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**INFLUENTIAL LEADERS OF ALGERIAN MODERATE
ISLAMIST PARTIES: A COMPARATIVE STUDY
OF MAHFOUZ NAHNAH'S AND ABDALLAH JABALLAH'S
POLITICAL ACTIVITY (1991–1995)**

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The article chronicles the period from 1991 to 1995, a crucial era in Algerian history. It scrutinizes the activities, ideologies, and objectives of two moderate Islamist parties: The Movement for an Islamic Society (Harakat li-Mujtama' Islami, MIS) and the Islamic Renaissance Movement (Harakat al-Nahdha al-Islamiyya or al-Nahda). Among the objectives of this scholarly investigation is to delve into the political initiatives of the leaders of these parties, Mahfouz Nahnah and Abdallah Jaballah, whose identities are intricately intertwined with the operational dynamics of their respective political entities. This research seeks to illuminate their engagements not only with fellow Islamic factions but also with diverse political entities and governmental authorities. Employing a comparative analytical approach, the article aims to underscore the disparities in perspectives and actions undertaken by these influential political figures, notwithstanding the congruence in the overarching political objectives pursued by MIS and Nahda. Both MIS and

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Nahda fundamentally aspired to institute an Islamic state in Algeria and sought to incorporate Islamic jurisprudence (Sharia) into the nation's political and legal frameworks. The concept of "moderate Islamism" as elucidated in this study offers a balanced approach to navigating the intersection of Islamic values and democratic governance, presenting a pathway towards the coexistence of religious traditions and modern political frameworks. The methodological framework of the study constitutes a rigorous and systematic endeavor to assess the contributions of Mahfouz Nahnah and Abdallah Jaballah to Algerian politics within the spectrum of moderate Islamism, offering insights into the complexities of their ideological positions and their impacts on the Algerian political landscape.

Keywords: Mahfouz Nahnah, Abdallah Jaballah, Moderate Islamic parties, MIS, Nahda

Introduction

The spread of radical ideas in the public consciousness in Algeria was intensified following the democratization and liberalization of political life, particularly in 1989 after the adoption of the Constitution, wherein Article 40 explicitly ensured the right to establish political associations [Algérie, Constitution du 23 février 1989]. This democratic progression engendered a profound consolidation of radical movements.

The systemic crisis established in Algeria was one of the important factors that significantly influenced the spread of radical ideologies in Algerian society and the political success of Islamist movements. The systemic crisis and the failure of state institutions to address fundamental social issues that had accumulated in the country resulted in discontent among Algerians, particularly among the disadvantaged class. Exploiting this situation to their advantage, the leaders of Islamist organizations adeptly leveraged it for their political objectives.

Furthermore, the growing ideology of Islamization, prevalent in the Muslim world assumed a pivotal role in the consolidation of Islamist movements. Through their influence, the concepts of establishing an Islamic state and cultivating a genuinely Muslim society became widely disseminated in Algeria. It is worth noting the notable impact of the Egyptian "Muslim Brotherhood" party, which enjoyed extensive reach and esteemed reputation within the region during that period, on the global perception of the emerging Islamist parties in Algeria.

“Islamist parties” are a modern phenomenon and intimately linked to other modern institutions such as elections, citizenship, and rule of law. Islamist parties belong to the broader category of political parties. Yet, they differ from their secular counterparts not only in that they adhere to specific religious ideologies, but that they strive for “advancing an Islamic way of life” and “serving the interests of the Muslim Umma”, intending to organize social, economic, and political life of citizens by Islamic principles and rules. Meanwhile, Islamist parties recognize the Qur’an and Hadith as a source of law or code of conduct. The leaders of the two parties, Mahfouz Nahnah and Abdallah Jaballah, shared several significant similarities that permeated the parties they had found and led.

Both Mahfouz Nahnah and Abdallah Jaballah, as leaders of their respective parties, drew upon the experiences of the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) in shaping their organizational structures. They adopted a multi-tier recruitment system and actively engaged in politics through electoral participation. Notably, members of both parties self-identified as “moderate Islamists”, rejecting the use of violence and doctrinal literalism in interpreting religious scriptures. Additionally, both parties displayed a remarkable degree of adaptability and demonstrated significant ideological compromise. A comparative analysis between Nahda and MIS, which share similar roots, ideologies, and structures, but diverge in terms of their mobilization and political roles, enables us to identify certain consistent elements. By focusing on key differences such as organizational strength and framing strategies, we can better comprehend the distinct developmental trajectories of these two parties.

Consequently, during the 1990s, Islamic parties swiftly obtained legal recognition in Algeria, propelling them to assume a crucial role in the country’s political landscape. This development exerted a profound influence on the trajectory of Algeria’s subsequent historical progression.

Algerian Moderate Islamism: The Political Endeavors of Mahfouz Nahnah and the Movement for an Islamic Society (MIS)

The activities of the Movement for an Islamic Society are intimately connected to its founder, Mahfouz Nahnah. Initially an Arabic teacher, Nahnah embarked on his social and political endeavors in the 1960s, primarily engaging as a religious preacher. During the 1960s and 1970s, he played an active role in the mosques and universities of

Blida [Zhang 2020, 76], his hometown. Blida, as a provincial city, served as a significant hub for activity and recruitment, particularly in response to widespread disillusionment with the government's policies at the time.

Subsequently, Mahfouz Nahnah joined the Muslim Brotherhood Islamic Party and assumed the position of their representative in Algeria [Martinez 1998, 341]. Mahfouz Nahnah voiced strong criticism against President Houari Boumediene and his regime's domestic policies. In 1977, Nahnah was convicted of subversive activities and sentenced to 15 years in prison. However, he was granted early release following the ascension of Algeria's new president, Chadli Benjed. The presidential pardon granted to Mahfouz Nahnah has led to speculation that prior to his release from prison, Nahnah made commitments to the special forces to moderate his anti-government propaganda and abstain from involvement in the activities of extremist Islamist groups [Boubekeur 2008, 129–130]. In the given context, it is worth noting that on the eve of the parliamentary elections in 1990, articles were published in the Algerian press accusing Mahfouz Nahnah of having close ties with the Algerian special services and holding him responsible for the destruction of the Armed Islamic Movement of Algeria (AIMA) by the authorities [Dolgov 2004, 42–43]. The accusations against Mahfouz Nahnah cannot be definitively confirmed or denied. However, it is noted that Nahnah's later political activities, which involved refraining from harshly criticizing the authorities and promoting cooperation with them, were frequently cited by supporters of the hypothesis accusing him of having close ties with the Algerian special services and being responsible for the destruction of the Armed Islamic Movement of Algeria. These supporters considered Nahnah's stance as supporting evidence for their claims.

After being released from prison, Mahfouz Nahnah established the "Guidance and Réforme" ("al-irshad wa al-islam") association, which aimed to promote Islamic education. The organization positioned itself as a non-political, charitable, and enlightening entity, offering an alternative Islamic perspective while avoiding contradictions with the Islamic Salvation Front (ISF). Nahnah effectively propagated his ideology and objectives through numerous sermons and the publication of al-Irshad, the union's newspaper. Nahnah advocated for a contemporary interpretation of Islam and emphasized the importance of political moderation. While his approaches could be described as more

“reformist”, it is essential to note that his fundamental views still upheld the principles and values of Islamism, maintaining the essence of Islamic ideals.

Although Mahfouz Nahnah supported the concept of establishing an Islamic state in Algeria, he chose not to align himself with the Islamic Salvation Front and its revolutionary movement. He deemed the ISF’s methods and approach to be unacceptable. Mahfouz Nahnah actively opposed Islamic extremism and advocated for a vision of Islam that could be comprehensible within the context of the modern world. He emphasized the importance of political and economic reforms, advocating for their continuation [Boubekeur 2008, 131]. Mahfouz Nahnah’s approach to the Algerian democracy model is indeed intriguing. In one of his interviews, he specifically said, “Every Muslim is required to seek wisdom wherever it may be found, as long as it does not contradict their faith. If this perspective aligns with the principles of democratic governance in our country or elsewhere, it is our foremost duty to advocate for democracy. However, our understanding of democracy is not based on the Greek concept that fragmented society, nor the Roman notion that enforced a military regime. Instead, we follow the Islamic vision, which grants the right to even the most humble individuals to express themselves” [Layachi 2005, 79]. Mahfouz Nahnah placed particular emphasis on the protection of human rights, with a specific focus on women’s rights. He openly condemned violence against women and advocated for their rights. Notably, his organization advocated for women’s right to work, which differed from the perspective of ISF, which held the belief that a woman’s sole place of work should be her home [al-Ahnaf... 1991, 38]. It is worth noting that the Nahda party also prioritized the protection of women’s rights [Le Sueur 2010, 49].

In 1990, “Guidance and Réforme” union served as the foundation for the establishment of the “Movement for an Islamic Society” in Algeria. This movement quickly gained popularity and expanded its presence by opening branches across various regions of the country [Dolgov 2004, 43]. During this period, MIS engaged in active public works alongside its political activities. These initiatives encompassed a range of endeavors, such as job placement, providing assistance to needy families, conducting medical examinations, and more [Boubekeur 2008, 130]. Adhering to Islamic principles, Hamas contends that

the coexistence of religion, democracy, human rights, and gender equality is feasible within its framework. It envisions a state founded on dialogue, devoid of political and religious intolerance [klmī al-ših mh̄fūz n̄h̄nāh 1989].

It is worth noting that Nahnah in contrast to Abdallah Jaballah was more affected by the Islamist movement in the broader Muslim world and had closer ties with the Muslim Brothers than Jaballah's. This was not only reflected in Nahnah's extensive personal contacts with MB leaders, established through the many Egyptian teachers he met when he taught at Algiers University [Willis 1996, 57] but in the large amount of funding that was reported to have received from the MB [Boubekeur 2007, 1–2]. The MB was the most important source of funding for Nahnah and provided specifically so his group would copy the MB's organizational structures in Algeria and conduct charity works in grassroots units throughout the country.

As for the relationship between MIS and ISF, Mahfouz Nahnah initially tried to establish business relations with ISF: Relations between the two parties reportedly became strained in 1990 after the victory of the Islamic Salvation Front in the municipal elections. According to supporters of Mahfouz Nahnah, this victory was perceived as a collective success for all Algerian Islamists who supported the candidates of ISF. Nahnah urged the leaders of the ISF to adopt a more moderate approach in their propaganda efforts [al-Ahnaf... 1991, 39]. He believed that such a stance could serve as a foundation for the unification of various Islamic organizations. However, the leaders of the ISF rejected Nahnah's calls for moderation, asserting that their chosen path was the only correct approach for establishing an Islamic state in Algeria [al-Ahnaf... 1991, 39]. Indeed, it is worth noting that Mahfouz Nahnah refused to support the Islamic Salvation Front during the municipal elections. This decision had a significant impact on the deterioration of relations between these two Islamic parties. On the eve of the parliamentary elections, in 1991, Nahnah put forth a proposal to unite all Islamist organizations under a single bloc known as the "Islamic National Alliance" despite the strained relations between Mahfouz Nahnah and ISF. Nahnah's published alliance plan exemplified his political vision and outlined his proposed approach. The program emphasized the need to introduce an "Islamic alternative" to Algeria's development, taking into account the current

context. This alternative aimed to safeguard fundamental freedoms and advance economic reforms. Nahnah envisioned achieving these goals through constructive dialogue among representatives from various political directions in Algeria. By advocating for a balanced approach that blended Islamic principles with the practical requirements of the time, Nahnah sought to foster an inclusive and collaborative environment for the nation's progress.

Although a number of Islamic organizations expressed their support for this project, including the leader of the Nahda Party, Abdullah Jaballah, the most influential Islamist party, the ISF, opposed this alliance, stating that "Islam forbids the creation of alliances", Mahfouz Nahnah's project was characterized as "a blow to the back of the ISF" [Dolgov 2004, 42]: "The stance taken by the ISF actually initiated the breakdown of relations between the two Islamic parties and led to open hostility towards Nahnah, which could also be attributed to the IPR leaders accusing him of having close connections with the government and special forces.

Thus, MIS emerged as a direct political competitor to the ISF in Algeria, thereby transforming the political landscape. Rooted in the foundational principles of Islam, MIS maintained a belief in the compatibility and coexistence of religion, democracy, human rights, and gender equality. In line with this perspective, Mahfouz Nahnah advocated for the gradual establishment of an Islamic State that prioritizes dialogue and strives to distance itself from both political and religious intolerance [Deeb 1996, 284]. The parliamentary elections, planned in 1991, posed a significant challenge for the recently established MIS party, as it faced formidable competition from the ISF. Despite the prevailing dominance of the ISF, MIS chose to participate in the elections. It is worth noting that following the ISF, the most influential Islamic parties were MIS and Nahda, whose sway over a segment of Algerian society could potentially pose a hurdle for the ISF's objectives.

On the eve of the elections, the Islamic Salvation Front, positioning itself as the de facto leader of the Islamic movement, made unsuccessful attempts to unify various Islamic organizations. Despite sharing political views that aligned with the ISF, both Mahfouz Nahnah and Abdallah Jaballah decided against uniting with the ISF for several reasons [Dolgov 2004, 90], these included the absence of a

shared action plan, concerns about further power divisions, and strained relations between the ISF leadership and Mahfouz Nahnah.

In the parliamentary elections held on December 26, 1991, the Islamic parties emerged victorious, securing a majority of the votes. The ISF received 44 % of the votes [Volpi 2003, 52], MIS obtained 5.3 % [Boubekeur 2007, 31], and Nahda garnered 2.2 % [Dolgov 2004, 102]. These election results set off a series of events that dramatically altered the trajectory of Algeria's historical development. The country subsequently entered a period of intense power struggle, widely known as the "Algerian Crisis" [Mundy 2015, 53]¹. Faced with the highly volatile situation, the military assumed control of the government. The state of emergency was reinstated², the activities of the ISF were banned, and its leaders were imprisoned.

In 1992, following the ban of the ISF, the activities of MIS and Nahda gained prominence. Despite sharing similar goals and ideologies, MIS and Nahda distanced themselves from the radical practices of the ISF. Unlike the armed struggle advocated by the ISF, these two parties opted for a path of dialogue, considering it more acceptable and conducive to their objectives.

After the military coup in January 1992, the High State Council (HSC) assumed power in Algeria, and General Liamine Zeroual was installed as the president of the state in January 1994 [Werenfels 2007, 45]. The HSC, consisting of military leaders known as "the generals", governed until it was dissolved. Following three years of military rule, Algeria held multi-party elections in 1995, which

¹ After the promulgation of the elections' results, it was obvious that the Islamists would be a majority in the second round of the upcoming elections which would give them an opportunity to change the Constitution and declare Algeria an Islamic state. In 1992, on the eve of the second round of parliamentary elections in January, Shadley Benjedid, the president of Algeria, dissolved the National Assembly at the request of the Supreme National Security Council, a few days later the military overthrew the president accusing him of collaborating with the Islamists. The High State Council (HSC) led by Mohamed Boudiaf headed the governance of the country [Dīū... 2000, 319–320]. Such a development of events started a bloody armed conflict between the Islamists and the authorities in Algeria, which continued until 1999.

² The state of emergency was canceled in 1991 for holding parliamentary elections.

marked a significant step towards a return to a constitutional political process. In these elections, Zeroual participated as a candidate and was formally elected as president [Layachi 2017, 238].

In the pursuit of a peaceful resolution to the “Algeria crisis”, Liamin Zerwal advocated for a peaceful settlement, while Mahfouz Nahnah and Abdallah Jaballah expressed their support for the president’s initiative for a political resolution. The plan aimed to bring the warring parties to the negotiation table through changes in the criminal law [MacQueen 2009, 98]. Both leaders of MIS and Nahda believed that this stance could strengthen their political standing among the Algerian population. While confident in the imminent reinforcement of peace in Algeria, the members of MIS were open to the idea of joining the National Transitional Council³ of the temporary Parliament in 1994, which was not the case with Nahda [Noakes 1994].

The political positions of the MIS party did not change in 1995 either during the scheduled presidential elections. Mahfouz Nahnah, a leader associated with the ISF, responded to Liamin Zeroual’s call to restart the democratic process in Algeria and decided to run for president.

Outlining his vision of the issues confronting Algeria, Nahnah, during his presidential campaign, called for “restoring the rule of law and improving the conditions of the most socially disadvantaged segments of society”. While emphasizing the significance of upholding Islamic principles, he also aimed to showcase the inclusivity and democratic nature of his perspectives. Thus, the leader of MIS considered the formation of a coalition government, referred to as a “reconciliation government”, as a top priority. Nahnah believed that such a government should include all political forces [Millet 1995]. He was confident that this approach would help bridge the gap that had emerged between Islam and the state.

In general, Nahnah strategically distanced himself from extremist Islamism in his election speeches, aiming to appeal to moderate supporters of the ISF. His campaign propaganda focused on uniting the patriotic and educated segments of Algerian society under the banner of MIS. It is important to note that Nahnah, as a politically astute leader, refrained from making direct criticism of the military elite

³ The National Transitional Council (NTC) began its activities on May 18, 1994.

during his campaign, as such criticisms could potentially provide grounds for the authorities to invalidate his candidacy in the elections [Vidyasova... 2008, 192].

In the 1995 presidential election, Mahfouz Nahnah obtained 25.38 % [Bohlen... 1999, 59] of the vote. It is worth noting that Nahnah, along with the other two candidates, were aware that defeating the military-backed candidate and incumbent President Lamin Zeroual was highly unlikely. Their participation in the elections can be seen as a means to introduce plurality and pluralism into the electoral process. However, Nahnah's second-place finish was significant, as it allowed MIS to have a notable presence and involvement in Algeria's domestic political landscape.

Abdallah Jaballah and Nahda Movement in Algeria's Islamic Landscape

Abdallah Jaballah was indeed one of the early thinkers to consider Islam from a political perspective. After completing his studies in Saudi Arabia, he returned to Algeria, where he played a role in the association "al-Jamaa al-Islamiyya" ("Islamic Group") during the 1970s. This organization was founded by students from the University of Constantine, with the main objective of opposing the prevailing secular order within the university [Boubekeur 2007, 32]. Jaballah and his followers aimed to Islamize society and, as part of their efforts, they constructed mosques and musalaat (prayer rooms) in Constantine. They also provided religious training on campus and in the community. While Jaballah's group showed some influence from the Muslim Brotherhood (MB), particularly in terms of Quran teaching and charity work, Jaballah himself was reluctant to establish the Algerian branch of the MB and be subordinate to the Egyptian MB [Barka 2012, 101]. Ideologically, Jaballah aligned himself closer to the less mainstream "Islamic Left" sub-grouping within the Muslim Brotherhood, which was exemplified by figures such as Hassan Hanafi [Zhang 2020, 75].

In 1990, with the advent of democratic processes in Algeria, Abdallah Jaballah was able to establish his Islamic Renaissance Movement (*Harakat an-Nahda al-Islamiyya or an-Nahda*) party. Nahda gained significant popularity in Constantine and its surrounding areas, which served as Jaballah's hometown. The party primarily attracted support from the affluent urban population, including small and

medium traders, businessmen, and intellectuals. This demographic contrasted with the ISF, whose grassroots supporters mainly came from lower social level. While this circumstance allowed Nahda to maintain its distinct identity, it also imposed limitations on its sphere of influence.

While the goals of Nahda and the ISF shared some similarities, but Abdallah Jaballah refused to cooperate with the ISF, despite numerous efforts, Jaballah asserted significant disparities between the two factions, Nahda and IPF, regarding their perspectives, operational methodologies, and strategic approaches [Willis 1998, 52]. Despite this fact Sheikh Abdallah Jaballah called on his supporters to vote for the ISF during the municipal elections hold in 1990 [Roberts 2003, 68]. It is worth noting that due to Nahda's position, many individuals who were dissatisfied with the ISF for various reasons shifted their support towards Jaballah's party.

It is indeed interesting that the principles proclaimed by Nahda showed minimal differences from those of MIS, with disagreements primarily revolving around political activities. Nahda, as a proponent of establishing an Islamic order in Algeria, advocated for legal and non-violent means of struggle, deeming the more extreme and futile methods of struggle as ineffective. However, it is worth noting that Sheikh Jaballah held more radical views compared to moderate Islamic figures, particularly evident in his position towards the authorities.

After the Islamic Salvation Front was banned, Nahda strongly criticized the authorities. Collaborating with several other radical opposition parties, Nahda called for increased democracy, electoral system strengthening, and the re-legitimization of the Islamic Salvation Front [Willis 1998, 52]. Later, this oppositional stance, along with Jaballah's disagreement over cooperating with the government [Bustos 2017, 209], resulted in a split within Nahda. Consequently, the party's leadership transitioned to supporters of the regime. Within a few months, the Nahda party experienced a split, dividing its members into two factions: those loyal to Jaballah and those who supported the new General Secretary, Lahbib Adami. Adami, who had been elected to the National Assembly in the wilaya of Khenchela, happened to be the younger brother of the Minister of Justice at that time, Mohamed Adami. The dispute between the two camps revolved around whether the party should continue its programmatic opposition or negotiate its

participation in a coalition government. Ultimately, the Adami camp emerged victorious, and Jaballah was compelled to leave the party he had founded [Willis 2013, 536]. The movement subsequently came under the control of Lahbib Adami. After leaving Nahda, Abdallah established Movement of National Reform (MNR) (*Harakat al-islah al-watani, known as Islah*), in 1998 [Layachi 2005, 74] However, the activities of the newly launched Islah party were also hindered by the authorities [Willis 2014, 190].

In terms of cooperation with the authorities, Abdallah Jaballah has consistently held a more radical position compared to Mahfouz Nahdah. It is worth mentioning the significance of the 1994 and 1995 meetings of Algerian opposition parties [MacQueen 2009, 101]⁴ held in Rome, facilitated by the mediation of the Catholic community of Sant'Egidio [Akacem 2005, 200]. The decisions made during these meetings are considered to best reflect Abdallah Jaballah's political views and stance.

As a result of these meetings, the participating parties adopted the "Platform of the National Agreement"⁵, which outlined key objectives such as the establishment of a transitional government, conducting elections based on the 1989 constitution, and removing the military from the political sphere. The "Platform of Rome" called for Algeria to uphold fundamental universal values and principles, including the rule of law, protection of basic human rights, and democratic governance, while rejecting all forms of dictatorship. The platform also emphasized the importance of guaranteeing freedom of religion as an integral element of Islam [La Plate-forme de Rome 1995].

As a precondition for initiating negotiations with the authorities, the participants of the "Rome Platform" called for the release of all political prisoners, including the leaders of the ISF, as well as the restoration of press freedoms and the liberalization of the political landscape for all parties [La Plate-forme de Rome 1995].

The decisions made in the "Platform of Rome" can be seen as reflecting Abdallah Jaballah's political stance. It is worth noting that the

⁴ Representatives of "Islamic Salvation Front", "Algerian League for the Protection of Human Rights", "National Liberation Front", "Socialist Forces Front", "Algerian Democracy Movement", "Trotskyist Labor Movement", "Modern Muslim Algeria" and "Nahda" [Ruedy 2005, 266].

⁵ Or otherwise "Rome platform".

Algerian authorities promptly rejected the opposition's demands, which helps explain Nahda's boycott of the presidential elections in 1995. Meanwhile, Abdullah Jaballah criticized MIS chief Mahfouz Nahnah for his decision to contest the election, arguing that by running for the presidency, he prioritized the interests of his party over those of religion, nation, and freedom [bn īhī... 2019, 230]. In the parliamentary elections held in June 1997, Nahda participated and secured 34 out of 380 seats in the legislative body, whereas Mahfouz Nahnah's party, Haraqa al-mujtamaa al-silm (Movement for Society and Peace or MSP), won 69 seats in the legislative body [Algeria National People's Assembly].

In this context, it is necessary to note that Article 52 of the Constitution of 1996 acknowledges and guarantees the right to establish political parties, but it also imposes stricter regulations on the formation and activities of political parties [Algeria 1989 (reinst. 1996, rev. 2016)]. Specifically, the law prohibits the formation of political parties based on Arabness, Berberness, and Islam, which are considered the three components of Algerian identity. These components cannot be used as a basis for political competition, and violence is also not permitted as a means of political expression. As a result of this legislation, some political organizations were required to change their names in order to comply with the law's provisions. For instance, Movement for an Islamic Society changed its name to the Movement for Society and Peace (MSP), and the Nahda Islamic Party removed the term "Islamic" from its name [Bouandel... 1998, 181–182].

Nevertheless, the elections held in 1997, clearly demonstrated that Islamic parties maintained significant political influence in Algerian society. They emerged as the second-largest political force in parliament, following the pro-government "National Democratic Rally" [Zartman 2005, 267].

Conclusion

Indeed, the founding leaders of the moderate Islamic parties Nahda and MIS wielded considerable influence over the emerging political processes in Algeria during this period and played a pivotal role in stabilizing the country's internal political landscape. Abdallah Jaballah and Mahfouz Nahnah, ardent advocates of establishing an Islamic order in Algeria, actively favored nonviolent and lawful methods of

struggle. Moreover, in our perspective, the latter viewed Islamic ideology not merely as a potent tool for anti-authoritarian resistance but as a vital foundation for a government system that embraced contemporary values, steering clear of extremist tendencies.

The rise in prominence of these figures and their dynamic engagement in Algeria's political landscape occurred predominantly after the downfall of revolutionary Islamist ideologies, following the suppression of the Islamic Salvation Front in 1992. This situation compelled Sheikh Mahfouz Nahnah and Sheikh Abdallah Jaballah to reevaluate their revolutionary notions and adapt their approach to continue operating within the confines of legality.

Regarding the objectives and ideology pursued by Nahnah and Jaballah, they shared several similarities, but a notable distinction emerged in their political activities and methods of achieving their goals. While the leader of MIS deemed cooperation with the authorities acceptable, even without preconditions, Jaballah adopted a significantly more radical stance. Simultaneously, Jaballah emphasized the importance of collaborating with other opposition parties, both Islamic and non-Islamic, advocating for joint action. These contrasting stances vividly illustrate the divergence in views and approaches between these two esteemed politicians.

It is essential not to overlook the positive effect of the moderate Islamic parties' position in calming down the "Algerian crisis" and the armed anti-government struggle. The "re-Islamisation" of society remains unabated, with several tolerated Islamist parties becoming a permanent fixture in the political landscape. These parties have now integrated themselves into the very system that political Islam once sought to dismantle. Capitalizing on their acceptance and inclusion, they continue their grassroots mobilization while exerting a growing influence of religion on public policy. At the same time, it should be noted that the Algerian authorities are also interested in maintaining business relations as a crucial factor in preserving the peace established in Algeria. Moderate Islamic figures serve as a vital link between the government and society, and their role as "mediators" presents an opportunity to mitigate manifestations of extremism to a certain extent. However, if the parties fail to demonstrate political will and are unable to sustain the current system, Algeria may indeed face a new crisis.

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**ВПЛИВОВІ ЛІДЕРИ АЛЖИРСЬКИХ ПОМІРКОВАНИХ
ІСЛАМІСТСЬКИХ ПАРТІЙ: ПОРІВНЯЛЬНЕ
ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ ПОЛІТИЧНОЇ ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ
МАХФУЗА НАХНАХА І АБДАЛЛІ ДЖАБАЛЛІ**

Пропонована стаття описує період з 1991 по 1995 рр., поворотну епоху в історії Алжиру. Автор ретельно досліджує діяльність, ідеологію та цілі двох поміркованих ісламістських партій: Руху за ісламське суспільство (Harakat li-Mujtama' Islami, PIC) та Руху ісламського відродження (Harakat al-Nahdha al-Islamiyya, або Аль-Нахда). Мета дослідження – вивчення політичних ініціатив лідерів цих партій, Махфуза Нахнаха та Абдаллі Джабаллі, особи яких тісно переплетені з діяльністю їхніх політичних організацій, а також висвітлення їхньої взаємодії не лише з іншими ісламськими фракціями, але й з різними політичними суб'єктами та державними органами. Використовуючи порівняльний аналітичний підхід, стаття має на меті підкреслити розбіжності у поглядах і діях цих впливових політиків, незважаючи на спільні загальні політичні цілі PIC і Нахда. Обидві партії прагнули запровадити ісламську державу в Алжирі та включити ісламську юриспруденцію (шаріат) у політичну та правову систему країни. Концепція “поміркованого ісламізму”, висвітлена у статті, пропонує збалансований підхід до перетину ісламських цінностей і демократичного правління, представляючи шлях до співіснування релігійних традицій і сучасних політичних рамок. Методологічна основа дослідження формує ретельний та системний підхід, щоб оцінити внесок Махфуза Нахнаха та Абдаллі Джабаллі в політику Алжиру в межах спектру поміркованого ісламізму, висвітлюючи складнощі їхніх ідеологічних позицій та їхній вплив на політичний ландшафт Алжиру.

Ключові слова: Мафхуз Нахнах, Абдалла Джабалла, помірковані ісламські партії, Рух за ісламське суспільство, Нахда

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