



Self-Determination Right and Its Dimensions in the Thought of Emir Khaled al-Jazairi

Dr. Larbi Bouanani¹

¹Department of History, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Ibn Khaldoun University of Tiaret, Algeria. Email: larbi.bouanani@univ-tiaret.dz

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Abstract:

Historically, the right of self-determination has been associated with significant revolutions that occurred worldwide during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It first appeared during the American Revolution of 1776 and became more apparent during the French Revolution of 1789, taking the form of the principle of nationalities. Leaders of the national movement, such as Hamdan Ben Osman Khodja, included the principle of self-determination on their agenda and strongly defended the right of the Algerian people to emancipation and to establish their full sovereignty, similar to what occurred in Europe.

The idea of equality emphasised by Emir Khaled formed the basis for defending the political and social rights of Algerians. This is based on the premise that the Algerian nation, shaped by its long history, has developed immunity against any attempt to dismantle its multidimensional structure. Emir Khaled proposed the idea of independence, seeking to embody the concept of the Algerian nation's autonomy from the colonial power. He started from the notion that each nation has unique characteristics and cannot merge with—or dissolve into—another nation, even if it were to wish to do so. His efforts bore fruit in the form of meetings with a number of activists abroad, where the Algerian cause was discussed. He became convinced that demands for rights would not be well received by the colonial administration. Consequently, demanding independence became an irreversible objective.

Keywords: self-determination, Emir Khaled, Woodrow Wilson, colonialism, the demand for equality.

Introduction:

This study aims to shed light on the political activity of Prince Khaled the Algerian during the pivotal phase in the history of contemporary Algeria spanning 1919–1924 CE. This is evident in the successive developments experienced by the Algerian national movement after the First World War, whose aftermath helped herald a new era. At a time when many believed that the rule of oppression and tyranny had become entrenched on Algerian soil, the coloniser realised for the first time that its footing was not on solid ground, but on shifting sand.

In this regard, we will attempt to clarify Prince Khaled's positions on national issues, most notably France's disregard for the political and social rights of Algerians, and analyse his demands in light of one of President Wilson's famous speeches, delivered in New York in 1918. In that speech, he stated: 'No nation may determine the fate of peoples over whom it has



no right to rule except by a title acquired through force...'¹ These statements must therefore be analysed and compared within their historical context to understand how Prince Khaled perceived them and employed them to achieve equality. From these premises, the idea of fulfilling Algerians' aspirations appears to have gradually matured, particularly after Wilson put it forward.

Many historians consider him, in this sense, to be a pioneer of Algerian nationalism and a founder of contemporary political thought.

This is because Algerian political organisations that emerged after the First World War based their programmes on the ideas he advocated, namely the achievement of equality between Algerians and Europeans in terms of rights and duties. In this way, he is seen to have helped shape a new political landscape in Algeria and initiated discourse on independence — an objective regarded as taboo within French political dictionaries and discourse. No political organisation or party had dared to articulate a demand of this kind. His call represented a challenge to the French presence after the First World War and helped prepare the ground for the revolutionary political struggle embodied by Najm Chamal Ifríqiyya (the Star of North Africa) in 1926.

Introducing Prince Khaled:

Prince Khaled al-Hashimi was the grandson of Emir Abd al-Qadir. He was born in Damascus, the capital of the Umayyad dynasty, on 20 February 1875. Raised in Damascus, “the fortress of Arabism and Islam”, he received a sound upbringing under the care of his family. His father provided him with a strong religious education: after memorising the Holy Qur'an and studying Arabic sciences, he excelled in both subjects.

Through his upbringing and culture, Prince Khaled belonged to an elite group. Living in France allowed him to become familiar with the liberation ideas that gained popularity during the nineteenth century — ideas that led to the formation of states and political entities based on national principles. It was his knowledge of methods of struggle that would enable him to confront colonialism. In this regard, Sun Tzu — whose *The Art of War* dates back more than two thousand years BCE — states that one of the conditions of victory is to know one's enemy. He graduated from the prestigious French military academy Saint-Cyr² and served in the French army as a captain for twenty-three years.

For his part, Prince Khaled sought to establish links between rural patriotism, which represented the vast majority of Algerians, and those who had fought in the ranks of Emir Abd

¹ Hussein Ali Al-Jayshi, *Self-Determination: A Comparative Study*, Dar Al-Kitab Al-Arabi, 1967, p. 40

² Saint-Cyr is an ancient and prestigious French military academy. The term 'Saint-Cyr' refers to a group of specialised military schools covering multiple fields, including technology, administration and training, and reserve officer programmes. Focusing on training land forces, the academy was established in 1803 by Napoleon Bonaparte and reorganised under the royal region in 1808. Admission to the school follows standard procedures. The programme comprises three academic tracks: arts, sciences, and economic sciences. To date, Saint-Cyr has trained 60,000 officers and provided 10,000 officers in service to France. France has been receiving annual cohorts of young people since 1883. See: (Grand-Dict-Eny): La Rousse, vol. 9, 1983.



al-Qadir's army and been relied upon in resisting the occupying forces. However, the intensity of resistance in the countryside had diminished to a certain extent. In the cities, political activity was largely confined to a group of notables, intellectuals, and bourgeois figures who shared interests with the French administration. These same circles branded Prince Khaled as reactionary, describing him as 'confused' and opposed to France³.

Indeed, by nature and stature, Prince Khaled was a more suitable candidate for leadership than Algeria's appointment of him could ever be, given his elevated position and practical capability. His leadership stemmed from the very essence of leadership among peoples and contained no lack of firmness or depth. For this reason, he was seen as one of those exceptional figures who move people's souls, shake them to the core and inspire admiration. He was admired by those who lived in his time, including military, political and intellectual figures, both European and Arab. Moreover, he attracted the attention of many Algerian and Arab researchers, specialists and historians.

In any case, there is no doubt that the national movement, whose emergence onto the political stage was marked by Prince Khaled's appearance after the First World War, did not reflect the course of society. Rather, it sought to inspire the people with hope of achieving what more than ninety years of military resistance had failed to accomplish. Thus, the idea of self-determination emerged with a single overarching objective: independence. Initially, independence seemed like a fantasy to many, especially since colonialism had become firmly entrenched in all areas of life and tightened its grip, leading many to believe that France would remain forever. It took decades for the demand for independence, towards which the leadership of the national movement aspired, to gain acceptance among a broad segment of Algerian society.

The Emergence and Development of the Principle of Self-Determination

1. In the American Revolution

The roots of the self-determination theory can be traced back to President Woodrow Wilson's formulation of this principle as an extension of the idea of the United States of America's independence. For our purposes, the following excerpt is relevant: 'It is the nature of human events that the breaking of the political bonds which have connected one nation with another becomes necessary in order that each may assume among the nations of the world the separate and equal station to which the laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them.'

It is clear from this that the revolutionary leadership, coming from the bourgeois class, was calling for the establishment of an entity that was politically independent of the British Crown⁴.

³- Mahfoudh Guaddach, *History of the Algerian National Movement*, translated by Ahmed bin al-Barr, Vol. 1: 1919–1939 (2011 edition), Dar al-Umma for Printing, Publishing and Distribution, p. 127.

⁴- Based on the foregoing, the significance of the principle that peoples are the holders of sovereignty becomes apparent. This is because the American Revolution did not reflect the interests of all the American people to the same extent; it mainly represented the interests of white European immigrants. By contrast, Native Americans had a stronger claim than others to demand the restoration of their homeland and the right to determine their own destiny within it. Furthermore, unlike other groups, they had never possessed a political entity dismantled by colonialism. Therefore, the term 'people' was adopted without paying sufficient attention to its historical meaning. At the same



This is also evident in the American Declaration of Independence, which refers to the necessity of achieving the principle of political self-determination. It states: ‘These United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; and all political connection between them and Great Britain is totally dissolved.’

In the French Revolution

Some Western legal scholars have linked the concept of self-determination to the French Revolution because it explicitly acknowledges popular sovereignty. The Declaration of the Rights of Man, issued during the French Revolution in 1789, stated: ‘The Nation is the holder of sovereignty; no individual or group may exercise authority unless it derives that authority from the Nation’⁵.

Thus, the French Revolution paved the way for many nations to decide their own destiny. Consequently, it can be argued that the French Revolution paved the way for all peoples to embark on a journey of emancipation and liberation. Likewise, the texts included in the charters and declarations of the rights of man explicitly refer to the principle of self-determination as a noble objective to be achieved.

The Right of Self-Determination Among the Leaders of Resistance After the French Occupation of Algeria

Following the signing of the instrument of surrender by the Dey of Algiers on 5 July 1830, official resistance came to an end. France then took control of administering the country and a new chapter began in Algeria’s relationship with the occupying army — one in which the occupier rejected the promises it had made under the instrument of surrender.

At this time, the urban elite, led by Hamdane Ben Othman Khodja, realised that France intended to stay. This prompted Hamdane Ben Othman Khodja to take the lead in political resistance by submitting a petition to the French authorities, calling on them to honour treaties and commitments and insisting that France remain faithful to the principles of the 1789 Revolution. Hamdane Ben Othman Khodja said: “Why is my country subjected to this ordeal that shakes its very being? And if we look at the situation in neighbouring states today, we see how Greece is receiving support for liberation, how the Belgian people are freeing themselves from the Dutch, and how all free peoples are concerned with the Poles and helping them to recover their nationality...”⁶

This shows that Hamdane was familiar with the political transformations that had swept through Europe following the French Revolution and the nationalism that emerged in the

time, the rights of Black people, who were enslaved and exploited by white people, were disregarded and they were treated in the most brutal manner possible.

⁵- Abd el-Hamid el-Batrik and Abd al-Aziz Naouar, *Modern European History from the Age of the Renaissance to the Vienna Conference*, Dar al-Nahda al-Arabiya for Printing and Publishing, Beirut, 1971, p. 379.

⁶- Hamdane Ben Othman Khodja: *Historical and Statistical Overview of the Regency of Algiers*, Ed. 1833. See: Charles-André Julien, *History of Contemporary Algeria: Conquest and the Beginnings of Occupation (1827–1871)*, Vol. 1, Dar al-Umma Printing and Publishing Company, 2013 edition, p. 132.



nineteenth century. He therefore vigorously defended the right of the Algerian people to liberation and to establish their complete sovereignty, similar to what had occurred in Europe. This is why we concluded that the principle of self-determination was a key part of Hamdane Ben Othman Khodja's agenda.

Hamdane believed that the Algerian and French nations could not coexist in Algeria. He argued that they were dissimilar in terms of religion and language. Conversely, he held that Algerian nationalism had emerged as a result of foreign occupation. In addition, Emir Abdelkader drew the attention of the people of eastern Algeria in a proclamation, calling them to jihad, saying: "You are today under the authority of a 'Romian'; a 'Romian' prosecutes you; and a 'Romian' manages your affairs."⁷

In this context, Emir Abdelkader's use of the term "Romian" refers to an invading army belonging to a nation different from Algeria. Therefore, it was necessary to combat and drive back the invading army so that Algeria could recover its sovereignty and determine its own fate. Abdelkader also believed that colonial invasion awakened national feeling and conscience. Accordingly, the Algerian people displayed intense patriotism and zeal in defending the dignity and authenticity of their nation.

Meanwhile, Prince Abdelmalek, Abdelkader's son, also led a national uprising, presenting it as a commemoration of his father's memory. Like his father, Prince Abdelmalek considered the French to be his worst enemies and vowed to destroy them by any means necessary⁸.

The Principle of Self-Determination in President Wilson's Thought (President of the United States of America).

With the end of the First World War, the principle of self-determination began to penetrate colonial regimes, providing a basis for the peoples of the colonies to claim independence. This was especially the case following the announcement of Wilson's Fourteen Points, as set out in his address to the US Congress: "It is necessary that the interests and desires of populations be given due regard in determining claims of sovereignty and territorial affiliation."⁹

Among Wilson's famous speeches on this topic is the one he delivered in New York in 1918, in which he said: 'Is it permissible for the authority of one nation, or a group of nations, to decide the fate of peoples that do not have the right to be ruled by them, except through a title acquired by force? And is it permissible for powerful nations to wrong weaker nations and subject them to their aims and interests?'

Clearly, President Wilson was calling for respect for the principle of self-determination. However, many historians and specialists disagreed about the substance of the principle as presented by Wilson. Nevertheless, these principles were regarded as being in favour of oppressed peoples. On the other hand, applying this principle could have played a crucial role in inciting national minorities and weakening the major European powers. In any case, however, this did not necessarily mean undermining the colonial bond itself.

⁷- The Algerian National Movement, vol. 1, Dar al-Basair al-Jazair, 6th edition, 2009, p. 272.

⁸- Abu al-Qasim Saad Allah, *ibid.*, p. 234.

⁹- Ahmed Atiyat Allah, Political Dictionary, Cairo: Dar al-Nahda al-Arabiyya, 1968, p. 319.



It is also worth noting that Thomas Jefferson was born on 13 April 1743 in Virginia. He studied at William and Mary College, from which many US presidents graduated. He was elected to Congress and, during his time there, he wrote a preliminary draft of the Declaration of Independence. He also drafted a law guaranteeing religious freedom in 1786. As the third U.S. president from 1800 to 1808, he made an extremely important contribution to shaping the concept of the right of self-determination.

The principle of self-determination is implicitly reflected in the following statement: 'The members of the League undertake to respect the integrity of the territories of all the members of the League and their existing political independence, and to preserve them against any external aggression.' Thus, the above-mentioned article explicitly concerns respecting the territorial integrity of League of Nations members. It does not refer — either directly or indirectly — to countries under European colonial rule. However, the peoples of the colonies saw it as a means of achieving liberation from the oppression and repression that the peoples of the Third World had endured for more than two centuries.

Thus, this analysis helps to answer the first research question by showing that start-up institutions in Algeria are distinctive not only legally, but also in their ability to adapt to the specificities of the sports sector and evolve into a genuine mechanism for students' self-directed investment¹⁰.

The right of self-determination from different angles:

The principle of self-determination is one of the basic principles on which oppressed peoples relied to free themselves from the colonial yoke imposed by the great colonial powers, who claimed to be helping them become civilised and progress. However, the evils of colonialism prompted progressive leaders to try to turn the right of self-determination into a means of liberation and a safeguard for oppressed peoples, especially since Wilson called for the creation of an association of nations to establish rules that would ensure the political independence and safety of all countries, large and small¹¹.

From this standpoint, President Wilson stated that the right of self-determination is "respect for national aspirations and the right of peoples not to be governed except by their own will", and that "this right is not merely an expression, but a necessary principle for action"¹².

Thomas Jefferson, the United States' Minister of Foreign Affairs, defined it as follows: 'the right of every nation to govern itself in the manner it deems fit and to alter this form whenever it wishes'¹³.

¹⁰- Omar Ismail Saad Allah, *ibid.*, p. 42.

¹¹- Omar Ismail Saad Allah, *ibid.*, p. 42.

¹²- Taysir Shawkat al-Nabulsi, *The Israeli Occupation of Arab Lands, Beirut, 1975*, p. 252.

¹³- Salah al-Dabbagh, 'Armed Palestinian Struggle in Light of the Provisions of International Law: The Right to Self-Determination and the Right to Resistance', a paper presented to the World Palestine Seminar in Kuwait in February 1971, p. 3.

Thomas Jefferson was born on 13 April 1743 in Virginia. He studied at the College of William & Mary, from which many U.S. presidents graduated. He was elected to Congress and drafted the preliminary declaration of independence during that time. He also enacted a law guaranteeing religious freedom in 1786. The third U.S. president (in office



Some see it as: 'the right of every nation to be the competent authority, distinct from others, to determine its own affairs without foreign intervention'¹⁴.

Based on what has preceded, it can be said that the meaning of the right of peoples to determine their destiny has been interpreted in different political ways according to the interests of each party. This means the right of peoples to govern themselves, provided the link with the colonial state is severed. Prince Khaled demanded the application of Wilson's Fourteen Points, while some interpreted this as recognising the right to establish independent states on a national basis in Europe. This made the colonial powers stand firmly against any attempt to break up states into small entities. Conversely, Article 10 implicitly refers to the principle of self-determination and states: 'The members of the League undertake to respect the integrity of the territories of all the members of the League and their established independence, and to preserve them against any external aggression.' This article explicitly refers to respecting the territorial integrity of the territories that make up the League of Nations, but does not mention the territories under European colonialism. However, the peoples of the colonies saw it as fulfilling their aspirations for liberation from the oppression and repression that the peoples of the Third World had experienced for over two centuries.

The maturation of independence-minded thought within the demand for equality:

Prince Khalid, a descendant of Prince Abdelkader, expressed strong national feelings when he said: 'I am an Arab, and I want to remain an Arab. I will never give up my convictions and aspirations'¹⁵. Thus, he imbued his country, Algeria, with a national identity, a nation which is still struggling against foreign colonialism and continues the resistance ignited by his grandfather, Prince Abdelkader. This resistance has not been extinguished; it continues to burn, scorching the colonisers and renewing the Algerian nation's determination to resist in order to sever its link to the European powers that desecrated this sacred land.

With its historical legacy, Algeria constitutes an independent entity whose roots run deep into history. It possesses all the elements that define a nation and a state. Prince Khalid's call was in response to France's refusal to recognise the rights of Algerians to live alongside the French on an equal footing¹⁶; instead, France regarded them as mere subjects — indeed, as slaves — created to serve the settlers. They could not become French unless they renounced their personal status as Muslims.

Accordingly, Algerians saw the 'equality' they called for as a means rather than an end. However, some misunderstood the true meaning of this demand. They were not calling for

from 1800 to 1808) made an extremely significant contribution to the formulation of the concept of the right of self-determination.

¹⁴- Jean-François, *Le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes* (The Right of Peoples to Dispose of Themselves), University Presses of Grenoble, 1976, p. 19.

¹⁵- Boualam Bessaih, *The Signs/Heralds of Algerian Resistance Against French Colonialism: With the Sword and the Pen, 1830–1954*, Islamic Guidance Library, 2007, p. 253.

¹⁶- Equality: what the Algerians were calling for was a means rather than an end. Some people misunderstood the true meaning of this demand. Algerians did not ask for equality in order to remain French; rather, they did so in order to protect themselves against the unjust laws imposed on them by their enemy.



themselves to remain French; rather, they did so in order to protect themselves against the unjust laws imposed on them by their enemy.

The solution lies in separating the two nations, despite the religious implications carried by this idea. However, the Prince who called on Algerians to live as French in exchange for preserving their personal status was not speaking on behalf of religion; rather, he was speaking in the name of democracy—meaning freedom of belief and thought.

From this, it became clear to Prince Khalid that France could not treat Algerians as human beings, which contradicts what is stated in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen issued by the French Revolution in 1789. It says: “People are born and remain free and equal in rights... Sovereignty resides essentially in the nation.”

The idea of equality, emphasised by Prince Khalid, became a cornerstone in the defence of the political and social rights of the Algerian people. He participated in local elections under the 1919 reforms, and his list won a decisive victory. However, the governor of the province annulled the elections, considering them a threat to the settlers’ interests and believing they would later be used to form a competing political bloc that would endanger the French presence in Algeria.

Seizing the opportunity of his visit to French President Alexandre Millerand, Prince Khalid publicly raised the Algerian question, calling for justice. He demanded fair treatment for Algerians, calling for them to be given parliamentary representation in the French National Assembly. In an interview with the Italian newspaper *La Nazione*, Khalid explained that the First World War had created an Islamic consciousness. He concluded the interview by emphasising that our movement is political in nature because the issue is the independence of all lands in the Islamic world¹⁷. Algeria is part of this Islamic world and is striving for liberation alongside the other peoples.

He proposed the idea of independence, seeking to embody the concept of an independent Algerian nation, based on the principle that every nation has unique characteristics and cannot merge with or dissolve into another nation, even if it attempts to do so.

In this context, we can only listen to Mr Lucien:

Lucien Febvre explains how the idea of the nation emerged in France, a description which particularly applies to Algeria. He said:

‘If we consider what is said about the fact that the concepts of language and nationality were separate in the earlier royal period, it becomes clear that the meaning of the word “nation” (or “people”) was different around 1750 from what it evolved into by 1793. In 1750, the ideas of ‘people’ and ‘nationality’ had not yet taken shape because the term was not written on the doors of churches and municipalities alongside the words ‘king’ and ‘law’¹⁸. It only appeared in 1791. However, the idea of the nation was already forming in people’s minds. So why would

¹⁷- Abu al-kacem Saad Allah, *The Algerian National Movement*, vol. 2, Dar al-Basa’ir for Publishing and Distribution, Algeria, 6th ed., 2009, p. 369.

¹⁸- Lucien Febvre, *Combats pour l’Histoire*, p. 22.



this not also apply to Algerians before the occupation in 1830? Algerians instinctively form a national entity.”

The contents of Prince Khalid’s petition to President Wilson:

On Friday, 23 May 1919, an Algerian delegation of five, led by Prince Khalid al-Hassani, travelled to Paris to meet with the American Commission to Negotiate Peace. They submitted a petition to President Wilson and the Peace Conference against France’s colonial administration, demanding recognition of the Algerian people’s right to live freely and independently.

Prince Khalid boldly and directly sought to challenge France by leveraging the support of the United States to pressure the colonial authorities into placing Algeria under international mandate. In his address, he did not rule out achieving this. This was consistent with humanity’s new outlook. He had high hopes for the Wilsonian call. At the very least, he hoped that, during the negotiations, this appeal would not become an instrument that helped the powerful against the weak or an obstacle to those demanding rights.

The principle of self-determination lay at the heart of the Treaty of Versailles agreements, which were signed after the First World War. These agreements called for the formation of new nation-states in Europe, replacing the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires. Later on, this principle formed the basis of anti-colonial demands.

From the outset, the right of self-determination applied to populations united by a shared language, culture and geography. Accordingly, the right of self-determination applies in two situations only:

- Colonised or occupied peoples: in this case, the right gives them the right to free themselves from foreign occupation or racial discrimination.
- Minorities subjected to oppression: In this case, the principle applies to minorities experiencing persecution or systematic racial or ethnic discrimination at the hands of the colonial state.

It was from this that Prince Khalid called for the right of self-determination to be demanded. He based this on Wilson’s points as a way to overcome the deadlock of the Algerian situation, since they were subject to a set of exceptional and merciless laws, such as criminal courts and commissions/boards.

In a so-called ‘republican’ system, the majority of the population is subject to laws that would shame even the ‘barbarians’ themselves. This infamous and repugnant form of racial discrimination stems from a culture of arrogance and superiority. This was confirmed by Dr Farny when he said: ‘It should have been highly cautious not to grant a society that is still relatively close to a state of savagery the same rights as a civilised people.’¹⁹

Therefore, equality cannot be achieved, since the French view Algerians as ‘savages’ who must be civilised — a process that, according to them, requires a great deal of time.

¹⁹ The people of Algeria experienced cultural mixing and a richness of culture that goes back to ancient historical times. They also experienced the civilization that moved to them from the land of Mesopotamia and interacted with the civilization of Pharaonic Egypt and with Roman civilization. When the Islamic conquest entered the region, the population acquired its new civilizational character. As for France, it did not witness this kind of historical development, and its own civilizational condition only became coherent in relatively later historical periods.



Khalid based his efforts to make Algeria's voice heard on the idea of the right of self-determination — Algeria was struggling to regain its sovereignty. He reminded Wilson of the following official statement in which Wilson said: 'No people should be forced to live under a sovereignty they do not approve of, nor should any state extend its political system to another state or people.' You yourselves stated this in May 1917, in your address to Russia. This gives us hope that those days have finally come.

Nevertheless, we have come on behalf of our citizens, seeking recourse in the noble sentiments of your sovereignty, O free President of America. We demand that you send deputies chosen by us to determine our future destiny under the supervision of the League of Nations²⁰.

Mr President, your Fourteen Points for world peace, accepted by both the Allied Powers and the Central Powers, must form the basis for freeing oppressed and humiliated peoples, regardless of race or religion²¹.

Thus, Prince Khalid saw the idea of the right of self-determination, which President Wilson put forward in light of the developments the world witnessed after World War I, as a flicker of hope that it could be adopted as a basis for getting rid of colonialism. He expected Wilson to raise the Algerian question before the League of Nations so that the international organisation would be able to decide Algeria's fate. Thus, although not explicitly raised, the concept of self-determination was carefully incorporated into the demand for equality, a concept that emerged in Western societies in the nineteenth century.

In the twentieth century, mixing with other races through colonialism and migration would strengthen the central position of 'equality' in the thinking of reform leaders such as Prince Khalid, in order to confront France's discriminatory policies against Algerians. However, this goal was to be achieved gradually through the granting of political and civil rights to Algerians by France.

This led the settlers to firmly oppose Prince Khalid's project to liberate Algeria. From our perspective, France's acceptance of the principle of equality would have meant, quite simply, signing the death certificate of French existence in Algeria. Equality would force France into a corner, leaving it with two painful options: accepting equality would mean the rule of the majority, which would ultimately lead to power being concentrated in the hands of the Algerians. The second option — continued French policy aimed at marginalising and oppressing Algerians — would push them to organise and take up arms. This is exactly what happened in 1954, when the glorious Revolution of Liberation began.

Conclusion

Prince Khalid demanded the right of self-determination to pressure the French administration into responding to the Algerians' demands for political and civil rights. These rights would then become a stepping stone towards the Algerians' future self-determination.

²⁰- Abu al-Kacem Sa'd Allah, *Studies and Views in the History of Algeria*, vol. 2, National Publishing Institution, Algeria, 1986, p. 58.

²¹- Abu al-Kacem Saad Allah, 'Studies and Views in the History of Algeria', vol. 2, National Publishing Institution, Algeria, 1986, p. 58.



However, the settlers' stubbornness, supported by the media and the silence of moderate French elites, prevented Prince Khalid from achieving his ambitious project. Nevertheless, he did not lose hope. He continued his work in exile and met many activists abroad. The Algerian cause was discussed after he became convinced that demands for rights would not be well received by the colonial administration. Thus, demanding independence became an irreversible goal.

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