of Al-Basa'ir to publish its news. This practice helped spread national awareness. The Scouts organized camps, commemorated religious, national, and cultural occasions, and participated in festivals that publicized the national cause. They also encouraged young people to make sacrifices for their homeland.

A similar relationship linked the Algerian Muslim Scouts to the independence movement. Many founders of scout troops were party activists after the organization resumed activity in Algeria as the Algerian People's Party in 1937. Mohamed Bouras, the founder of the Scout movement, also belonged to the North African Revolutionary Action Committee in 1939. The Scouts supported the party's political demands² and distributed leaflets that condemned colonial policy. Scout premises also served as shelters for political activists. In addition, the party leadership provided financial support after the colonial administration excluded the Scouts from all public assistance³.

Conclusion:

The contribution of the Association of Algerian Muslim Ulama to Algeria's cultural revival cannot be denied. Its rich and diverse writings show that it was among the nationalist currents most concerned with cultural issues. It confronted the colonial administration and its repressive laws against the fundamental components of national identity, especially Islam and the Arabic language. It believed that education served the nation and preserved its heritage. It therefore gave direct attention to Arabic education, despite colonial administrative obstacles. The Association also defended cultural clubs and associations and supported scouting, theatre groups, and sports teams. These activities spread its educational message and defended the foundations of national identity. Its determined defense of these core elements helped restore confidence among Algerians. It also demonstrated the Association's important role in resisting colonial attempts to undermine the national culture.

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to build an organization with ambitious aims. The occupation authorities arrested him, and he was brought before a military court on 14 May 1941. He was sentenced to death and executed by firing squad at dawn on 27 May 1941 at the Hussein Dey military ground. For further information, see Abu Imran al-Sheikh and Mohamed Djidjli, *The Algerian Muslim Scouts (1935–1955)*, special ed., Dar al-Umma Printing, Publishing and Distribution Company, Algeria, 2008, p. 14 ff.

¹ Ibid., p. 176.

² Mahfoud Kaddache, *History of the Algerian National Movement, 1939–1951*, vol. 2, trans. Mohamed Ben El Bar, 1st ed., Dar al-Umma Printing, Publishing and Distribution, Algeria, 2008, p. 1162.

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