

Real Estate Legislation in French Colonial Policy and its Economic and Social Effects in Algeria and Tunisia between 1919- 1939

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Abstract. In this study, I attempt to shed light on a specific aspect of French colonial policy in the Maghreb, focusing on the settlement in both Algeria and Tunisia during the interwar period. I consider this policy to have been the cornerstone of the French consolidation of their grip on both countries. This stems from the premise that the settlement process would contribute to giving the occupation its real meaning and actual implementation. Colonialism that lacks settlement is a formal colonialism. Therefore, the granting of land ownership to Europeans was both an end and a means for the colonial policy, which was based on numerous laws. In this study, I relied on well-known scientific methods, such as the descriptive method in addition to the statistical method through counting and inventorying the various lands that France controlled in both Algeria and Tunisia, in addition to our use of the analytical method, and this through analyzing the various historical phenomena that were mentioned in the various sources and references that dealt with the subject. This study is considered original, as all the studies that dealt with the subject of settlement during the French colonial period in both countries started from the first years of colonialism. The study concludes with several key findings, we reached many conclusions that were in the form of summaries, the most notable being that the French reliance on many laws and legislation by virtue of which they were able to seize large parts of the lands of Algerians and Tunisians, and to own them to Europeans in general and the French in particular, in order to achieve the French colonial project.

1. INTRODUCTION

The forms of colonialism are many and varied, but the goal is one. There is no doubt that the subjection of Tunisia and Morocco to French protection is a form of colonialism. Anyone who follows the conditions of Morocco under French colonialism will encounter the image of French settlement practices previously discussed in Algeria. This policy represented an experiment for the French, who relied on an arsenal of laws that allowed the French to control those lands belonging to Maghribans.

Colonialism in the Maghreb, along with the influx of capital, provided a path to imposing control in the economic sphere. As a result, this control became visible in the settlement strategy, which was at the heart of French colonialism in the Maghreb, given its importance in consolidating and reinforcing colonialism and attaining its objectives.

In this regard, the first thing that occupied the French occupation administration was to work by all means to give ownership of the agricultural lands of the colon, on the basis that this process would contribute to giving the occupation its real meaning and its actual application, based on the fact that colonialism that lacks settlement is merely a formal colonialism, without settlement is merely a formal colonialism, and thus the ownership of Moroccan and Tunisian lands to Europeans was an end and a means of the colon.

1.1. In Algeria

1.1.1. Ownership Laws: An Attempt to Legitimize Settlement in Algeria

Discussing colonial policy in the economic sphere is primarily about agricultural activity. This is due to several considerations, including the fact that agriculture represented the most vital sector compared to other sectors. Furthermore, it was the sector that accounted for the lion's share of the Algerian economy throughout the French occupation, given the availability of all the necessary conditions.¹

In this context, when discussing agricultural activity in Algeria, we cannot ignore discussing the land, which represented the foundation of this activity. As a result, the colonial authorities worked from the moment they arrived in Algeria and throughout their lengthy history in the region to tighten their grip on the territory. Before 1940, we documented the French occupation administration's arbitrary possession of agricultural lands.²

Land has historically represented the source of livelihood for Algerians, with which they supported those under their care. Therefore, the relationship between that Algerian and the land was strong, due to their strong connection to it³, And given that the land is the basis of agricultural activity, which is considered the backbone of the Algerian economy⁴, France focused its

¹Khethir Aziz, *Issues in the History of the National Movement* (Dar Al-Khalil for publishing: Djelfa, 2015), 31.

²Mohammed TAGUIA, *l'Algérie en guerre* (OPU for publishing: Alger, 1975), 112.

³Enfantin, *colonisation de l'Algérie* (édition de P. BERTRAND lib: Paris, 1843) 80.

⁴We ask here, did Algeria have an economy that we call the Algerian economy? First, agriculture has always been a fundamental pillar in the economies of countries, on the one hand, in addition to the fact that agriculture during the colonial period was the mainstay of the economy in Algeria, and therefore France focused on the land and formulated various laws that would facilitate the process of exploiting that land, on the other hand. The colonial authorities also worked to link the Algerian economy to the French economy, and therefore we cannot establish the existence of a purely Algerian economy under the yoke of French colonialism, which worked to plunder goods and wealth, and attempt to build a

economic policy on the land within the framework of the settlement process.⁵ Accordingly, the ideology of colonization⁶ not settlement in the sense of housing, but control of land was the crux of French policy, which aimed to tighten its grip on the Algerian economy.⁷

Therefore, the settlement process undertaken by France was divided into two parts, beginning with official settlement, which extended from 1830 to 1840. The colonial administration encouraged European immigration and granted concessions, particularly with regard to land grants⁸. The colonial authorities did not limit themselves to granting land to individuals alone; they also established land ownership companies, through which thousands of hectares of land were granted. An example of such companies is the Swiss company in Sétif region⁹.

The French colonial authorities also pursued their second phase of settlement policy, known as free settlement, which began with General Bugeaud assuming power in Algeria, beginning in the year 1840, and the expropriation laws remained in effect until 1950, through numerous decrees and laws drafted by the colonial authorities¹⁰.

1.1.2. Settlement, Study of the Limits of Dispossession

Within the framework of settlement, large areas of indigenous land were confiscated, and France claimed rights to Algerian land that it did not have, supporting the colonists¹¹. It also contributed to promoting and attracting immigrants, without whom the confiscated lands could not be utilized¹².

Furthermore, the colonial administration became involved in what is known as the "legislative game," enacting laws to be used as weapons of plunder. Accordingly, the French colonial administration worked to confiscate Algerian lands by all means. Perhaps the French even extended their reach to Waqf and Habous lands, which are considered a red line for Algerians. All of this occurred under real estate legislation under various laws, including Senate decree of 1863 and the Warnier Law of 1873¹³.

Land confiscation increased from 1847000 hectares in 1910 to 2344000 hectares in 1929, reaching 2720000 hectares in 1940¹⁴. This is in light of the control of fertile lands to the exclusion of other fallow lands to which the population was expelled¹⁵.

Therefore, the main reason for the people's misery is the expropriation of large areas of their best lands¹⁶ by France through seizure, confiscation, or administrative concessions¹⁷. This phenomenon has always existed as long as French colonialism in Algeria, and falls under the category of expropriation¹⁸, practiced by the occupying authorities using all means of intimidation, military violence, and administrative repression¹⁹.

This exploitation, from its inception, presupposes two basic elements: the first is the consolidation of capitalist social relations, and thus the destruction of pre-capitalist social relations (original structures), on the one hand, and the subjugation of these latter to new capitalist structures, a condition for the continuation of the colonial presence²⁰.

Referring to the 1919 law, which limited the economic participation of Tatars, it granted French citizenship for economic reasons, aiming to contribute to the French economy to large landowners, merchants, and members of the Chamber of Agriculture, who won farmer competitions or were registered on the taxpayers' list²¹. Considering that the law was reformist in nature, it also stipulated the abolition of the arbitrary law that prevented Algerians from grazing in forests, imposed free guarding on them, and fined anyone close to a forest that had been burned. It also imposed a limit on the looting of personal land and the land of tribes and clans collective property²².

colonial economy that served the French primarily..., look at Ammari Ahmed, *The legal system of economic units in Algeria* (Algeria, 1984), 1.

⁵Ahmed Samih Hassan, *Jewish Settlement in Algeria 1830-1962*, (Al-Kitab Al-Arabi for publication: Algiers, 2014), 112.

⁶This policy required the forcible expropriation of agricultural and fertile lands from Algerians and their replacement with landowners generally from Europe. The consequences of this policy were extremely dangerous for the social life of the Algerian population, as land was considered their sole source of livelihood, given that Algerian farmers constituted 70% of the total population. Consequently, this policy disrupted the country's economic, social, and even demographic fabric through the migration process that the country experienced, the effects of which extended over a long period of time. Regarding this issue, Abdelmalek Khalaf Tamimiconiders, *Foreign Settlement in the Arab World: the Maghreb, Palestine, the Arabian Gulf - A Comparative Historical Study* (al-Ma'rifa, Kuwait, 1983), 21.

⁷Dahmane Touati, *The Group of Large Landowners and Their Role in Directing Economic and Political Decisions in Algeria 1900-1954*, PhD Thesis in Modern and Contemporary History, (University Constantine 02; Constantine, 2016-2017), 22.

⁸Mohammed Yacine Al-Khatib, *Modern Arab History*, (Al-Amal; Algiers, 1998), 108.

⁹Directorate of Agriculture, *Colonization in Algeria 1830-1924*, (published by Administrative Émile Pfister; Paris, 1924), 7.

¹⁰Amar AMOURA, Summary of the History of Algeria, (Raihana for Publishing; Algiers, 2002), 174.

¹¹Hassina Hamamid, *European Settlers and the Algerian Revolution 1954-1962*, (Al-Hibr Publications; Algeria, 2007), 21

¹²Ibrahim Miasi, *Approaches to the History of Algeria 1830-1962*, (Granada Publishing and Distribution; Algeria, 2013), 121.

¹³Despite the arbitrary expropriation decisions, Algerians remained attached to their land, prompting the occupying authorities to issue several laws to expropriate it. Among these laws was the Warnier Law, considered one of the most dangerous measures undertaken by the Third French Republic. This was due to the depletion resulting from forced sales. This explains the transfer of ownership of approximately 432388 hectares to the colonists within 20 years, while colonist ownership had reached 2720000 hectares by 1930... Ismail Larbi, *French colonial policy and its political, economic, and social impacts on the Maghreb countries Between the Two wars 1919- 1939*, PhD thesis on the History of Maghreb National Movements, (University of Abou Baker Belkaid; Tlemcen, 2019- 2020), 165.

¹⁴Marcel EGRETAUD, *réalité de la nation Algérienne*, (édition de sociales; Paris, 1961), 90- 91.

¹⁵Jules DUVAL, *l'Algérie et les Colonies Françaises*, (Guillaumin et Cie, Paris, 1877), 40.

¹⁶Jamel Guennane, *Colonial expansion is an aggressive, authoritarian and exploitative phenomenon*, Proceedings of the International Conference on Colonialism between Historical Truth and Political Debate, (Algeria; July 2-3, 2006), 64.

¹⁷Osama Sahib Mosaed, The General Economic Conditions of Algeria Under Colonial Administration 1830-1962 and Attempts to Exploit Oil Before Independence, *Journal of the Babylon Center for Humanities Studies*, n.º 3, Vol. 4, (2000), 223.

¹⁸This policy falls within the framework of what is known as the Western colonial strategy of eliminating economic components - especially those of countries whose people depend on the land as a source of livelihood - and destroying the social structure, which fell prey to French expansion under the policy of land ownership, which resulted in changing the features of society after colonialism distorted its political, economic, and social structures..., AbdelAli Rezzaki, *The Modern Algerian State Economy, Society, and Politics*, (Dar Al-Fajr for Publishing and Distribution; Cairo, 2004), 4.

¹⁹Djillali SARI, *La Dépossession des Fellahs 1830-1962*, (SNED édition; Alger, 2^{eme} édition, 1978), 167.

²⁰Taher Lamri, *French Settlement Colonialism and Its Impact on Algerian Social Structures until the End of the Nineteenth Century*, The First International Scientific Symposium on the Mechanisms of European Settlement Colonialism in Algeria and Libya, L'Emir Abdelkader University, Constantine, (May 2008), 140.

²¹Bekkar, "The previous reference", 42- 43.

²²Hafedh and Al-Sharqaoui, "The previous reference", 39.

Accordingly, Muslim representatives raised the concerns of the farmers, as reflected in the meeting of the Financial Delegations, Arab Locals Branch, in May 1920, where they raised the problems facing the local farmers. In this regard, they called for an increase in loans and requested that private reserve companies provide facilities²³.

As for France's economic policy during the centenary celebrations, it praised the colonists' tremendous efforts in the field of agriculture²⁴, which French politicians pointed out in the service of the motherland, France, on the occasion of the centenary celebrations. This is evidence of French intransigence against a defenseless people whose land was confiscated and granted to the colonists, and their efforts were glorified²⁵.

Regarding the French control of Algerian lands within the framework of Viollette Project, and the project within which it extends the Bloum-Viollette Project, no share of the expropriated rural property shall be considered unless it is less than 100 hectares. In the future, internally granted colonies shall be reconsidered, and additional lands up to 100 hectares shall be added to those who own these shares under the name of public property²⁶.

Regarding these expansions, the lands shall be incorporated into state property, without the expropriated land being the property of a clan or a tribe-meaning that the ownership of this land is not the property of a clan- and important lands shall be allocated to the forested area, as deductions shall be made from forests in all three prefectures, and the state shall take into account the costs of logging²⁷. Perhaps France has focused its attention on the Algerian economy since ancient times, especially during the period between the two world wars (1919-1939), and specifically in the period following World War I, in order to compensate for the losses it had experienced. In that war, focused on real estate ownership, which is the mainstay of the economy²⁸.

Speaking of French control over agricultural lands, agriculture in colonial Algeria was characterized by an increasing concentration in the European sector²⁹. This concentration led to a strengthening of the trend towards exporting agricultural production, which was represented by the adoption of Algerian vineyard production starting in 1890. Accordingly, approximately 273,000 hectares were allocated for this purpose in 1917, reaching 400000 hectares in 1940³⁰.

In this context, the French colonial authorities, tasked with developing reform programs within the framework of colonial agriculture, claimed to distribute land to Algerian peasants, but in reality, they only contributed to the perpetuation of poverty in the rural world. This, however, constituted political appeasement measures for the Algerian peasantry, which adopted rural nationalism as a method of responding to the agricultural shock in France³¹.

Given that Algeria was an agricultural country, the French colonial authorities exploited Algerian lands within the framework of exploiting natural resources to serve the colonial project. This is evidenced by the numerous reports drafted on the subject, including one report, the most important of which stated the following: "Algeria has a pleasant climate and good soil, with wide pastures and spacious plains, abundant in the produce of America and India."³²

1.1.3. The Effects of Settlement and its Economic and Social Repercussions

After the Algerians took control of their lands as part of the settlement policy, they began to establish what is known as colonial agriculture. This was done by cultivating what suited them and served the motherland, starting with grains, based on the premise that the latter primarily wheat³³ was one of the reasons for the French occupation of Algeria (= the debt issue). Therefore, the colonial authorities encouraged this type of agriculture, especially after its prices rose and its production increased from 8 quintals per hectare in 1920 to 12 quintals per hectare in 1935³⁴.

²³Archives nationales of Algeria, SeriesFGGA, fond 5E, boite 280, date de 1919-1925.

²⁴Regarding agriculture and its development - in order to serve the colonists and their interests, not for the sake of the Algerians - the French colonial authorities established, in this regard, the Experimental Agricultural School, at the initiative of the General State in Algeria. This education culminated in the provision of theoretical knowledge that enabled its holder to understand agricultural methods. This school employed deputies of landowners or repeaters to deliver these lessons, which contributed to the advancement of Algerian agriculture. Education in this school was experimental, teaching agriculture, livestock breeding, land surveying, blacksmithing, and carpentry. In addition, it offered French language lessons. For more information on this school., *An-Najah newspaper*, n°. 985, (July 19, 1930).

²⁵As an indication of the elimination of the social structure, France, with regard to these celebrations, focused its policy on all aspects, whether political, social, religious, or otherwise. For example, regarding the religious aspect, these celebrations, as previously mentioned, were considered a celebration of the funeral of Islam and its replacement by Christianity, which France attempted to revive. On the social side, it is one of the most heinous acts of France to celebrate its glory in Algeria while the people are being oppressed by these provocative celebrations.

²⁶Maurice VIOLETTE, *l'Algérie vivra-t-elle ? notes d'un ancien gouverneur général*, (éd- Félix ALCAN; Paris, 1931), 93.

²⁷Since 1926, new privileges have emerged, through which 225,000 hectares of land were distributed to 1,200 colons, which increased the number of European farmers. This also contributed to the increase in the number of agricultural estates, whose holdings exceeded 500 hectares of fertile land..., Emile ALBERTINI et autre, *Afrique du nordfrançaisedsansl'histoire*, (éd- Archat; Paris, 1937), 304.

²⁸Hayet Thabti, *The Economic and Social Conditions in the Oran Sector 1929-1954*, Doctoral Thesis in Modern and Contemporary History, (University of Abou Baker Belkaid, Tlemcen, 2010- 2011), 46.

²⁹The land area was estimated at 16.8 million hectares, of which 6.8 million hectares were agricultural land, representing approximately half a hectare per capita. In reality, however, all of this land was in the hands of the colonists, who acquired it through arbitrary decisions and laws within the framework of the policy known as expropriation of agricultural property. Thus, the agricultural land owned by the colonists in the first half of the 20th century reached 2,720,000 hectares by 1940. This was all part of the process of destroying the spirit of Algerian collective agricultural ownership, with the elimination of dominant agriculture and its replacement by other crops, particularly grapes, following the two epidemics of mildew and phylloxera that struck grape cultivation in France..., Ismail Larbi, *Economic Development in Maghreb*, Part 2, (publishing by SNED; Algiers, 1988), 112- 113.

³⁰The concentration factor in European agriculture can be explained by the failure of agricultural settlement, as it was originally conceived. Initially, the colonial authorities took on the task of settling European peasants themselves. However, the high cost forced them to abandon the process in favor of private companies starting in the 1920.., Hartmut Elsenhaus, *The Failure of French Colonialism in Algeria*, (Dar Al-Qasbah for Publishing; Algiers, 2015), 60.

³¹Mohammed Saleh Al-Siddeeq, *Algeria A Land of Challenge and Resilience*, (Al- nahdha for Publishing, Algiers, 2007), 76- 77.

³²Mohammed Larbi Zbiri, *Contemporary History of Algeria*, Part 1, (Arab Writers Union Publications, 1999), 43.

³³The cultivation of these grains is represented primarily by wheat - both hard and soft - as we have previously mentioned. In addition, we find among the Algerian grains barley in addition to carob and corn. In this regard, we cannot neglect the cultivation of legumes such as beans, lentils and beans, but the areas of these crops - that is, the cultivation of grains - remain small compared to the areas allocated for the cultivation of vines, and to compensate for their losses in this cultivation in the French lands after the disease that struck such crops.

³⁴Abdelhakim Rouahna, *French Economic Policy in Algeria 1870-1930*, Magister's Thesis in Modern and Contemporary History, (L'hadj Lakhder University; Batna, 2013-2014), 98.

Thus, this explains why grain cultivation³⁵ had its share of colonial agriculture, as 835,000 hectares were allocated, the annual average for grain cultivation throughout the decade from 1915 to 1924. This average later increased to 815000 hectares in the decade from 1925 to 1934), to reach 862000 hectares between 1935 and 1944³⁶.

In light of this, the colonial administration adopted what was known as wheat protectionism³⁷, based on the exorbitant duties imposed in this regard, which were later reduced. Due to political pressure from French grain farmers, duties of up to 5 francs per quintal were imposed. This was in addition to an alliance based on this principle between the French bourgeoisie and French villagers³⁸, which resulted in setting the duty at 7 francs per quintal. This measure ultimately allowed for the resumption of wheat cultivation³⁹.

We can illustrate grain production in Algeria between 1928 and 1935 according to the following table:

Table 1. Grain production in Algeria between 1928- 1935.

| Years | 1928-1929 | 1929-1930 | 1930-1931 | 1931-1932 | 1932-1933 | 1933-1934 | 1934-1935 |
|------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Area in hectares | 3193198 | 3328807 | 39565156 | 3026745 | 3158542 | 3049768 | 3035905 |
| Production in quintals | 1990703 | 1939387 | 1404248 | 15801513 | 1777390 | 2306069 | 17221502 |

Source: Aida Hebbati, *The previous reference*, 67.

As for barley, which is considered the second most important product after wheat, it also received its share, given its widespread use as animal feed, human food, and for export for the beer industry. Accordingly, the occupation authorities attached great importance to this product as well, resulting in a production of approximately 8,500,000 qt in an area of 1,300,000 hectares⁴⁰.

As for citrus fruits, they also constituted a type of crop that was included in France's colonial policy in its economic aspect through an attempt to develop the planting of citrus trees, which received extensive attention. This attention was given by the Algerians before the French, based on the abundant production. Evidence of this is what one officer stated, stating that there were approximately 8,000 soldiers, and the average consumption or spoilage of oranges per soldier in the Blida farms was approximately 50 oranges per day. The area was then abandoned, leaving the trees untouched, As if it had never been touched⁴¹.

In addition to citrus cultivation, the occupation authorities also focused on tobacco cultivation. We note the farm allocated to a colon named "Manque." He and a number of his friends invested in tobacco cultivation, considering it a profitable crop. This cultivation enjoyed great popularity, especially during the period from 1917 to 1932, under the encouragement of the occupation authorities⁴².

In this regard, we cannot ignore date production, which the occupation authorities attached great importance to in service of their colonial project. Therefore, they worked to establish colons in the oases after granting them land concessions⁴³. They therefore over-exploited groundwater, which led to a doubling of the number of wells and, with it, the number of palm trees⁴⁴.

Perhaps the goal of the colons who settled in the oases was to produce more dates and export them to France and then to Europe as a whole⁴⁵. This is what we illustrate- marketed production- through the table. The following:

Table 2. Date production in Algeria between 1926- 1945.

| Years | 1926-1930 | 1931-1940 | 1941-1945 |
|------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Production in quintals | 1560000 | 1093000 | 1327000 |

Source: Adda Ben Dahha, *The previous reference*, 208.

³⁵It should be noted that agriculture was under the control of the colonists who owned the most fertile lands. Despite the inadequacy and inconsistency of the calendars issued by the administrative departments of the General Province, even a careful examination of the numbers included in those calendars represents a major discrepancy between the Algerians and the land they owned, and the colonists and what they owned, going back to 5780000 hectares owned by French owners, compared to 2300000 hectares owned by 687000 indigenous Muslims. Consequently, the mode of production shifted due to the transformation of agricultural land ownership through a change in production from subsistence production - grains - to profitable production - grape cultivation-. Yahya Bouaziz, *The Policy of Domination Colonialism and the Algerian National Movement from 1830 to 1954*, (Al-Basaer; Algeria, 2009), 77.

³⁶The production calculated as an annual average for the mentioned periods does not indicate more than slight differences. In the period from 1915 to 1934, it was approximately 6700000 tons and reached 7129439 tons in the period from 1935 to 1944. Consequently, these increases in grain production do not seem to be of any importance at all and do not justify the enthusiastic statements of a number of Algerian agricultural engineers during the occupation period. If the noticeable progress between 1900 and 1939 in the production of soft wheat is not in doubt, there is also no doubt that this progress was not up to the requirements of the situation. Because the Algerians had become consumers of European bread, wheat consumption was always high, but customs did not change at all. Despite technical progress and a slight increase in the use of fertilizers, they remained within the limits of 8 tons per hectare for all types of grain., C. R. Ageron, (*previous reference*), 789- 790.

³⁷Wheat cultivation was encouraged, given that its cultivation was later replaced by grape cultivation, which witnessed a doubling of cultivated areas between the two wars, and which had witnessed development more than before in the midst of rising prices of agricultural equipment and machinery. See Ahmed Baalabek, *The Agricultural Question or the Dormant Promise in the Algerian Countryside*, (Awidat; Beirut , 1st pub, 1985), 66- 67.

³⁸Abde Al- Latif Ben Ashenhou, *The Formation of Underdevelopment in Algeria - An Attempt to Study the Limits of Capitalist Development in Algeria between 1830 and 1962*, (National Publishing and Distribution Company; Algeria, 1979), 150.

³⁹Aida Hebbati, *Naturalization and the Algerians' Attitude Towards It 1919-1939*, Magister's Thesis in Modern and Contemporary History, (L'EmirAbdelkader University of Islamic Sciences; Constantine, 2003- 2004), 66.

⁴⁰Ahmed Tawfiq Al-Madani, *This is Algeria*, (Egyptian Renaissance Library, Cairo), 116- 117.

⁴¹Abdallah Chriat and Mohammed El Mili, *Algeria in the Mirror of History*, Al Baath Publishing Library, Constantine, 1sted, 1965), 244- 245.

⁴²René BOUYAC, *Histoire de Bone*, (imp- courrier de Bone ; Annaba, 1941), 227.

⁴³It is worth noting that within the framework of colonial policy during the centenary celebrations, France focused on economic issues closely linked to its interests. Therefore, it focused on roads, crossings, and transportation in the Sahara, which is also considered a source of wealth. It also did not neglect the agricultural problems related to colonial agriculture, which confirms the colonists' investment in these celebrations based on the scales that tipped in their favor., Iyas NaitQaci, *The Centenary of the French Occupation in Algeria and its Impact on the Algerian National Movement*, Magister's Thesis in Modern and Contemporary History, (University of Algiers 02, 2002- 2003), 92.

⁴⁴J. P. KBEMER, *Project of the Colonization of Algeria*, (Dusacq for publication; Paris, 1848), 23.

⁴⁵Adda Ben Deha, *Settlement and the Conflict over Land Ownership during the French Occupation in Algeria 1830- 1962*, Part 1, Al-Kawthar for Publishing; Algeria, 1st pub, 2015), 207- 208.

For further clarification, we convert the data from the table into the following graph.

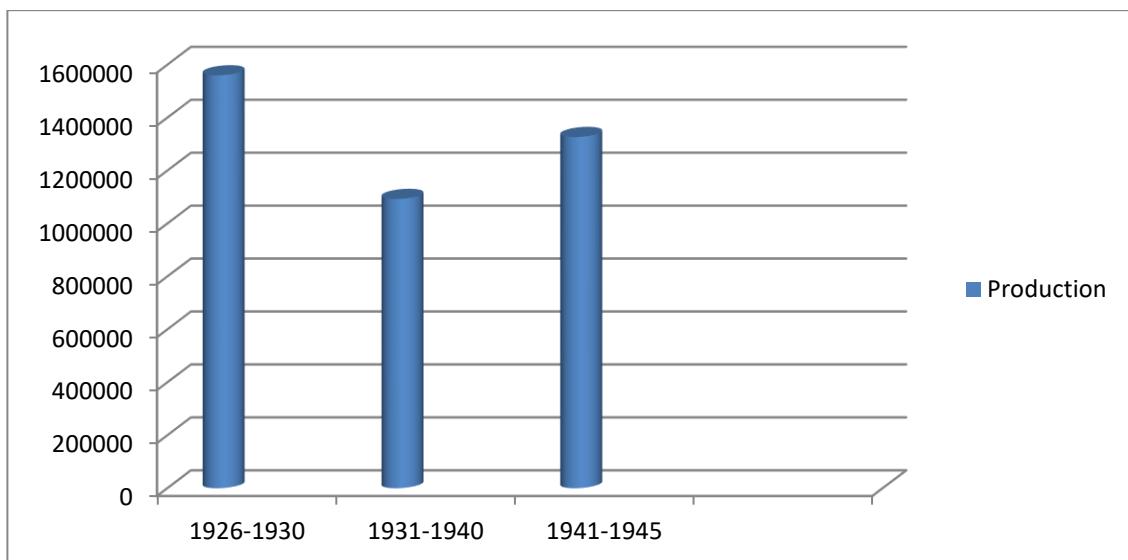


Figure 1. A graph of date production in Algeria between 1926- 1945.

From the bar charts showing the quantity of dates marketed to France and then to Europe, we can see that the French colonial authorities worked to exploit Algeria's wealth of all kinds. The interwar period recorded the exploitation of more than 3653000 quintals of dates, with the export value peaking at 1560000 quintals between 1926 and 1930, then declining between 1931 and 1940 due to the smallness of the product. After that, (1941 and 1945), exports increased to meet France's needs and finance it during World War II.

As for viticulture (the cultivation of vines used in winemaking), it also witnessed significant development during the period between the two world wars. It seemed, more than it did in 1914, to be the economic foundation of French Algeria. In this context, Louis Bertrand expressed Algeria's wealth in viticulture in 1931, saying: "...Algeria is a vast vineyard that covers a country as large as France, and therefore it is a true river of wine."⁴⁶

On this basis, France's desire to cultivate viticulture is clearly evident, which (viticulture) was one of the important factors behind its acquisition of more agricultural land to plant vines, the grapes of which would be converted into wine. From this standpoint, This type of agriculture (= profitable industrial agriculture) occupied an important position in the French colonial economic project⁴⁷.

Therefore, it can be said that the main type of agriculture in this sector is grape cultivation, which experienced a significant boom in 1880 following the phylloxera disease that struck French agriculture. In 1930, this cultivation occupied perhaps 25,000 hectares of land⁴⁸, which contributed to the production of 12 million hectoliters of wine, given that the majority of these vineyards were used for wine production⁴⁹, the following table may clarify this for us:

Table 3. Wine production in Algeria between 1921- 1934.

| Year | Area: (h) | Production: (hectolitres) | Export: (hectolitres) |
|------|-----------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1921 | 168742 | 7034267 | / |
| 1924 | 180757 | 10141589 | 7394048 |
| 1927 | 207367 | 8402618 | 7121531 |
| 1930 | 234916 | 12821141 | 10939304 |
| 1934 | 373292 | 16631032 | 11625304 |

Source: Abdellatif Ben Ashenhoou, *The previous reference*, 166.

From the data in the table, we note an increase in production, starting from 7034267 hectoliters in 1921 to 16631032 hectoliters by 1934. This is due to the interest in cultivating vineyards used for wine production, in line with the colonial project. Indeed, exports increased with the rise in production, from 7394048 hectoliters in 1924 to 11625304 hectoliters in 1934.

Regarding the yield of vineyards used for winemaking, the situation was better than in France, as the following table illustrates: (Unit = hectoliters per hectare).

Table 4. Grape production for Winemaking in Algeria between 1918- 1939.

| Year | 1918 | 1924 | 1926 | 1928 | 1932 | 1935 | 1937 | 1939 |
|------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Production | 361 | 185 | 127 | 61 | 102 | 170 | 225 | 180 |

Source: Abdellatif Ben Ashenhou, *The previous reference*, 167.

We note from the statistics in the table above that the situation in France was completely different from that in Algeria, considering the quantity of production. This is perhaps due to the widespread phylloxera disease that spread during these

⁴⁶C. R. Ageron, *The previous reference*, 792.

⁴⁷A. Ben Deha, *The previous reference*, 209.

⁴⁸The Third French Republic realized the importance of viticulture, especially after the deterioration of viticulture in France. It introduced viticulture, all while neglecting wheat production, the staple food of Algerians. Therefore, the year 1880 marked a significant turning point in the history of viticulture in Algeria, as a result of the development of the areas allocated to it, which also contributed to the development of wine production.... For more information on this, see: Jules CARLONAL, *l'Algérie et ses produits*, (lib- Editeur; Alger, 1922), 177.

⁴⁹AddiLhouari, *French Colonialism in Algeria, the Policy of Socio-Economic Disintegration 1830-1960*, (Al-Hadatha; Beirut, 1st edition, 1983), 158.

years, destroying large areas of vineyards in France. In addition, the French were very interested in planting vineyards for wine production in Algeria, considering that they found the country (= Algeria) to be a fertile environment for this.

To study the values in the table for wine production in France, we represent these values in the following graph:

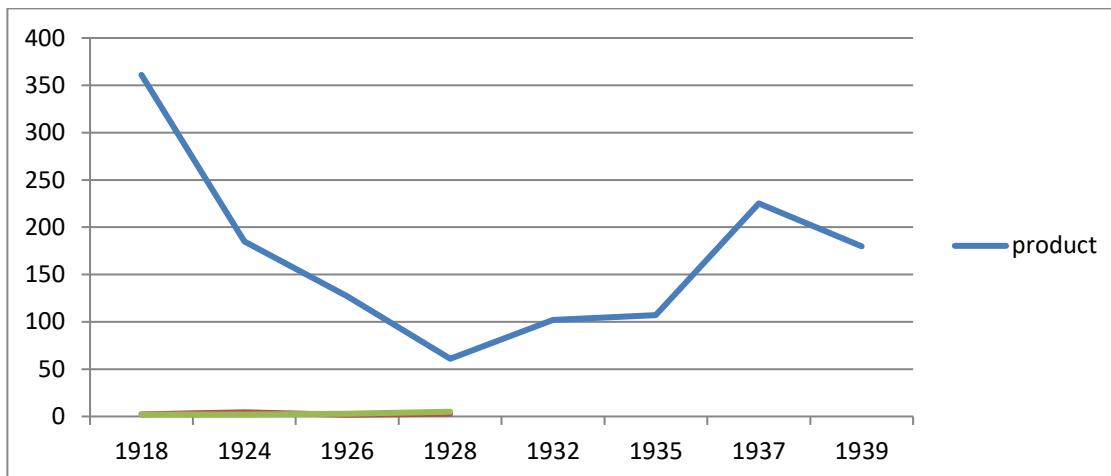


Figure 2. Graph of Grape production destined for Winemaking in Algeria between 1918- 1939.

From the graph, we can see the significant decline in the wine industry, with production falling from 360 hectoliters per hectare in 1918 to 61 hectoliters per hectare in 1928. This was likely primarily due to natural factors—drought—that affected the crop, as well as diseases and parasites that affected the trees, particularly phylloxera, which led to poor yields. Production then increased to 225 hectoliters in 1937, due to the high rainfall that year, before declining again by 1939.

In this regard, one cannot ignore the multi-crop system, which the colonial administration provided all the conditions that contributed to the advancement of this agricultural sector, such as its focus on irrigation policy. This was all in service of its interests. Perhaps it is necessary to mention the various crops of grains, dry vegetables, industrial crops, fodder, vegetables, and fruits⁵⁰, in addition to cotton cultivation, which it paid particular attention to during the interwar period (1919-1939), as it compensated for the wool shortage resulting from the decline in livestock farming⁵¹.

As for the social effects of settlement, after France seized Algerian lands, it forced them to work for the colon on farms after seizing the land, which had been their source of livelihood⁵², and also in homes- the man in the field and the woman in the home- and there is no doubt that all this injustice, contempt, and exploitation occurred in light of the oppressive taxes imposed on Algerians, which burdened them. The French reached such a level of greed that they find some for riding a donkey, slaughtering a rooster, or eating a lamb. Bread in the forest!⁵³

Regarding this issue, colonial theorists believe that time could have allowed Algerian society to adapt to the existing reality, which was characterized by a policy of impoverishment⁵⁴, through acceptance of the colonial reality, had it not been for what they call the hidden sentiment toward Islam, which continued to fuel the aspirations of independence among Algerians in particular and Moroccans in general⁵⁵.

Perhaps this best depicts the state of misery that France intended for the Algerian people, through impoverishment and starvation⁵⁶. This is due to the accumulation of the tools of colonial rule and the accumulation of complications of repressed reactions and buried hatred, controlled with great painstaking effort and diligence. This led to extreme economic and social poverty⁵⁷, in light of France's control over Algerian lands, which represented their sole source of livelihood⁵⁸.

This contributed to the famine⁵⁹, especially in the provinces of Algiers and Oran, which claimed a large portion of the population. The authorities often tried to conceal the misery and oppression they suffered and to exclude them to a place where their voices would not be heard. Consequently, beggars were widespread everywhere, male and female, old and young, whose sight made one shudder and tears well up in their eyes. Their skin stuck to their bones and their eyes sunken from the severity of the hunger they suffered⁶⁰, amidst the interruption of supplies and the rampant black market, which was beyond the capacity of Algerians⁶¹.

On this basis, the socio-economic situation of Algeria resulting from this capitalist movement can be summarized in what

⁵⁰Abdel Latif Ben Ashenhou, *Rural Migration in Algeria*, (Publications of the Center for Research in Applied Economics; Algeria, 1975), 31.

⁵¹A. Ben Deha, *The previous reference*, 218.

⁵²A. T. Al-Madani, *The previous reference*, 107.

⁵³Ali Hashlef, *The Political Positions of the Association of Algerian Muslim Scholars through its Newspapers*, (Magister's Thesis in Media and Communication Sciences; University of Algiers, 1994- 1995), 69.

⁵⁴Hafedh and Sherqaoui, *The previous reference*, 34.

⁵⁵Taher Lamri, *The Algerian National Elite and the Social Project 1900-1940*, (PhD Thesis in Modern and Contemporary History L'EmirAbdelkaderUniversity;Constantine, 2003- 2004), 295.

⁵⁶Abdelkrim Ayoun, *The Geography of Food in Algeria*, (National Book Foundation; Algeria, 1985), 20- 21.

⁵⁷Amar Yazli, *Culture in the Face of Occupation*, (Sahel Publications; Algeria, 2009), 194.

⁵⁸Rabeh Turki Amamra, *The Historical Association of Algerian Muslim Scholars 1931-1956 and its Three Presidents*, (ENAG Publications; Algeria, 1st edition, 2004), 65- 66.

⁵⁹The colonial authorities bear responsibility for the dire conditions Algeria experienced in the 1920s, the effects of which extended into the first half of the 1940s. This crisis was compounded by food shortages, the spread of the black market, and the colonial regime's responsibility for this crisis. This was compounded by widespread drought and declining agricultural production., Abdessalam Akkesh, *The Famine and Drought of 1945 and Their Role in the May 8th Uprising, Natural Disasters and Colonial Holocausts and Their Impact on the Infrastructure of Algerian Society*, in a series of proceedings from the Laboratory of Studies and Research on Migration, (L'EmirAbdelkader University; Constantine, June 2013), 86.

⁶⁰"Famine in North Africa", *Al- Shoura Newspaper*, Issue 4, November 12, 1924, 3.

⁶¹"May 8 in the Memory of Sheikh Bashir L'Ibrahim," *Al-Dhakira Magazine*, Issue 2, Issue 2, Spring 1995, 11- 12.

was quoted from a documentary entitled "The Algerian Telegram," which was shown on January 23, 1933: "What do they eat? They uproot the roots of the telghoda from the ground, from which they made a type of flour... This is one of the areas where three were seized and sold." Goats and a donkey, and they still have to pay taxes"⁶².

1.2. In Tunisia

1.2.1. The Legal Framework for Real Estate Expropriation in Tunisia

After the application of the French protectorate⁶³ principle to Tunisia, the French continued their official efforts to strengthen their presence in Tunisia since the signing of the contract of that regime. This was achieved through their efforts to implement their settlement project, which aimed to transfer land ownership from Tunisian to Europeans in general and the French in particular, by various means⁶⁴, which is essentially a Tunisian right⁶⁵.

Accordingly, the French protectorate authorities in Tunisia did everything in their power to expropriate these lands from their rightful owners. Perhaps the most prominent example⁶⁶ of this is the enactment of a set of laws that would facilitate their seizure of these lands. They also attempted, through French companies, to acquire Tunisian agricultural lands within the framework of agricultural colonialism⁶⁷.

There is no doubt that the dominance of agriculture is itself the result of the policy of land colonization. Consequently, the policy of official colonization found support, based on the fact that this policy had brought into the hands of the state vast and fertile lands⁶⁸, lands from which the Tunisians were expelled⁶⁹ and confiscated, to be later granted to the French in particular and Europeans in general⁷⁰.

In view of this, the protectorate authorities put Tunisia's interests behind their backs and under their feet. They began to seize fertile lands from their Tunisian farmer owners. They also seized the lands of the tribes⁷¹ and the lands of the religious endowments and distributed them to the colons at low prices. France's attacks on Tunisian property and assets continued⁷², taking no account of conscience, law, or custom. The primary goal of these colonists was to achieve their colonial project as an extension of the capitalist system⁷³.

The establishment of the French protectorate enabled hundreds of Europeans to dominate the country's most fertile and profitable lands⁷⁴, at the expense of the vast majority of the Tunisian Muslim population⁷⁵. Consequently, this policy of land control opened the way for Europeans to control agriculture, the most important economic resource, which resulted in the deterioration of other economic sectors⁷⁶.

⁶²Youssef Ferhi, *France, the owner of kindness or 132 years of the colonial process in Algeria*, (Dahleb for publication; Algeria, 2007), 44.

⁶³Protectorate: It is the defense of the protected country and the monitoring of its foreign policy. However, in essence, we find that protectorate does not differ from colonialism in its goal, which is to exploit the wealth and resources of the protected area. It included leaving the protected country to the protected people under the illusion of independence and then exploiting it commercially and economically at the same time. This system is applied instead of direct annexation for fear of provoking resistance. Protection is also considered one of the tasks that the institutions of the protectorate state take upon themselves in some nations, which are unable to protect and defend themselves. For scrutiny and depth, see Issam Attiya, *Public International Law*, (Legal Library; Baghdad, 6thed, 2006), 433- 434, and also: Pierre GHALEB, *Protectorat religious de la France en orient*, (lib-Aubanel frères; Paris, 2000), 111.

⁶⁴We are thinking about settlement in the process of owning land, not the migration and settlement of Europeans in Morocco, where the French protectorate authorities worked to acquire the largest number of plots of land, and in this regard they even worked to encroach within the framework of settlement on some properties that were considered a red line for Moroccans and Tunisians, such as the lands of Habous and Waqfs. On the basis of violence, the French began to tear apart the economic fabric based on agriculture and real estate ownership, which is the goal that called for exertion to achieve the theorists of colonialism. Among the sayings that we find in this regard, for example: "The Arabs must be prevented from sowing, harvesting, and grazing their lands..." M'hammed Malki, *National Movements and Colonialism in the Arab Maghreb*, (Center for Arab Unity Studies; Beirut, 2nd edition, 1994), 93- 94.

⁶⁵Najib K'shida, Colonial Agricultural Education in Algeria and Tunisia, a Tributary of Colonial Domination 1882-1930, *Rawafid Magazine*, N°. 21, (2016), 62.

⁶⁶Mohammed Mahmoud Saroudji, *Tunisian-French Relations from the Protectorate to Independence*, (National Library for Publishing; Libya, 1985), 189.

⁶⁷We mention, in the context of the methods of land ownership by the French Protectorate authorities in Tunisia, through which they worked to consolidate French hegemony over the agricultural sector, which resulted in colonialism. The land that had spread since the establishment of the protectorate, through the purchase operations, which opened the way for the expansion of free colonialism, in addition to the collection of what was possible of land in the hands of the state to distribute it to the French while facilitating the payment process. Ali Lmahjoubi, *The Tunisian National Movement Between the Two Wars*, (Publications of the Tunisian University; Tunis, 1986), 12.

⁶⁸In this regard, the French protectorate authorities in Tunisia faced new forms of real estate ownership that were not known in Europe. Most rural properties were subject to a set of saturated arrangements, the most prominent features of which were the fragility and ambiguity of the right to ownership in more than 7/10ths of the arable land. Real estate ownership was distributed into many and varied categories in which rights overlapped, namely private property, the property of the beylik, and public and private endowment properties, in addition to common lands, dead lands, collective lands, and tribal lands. Perhaps the protectorate authorities found a kind of ease in unleashing their hands on these properties by manipulating the laws and trying to exploit that land in various ways, especially since endowment lands and their exploitation constitute a red line, considering that encroachment upon them is an encroachment upon Islamic law..., Khalifa Shater and others, *Tunisia Throughout History (The National Movement and the State of Independence)*, (Part. 3, Tunis, 2005), 48.

⁶⁹The French monopolized the fertile land and employed Italian workers brought from Libya to exploit it. The Muslims had no choice but to beg in the streets after their land, their only source of livelihood, was taken from them, exposing them to poverty, epidemics, disease, and death. The French even buried a Tunisian Muslim in any area when he died, believing that the Muslim's body would fertilize the land for the next 50 years. In this regard, see Youssef M'nasri, *The Tunisian Free Constitutional Party 1919- 1934*, (Magister's Thesis in Modern and Contemporary History, Department of History; Algeria, 1985-1986), 38.

⁷⁰A. Lmahjoubi, *The previous reference*, 29-30.

⁷¹The total tribal lands are the lands owned by the tribes in common among their members.

⁷²In this regard, we read an article in the newspaper "Le Temps," known for its racist tendencies and inclinations. It continued its campaigns against Tunisians, demanding that the protectorate authorities exhaust them and treat them in the worst possible way. The newspaper filled its article with slander and defamation and signed it with the explicit signatures of the writers.., Shakib Arslan: "On the Tunisian Question," *Al-Shoura newspaper*, N°. 20, March 5, (1925),

⁷³Mohammed Hassan Jawhar: *Tunis*, (Al-Ma'arif; Egypt, 1961), 52.

⁷⁴R. BASSET et autres, *initiation à la Tunisie*, (Paris, 1950), 307-308.

⁷⁵Ali Lmahjoubi, *The Roots of the National Movement 1904- 1934*, (Al-Hikma for Publishing; Tunis, 1sted, 1999), 38.

⁷⁶In order to give a kind of legitimacy to the attempts of the French protectorate authorities to own land in Tunisia, they deliberately placed

Regarding the period studied the French protectorate authorities returned after World War I to compensate for what they had lost during that period. This led them to change their settlement policy in Tunisia, by attempting to establish small and medium-sized colonists in the expropriated areas or lands with the aim of forming the real administration of the settlement instead of the large real estate speculators⁷⁷.

The interwar period was an important period for official French colonialism. Decrees were issued to implement it, allocating new plots of land to it, with the land being paid in installments over long periods, up to twenty years, instead of ten. With this policy, the French protectorate authorities in Tunisia held an iron grip on the issue of real estate and land, within the framework of a policy of plunder and expropriation⁷⁸.

What we find in the chapter on the exploitation, expropriation, and plunder of agricultural land by the French protectorate authorities in Tunisia, based on some statistics, is that the area of exploited land after the imposition of the protectorate was close to 600,000 hectares, rising in the 1930s to more than 3 million hectares. However, this increase was for the benefit of official French settlement, which began to flourish and become active in the region in 1892, based on the results achieved through this strategy⁷⁹.

Accordingly, European colonial possessions (properties acquired by the French protectorate) that were surveyed after the survey at the end of World War I amounted to 641,000 hectares. These were reinforced between 1920 and 1934 by approximately 214,500 hectares acquired through the purchase of private farms and the establishment of forestry regulations⁸⁰, in addition to the re-establishment of small Tunisian farmers after their expulsion from a portion of their lands (the intent here is not to restore rights to their owners, but rather that Tunisians worked those lands as a fifth)⁸¹.

In this context, we find that the order issued in 1914 gave a new direction to French settlement policy in Tunisia after World War I⁸², with this policy being based on the following conditions⁸³:

- * The settler must have knowledge of the agricultural field.
- * The settler's family must be large.
- * The necessity of supervision and personal presence of the colonist on the land he owns.

The French protectorate authorities were not satisfied with these measures, including the enactment of laws for land expropriation⁸⁴, but continued with the same measures they had implemented in Algeria regarding the ownership of communal tribal lands. They did not recognize the confiscation of vast areas of these lands under the pretext of surplus land, and the land was entrusted to the Settlement Fund, through which the expropriated lands were disposed of⁸⁵.

It is worth noting that the French protectorate authorities pursued a policy aimed at achieving a colonial settlement policy par excellence⁸⁶, especially during the interwar period, which was supported by⁸⁷:

- * Granting loans to the colon at low interest rates of 2%.
- * Allocating the necessary funds, at the request of the heads of departments, for land acquisition.
- * Supporting the House of Representatives for the land acquisition policy by adding 21 million francs.
- * Adopting a naturalization policy, by issuing the order of November 8, 1921, and the order of December 20, 1923.

1.2.2. The Limits of Land Expropriation in Tunisia

In the context of discussing the limits of land expropriation in Tunisia during the interwar period, France implemented two five-year colonial⁸⁸ settlement plans, 1919-1929. These plans transferred new lands, amounting to approximately tens of

Tunisians before sales contracts in which they were forced to give up their lands for small sums, which embodies a kind of legal evasion with the aim of obtaining a legal character for the ownership contracts by which they acquired those lands from Tunisians. To review the correspondence and requests addressed to the real estate department that contains the sales and purchase contractsBy downloading..., Tunisian National Archives: Serie C1, File 09, File 1, Sub-File 1, (1908-1934).

⁷⁷The protectorate authorities relied in this policy - the policy of expropriation of real estate - on the legislation and laws adopted by the colonial administration, which in fact date back to the era of the Resident-General; Paul Cambon, who is considered the actual and real architect of the French colonial project in Tunisia. He aimed, through these laws and the package of laws that were formulated, to guarantee the right to ownership and the right of Europeans in general and the French in particular to dispose of the lands that had become their property. Perhaps this policy of expropriation appeared initially with the law of July 1st, 1885, which included 14 titles with 379 articles. If this indicates anything, it indicates the intense desire of the French protectorate authorities to contain it and seize the lands of Tunisians in service of its colonial project., L'AzharSakhraoui: *The Economic Thought of the Tunisian National Movement 1881 - 1956*, (Mediacom Publishing; Tunis, 1994), 100.

⁷⁸KhmisLforjani, *Real Estate Structures and RelationsProduction on the Beja Front 1881- 1930*, a thesis in History, (University of Tunis I; Tunis, 1990- 1991), 324.

⁷⁹This was achieved by opening the door for French companies to acquire and seize Tunisian agricultural lands within the framework of agricultural colonialism., Mohammed Mahmoud Saroudji, *the previous reference*, 186- 187.

⁸⁰We can add here the annexation of fallow lands to state ownership, which led to the seizure of vast lands in the south, in addition to the seizure of charitable endowments. On this basis, the average rate of acquisition of land by the colonists approached 1000 hectares annually, which they obtained through devious means. Salah al-Aqqad: *The Arab Maghreb in Modern and Contemporary History: Algeria - Tunisia - Morocco*, (Anglo-Egyptian Library; Alexandria, 6thed, 1993), 199.

⁸¹A. Lmahjoubi, *The Roots of the National Movement...*, *the previous reference*, 626.

⁸²The phenomenon worsened with the changing nature of French agricultural colonialism in Tunisia, from a colonialism in which real estate speculators dominated to a colonialism in which small and medium-sized settlers dominated sinceH.A.1, within the framework of a general strategy of French imperialism, which is to rebuild the French economy damaged by the war at the expense of the colonies. Samir Bekkoush: *Colonial Intervention and Its Repercussions on the Social and Political Reality in the Civil Surveillance of Kairouan 1881-1939*, (PhD Thesis in Modern and Contemporary History, Part 1, University of Tunis 01; Tunis, 1998-1999), 287.

⁸³KhmisLforjani: *The previous reference*, 324.

⁸⁴In addition to the legislation issued by the protectorate authorities to seize vast areas of Tunisia, we find that these authorities, in this regard, introduced a group of settlement projects, including, but not limited to, the Flandin project, which aimed to make Tunisia a place to achieve food security for the metropolis by seizing 3500000 hectares of the grains, vineyards, and olives planted in those areas. See AbdelazizTha'alibi: *Tunisia the Martyr*, (Al-Quds; Beirut, 1sted, 1975), 29.

⁸⁵AbdelmalikKhalaftamimi: *Lights on the Arab Maghreb - An Eastern Arab Vision*, (Al-Basa'ir; Algeria, 2011), 36.

⁸⁶Perhaps one of the reasons that required the protectorate authorities to invest well in Tunisia was the establishment of basic facilities, especially a road network. And transportation, thanks to loans and financial credits, the railways soon extended to the entire country, and this was mainly to serve the regions that included the colon and the interests of France. Mohammed Al-Hadi Sharif: *History of Tunisia*, (Serras; Tunis, 3rded, 1993), 101.

⁸⁷K. Lfordjani, *The previous reference*, 326.

⁸⁸French colonialism in Tunisia was divided into two parts: individual and official, and they proceeded in parallel. The area of land exploited by

thousands of hectares of the most fertile land⁸⁹, to the hands of the colonists. These farms began mechanizing basic agricultural activities⁹⁰.

With the end of World War I, the French protectorate authorities increased their control over agricultural lands in the Maghreb in general and Tunisia in particular. This was in order to compensate for their losses in that war, which were estimated at 30% of their wealth and property. Approximately 554000 hectares of fertile land were seized during the year 1920⁹¹.

In parallel with the convening of the Eucharistic Congress⁹² in Tunis in May 1930, the French protectorate authorities had worked to confiscate thousands of hectares of agricultural land and worked to harness all means possible to serve that land and make the most of it⁹³ in service of its colonial project of exploiting the land and what was on it⁹⁴.

In this regard, we show through the following table, which embodies the French settlement project in Tunisia⁹⁵:

Table 5. Foreign control over land in Tunisia.

| Year | French | Italians | Maltese |
|------|--------|----------|---------|
| 1901 | 24000 | 71000 | 12000 |
| 1906 | 34600 | 81156 | 10000 |
| 1911 | 46000 | 88082 | 11300 |
| 1921 | 54447 | 84819 | 12036 |
| 1926 | 71020 | 89215 | 8395 |

Source: Ismail Larbi, French colonial policy and its political, economic, and social impacts..., *the previous reference*, 2019- 2020, 305.

Perhaps the conversion of the available data is presented in column charts, making it easier for us to study them:

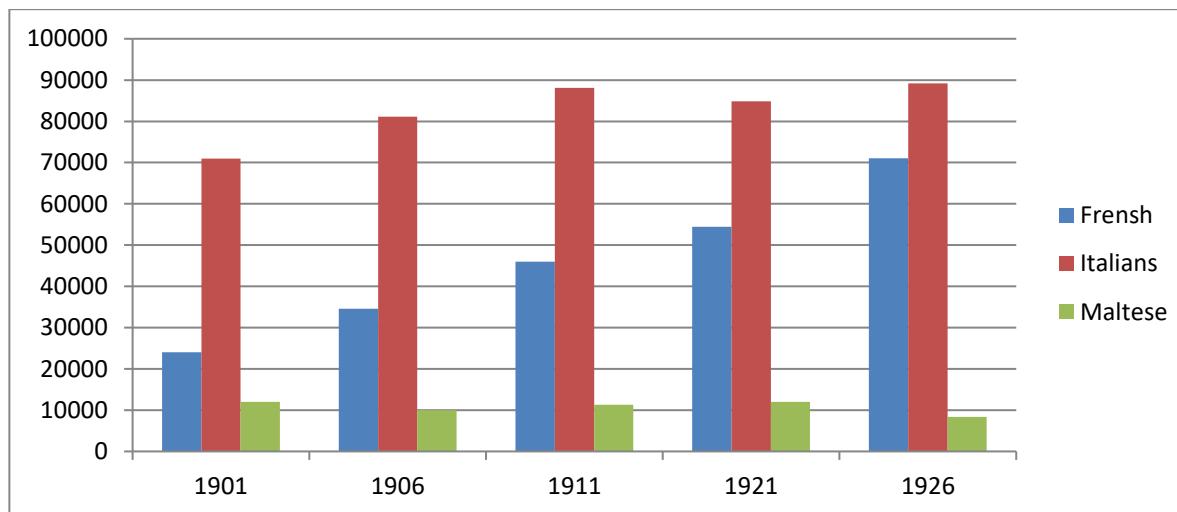


Figure 3. A graph representing foreign control over land in Tunisia.

From the diagram below, we can see the steady increase in the number of European settlers in Tunisia. This is due to the French policy of encouraging these people to immigrate to Tunisia in competition with the local population, in addition to the displacement of the surplus French population and the attempt to invest this human potential in the economic field.

1.3. Consequences of the Settlement Policy on Tunisia and Tunisians

From the above, it can be said that Tunisia was subjected to the most heinous forms of colonial exploitation. This stems from

official colonialism in 1914 amounted to more than 258 thousand hectares, while individual colonialism exceeded half a million hectares, with 140 thousand hectares allocated to a thousand French immigrant families..., M. Sarroudji, *the previous reference*, 189.

⁸⁹Perhaps French dominance over the agricultural sector is the result of land colonialism that has spread since the establishment of the protectorate, through "purchase" operations, as free colonialism expanded, in addition to the accumulation of as much land as possible in the hands of the state to distribute it to the French with facilitation of the payment process, as we previously indicated. At the same time, the administration's project aimed at seizing plots of land from private endowments aroused the anger of all Tunisian nationalists, considering it a violation of Islamic traditions. See both A. L'mahjoubi, *The National Movement Between the Two Wars...*, *the previous reference*, 12, and A. L'Qessab, *the previous reference*, 502.

⁹⁰The Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union: *Contemporary History of the Arab Countries*, (Al-Farabi; Beirut, 2nded, 2016), 676- 677.

⁹¹National Documentation Centre, National Movement Section, B-5-2-39, document n° 20.

⁹²Eucharist: A Greek word meaning thanksgiving, the Eucharist is - the most interesting subject par excellence and the reason for existence and life in Christ, a school in every sense of the word - given what the Christian learns, especially when living the dimensions of this sacrament and celebrating it. Some writings indicate that the Eucharist is revived and sanctified in a ritual celebration headed by the bishop or someone like him, and therefore Christians consider it a medicine! They also truly consider it the body of Christ. The Eucharist has taken on several names, including the custom of the sacrament, the sacrifice..., and the Eucharistic Congress is one of a series of religious conferences, the first of which was held in the French city of Lille in 1881, where it was modest, while the conferences that came after it were well-organized and arranged. The last of which was held in the province of Quebec in Canada in 2008. Boutros Jameel and others: *The Sacrament of the Eucharist and the Mass*, (Publications of the Institute of Liturgy at the University of The Holy Spirit, Lebanon, 2005), 71, and also; Rodolphe Markos Mona, *The Eucharist - A General Introduction* -, *Markos Magazine*, n°. 179, February (1976), 27- 28.

⁹³Colonial ideology portrayed Tunisia as the Promised Land, based on its wealth, the value of which its people neither appreciated nor exploited. Therefore, France's mission was to educate and prepare the population, to recognize the advantages of the new civilization, and to equip the country with the infrastructure it deserved for optimal exploitation of these resources. To explore this point in greater depth. Mohammed l'azher Al-Gharbi, *The Field in the Maghreb between Memory and History*, (Publications of the M.A.T.H.W; Tunis, 2015), 113.

⁹⁴"Tunisia's Demands from the Usurpers of Its Rights", *Palestine Newspaper*, N°. 1983961, Friday, January 27, (1939), 4.

⁹⁵S. Al-Aqqad, *The previous reference*, 322- 323.

the fact that Tunisians began to witness their rights being trampled on. In the field of real estate, 1/3 of agricultural land was transferred to 20,000 French, while 3,000,000 Tunisians only retained 2/3 of it. Therefore, it can be said that what each Frenchman owned was equivalent to what 150 Tunisians owned!⁹⁶

The percentage of Europeans Ownership Compared to Tunisians

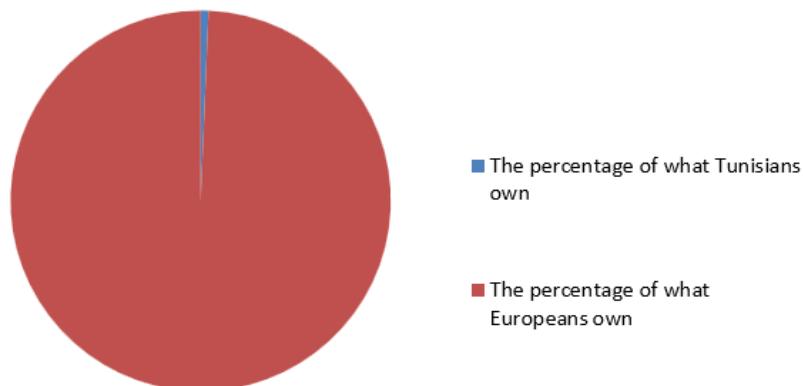


Figure 4. The percentage of land owned by Tunisians compared to Europeans

This policy contributed to the deterioration of social conditions in Tunisia, given that the lands previously held by Tunisians were transferred and distributed to colonists, particularly Europeans and French in general. Consequently, Tunisians, who were the legitimate owners of that land, essentially became laborers and slaves for the colonists who controlled and seized that land⁹⁷.

Thus, social conditions in Tunisia deteriorated significantly, as the livelihood of most Tunisians depended on the land they worked for their livelihood. This land was the source of livelihood for many Tunisians, or perhaps the sole source of support for Tunisians for their families. Consequently, this policy contributed to the impoverishment of Tunisian society. Furthermore, this policy contributed to the widespread phenomenon of displacement and migration, both internally (from the countryside to the cities) and externally (from Tunisia to France, primarily, and to the countries of the Arab Mashreq, especially Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon)⁹⁸. This led to a radical change in the nature of the economy (the activity of farmers changed to that of factory workers).

In addition, we find that some Tunisian nationalists have defended some economic issues, especially those related to agriculture (= agricultural ownership or land ownership in the first place), and this is on the basis that the land represented the source of livelihood for many Tunisians, and perhaps those aspects of defense appeared fully in the petitions, grievances and demands to the occupation administration in Paris, with the aim of reducing the pressure exerted on Tunisians in this regard⁹⁹.

2.CONCLUSION

The results of this study indicate a close relationship between colonialism and settlement policy, with the latter reinforcing the former. It can also be argued that the French colonial administration pursued a settlement policy in Algeria and Tunisia, based on a set of laws aimed at legalizing ownership of these confiscated lands.

The royal decrees, along with legislative acts within the framework of the settlement policy, constituted a fundamental tributary to the implementation of the settlement project. This resulted from the French taking control of vast areas of land under these decrees and laws. Furthermore, many tribes resorted to selling their land, believing they would lose it cheaply or for nothing.

The policy of real estate settlement in Algeria and Tunisia coincided with the opening of immigration to the French in particular and Europeans in general. This was all part of the effort to encourage foreign immigrants to settle permanently in the region, given the facilities and privileges granted by the French colonial administration.

The settlement policy had a profound impact on life in both Algeria and Tunisia, as it contributed to changing the economic and social structures. It had an economic impact through the total seizure of agricultural land and a change in the pattern of agriculture. Furthermore, it had social effects, explained by the widespread migration, both internal and external, from Europe to Tunisia and Algeria and vice versa.

The settlement policy had a profound impact on Algerian and Tunisian society, due to the widespread poverty and destitution resulting from this land confiscation policy, given that land was the sole source of livelihood for these farmers.

⁹⁶Hamadi Al-Sahli, *Chapters from History and Civilization*, (Al-Gharb Al-Islami; Beirut, 1st ed., 1992), 149

⁹⁷National Documentation Center, National Movement Department, A-1-2-4, May 1935, Document n° 01.

⁹⁸What we find in the context of raising these demands and petitions is the travel of Mr. Mohammed Shaniq to France and his submission of a report entitled: "Defending Tunisian Agriculture." The Tunisian newspaper Al-Irada reported this report under the title: "Paris Reports and How to Understand Paris Reports." It is worth noting that Mohammed Shaniq traveled to Paris after his relationship with the Resident General Monséron deteriorated. On the surface, he traveled to defend Tunisian agriculture, but in reality, he traveled to strengthen his position and inform the decision-makers that his policy had become unpopular. He also endeavored to convince the Parisian authorities of his adherence to a good policy and to complain about some who were upset by his policy..., the National Documentation Center: National Movement Department, A-2-3, dated April 9, 1934, Document, n° 7.

⁹⁹Archives nationales of Tunisia, serieMovement National, car 25, dos 3, (1920).

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