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Hamdan Khoja's positions and opinions from the French occupation and its policy in Algeria based on his book the mirror

مواقف واراء حمدان خوجة من الاحتلال الفرنسي وسياساته في الجزائر من خلال كتابه" المرآة ".

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Abstract:

This study deals with the attitudes of Hamdan bin Othman Khoja towards French colonization through his book "The Mirror", which was published after the French occupation of Algeria in 1833, as the author of this book lived the occupation, as he was one of the notables of the city of Algiers, tasted the bitterness of the occupation, and was a witness to that distasteful and important period of national history, and The Mirror is divided into two parts; in the first part he presented the cultural, social and political history of Algeria in a detailed and accurate manner. The second part deals with the reasons for the French invasion of Algeria, and details the landing of the French forces in Sidi Faraj. The book also includes important details about his positions on the confiscation of Islamic endowments and documents, religious sanctuaries and mosques, which the writer refused to hand over to the occupation administration after their goal became clear.

He translated his national positions against the invasion in his book The Mirror, which is one of the most important sources that recorded the invasion, as he witnessed the last period of the Ottoman rule of Algeria. The objectives of this study are to identify Hamdan Khoja positions on the French invasion and what is the approach he adopted in highlighting his positions on the occupation and its unjust practices against the nation and the extent to which he was successful in his national presentation.

Keywords: Attitudes; History; Mirror; Othman Khoja; French colonization; Algeria; National Movement.

الملخص: منذ أن وطأت أقدام الغزاة أرض الجزائر وهي في صراع دائم مع أعداء الامة، وكان لحمدان خوجة مواقف مشرفة في مجابهة الاستعمار لما يمتلكه من رصيد ثقافي ومعرفي وعلمي وتكوين سياسي بسبب قربه من الحكم التركي، وبسبب احتكاكه بالغرب فللرجل رحلات عديدة إلى الدول الاوربية وإلى تركيا، ومختلف البلاد العربية، الأمر الذي اكسبه مكانة ومنعة ضد الغريب، وبعد الغزو ورحيل الداي حسين والسلطة السياسية وجد نفسه وجها لوجه أمام وضع صعب، أمة فقدت من يدافع عنها وغزاة يريدون السيطرة والاستيلاء على كل الثروات والخيرات، بل الأكثر من ذلك يريدون طمس معالم الشخصية الوطنية وتدنيس مقدساتها. فما كان على الرجل إلا الصمود والدفاع عن هذا الوطن الجريح، أحيانا كمؤرخ، وثّق ودوّن تاريخ أمته وكتب أحداثها وأوضح الكثير من تاريخها بفضل ثقافة عصره منبرا للدفاع عن مقوماتها، مدحضا لمزاعم فرنسا أنه لا توجد أمة اسمها الجزائر. وكان بذلك خير شاهد، وممثلا طلائعيا للمقاومة السياسية المبكرة لأعيان مدينة الجزائر، مخلفا بذلك ذخائر قيّمة تُعدّ اليوم المرجع الأساسي لدراسة الفترة الأخيرة من العهد العثماني في الجزائر والفترة الأولى من الاحتلال الفرنسي.

ولعلّ من أبرز مؤلفاته في هذا المجال كتاب "المرآة"، وهو من أوائل الكتب التي صدرت بعد الاحتلال. في هذه المقالة، سأتناول مواقف حمدان خوجة وآرائه من الاحتلال الفرنسي وسياسته في الجزائر خلال الفترة ما بين(1830-1845) وأحاول في الوقت نفسه توضيح مساهمة كتابه "المرآة" في تدوين التاريخ الوطني وتشكيل هوية وطنية مثلت البذرة الأولى للحركة الوطنية الجزائرية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: مواقف؛ التاريخي؛ المرآة ؛ عثمان خوجة؛ الاستعمار الفرنسي؛ الجزائر؛ الحركة الوطنية.

Introduction: As it is known that Algeria's past was not completely devoid of historians, but there are some who chronicled its history and wrote about events and clarified many things due to the culture of their time. The best witness to this is the historian Hamdan Khoja, who is considered as one of the most famous pioneers of the Algerian historical school during the 19th century, who left us valuable information that is now the main source for studying the last period of the Ottoman era in Algeria and the first period of the French occupation. Perhaps one of his most prominent works in this field is the book 'The Mirror', which is one of the first books published after the occupation. In this article, I will examine Hamdan Khoja's positions and opinions from the French occupation and its policy in Algeria

during the period between 1830-1845, at the same time I try to clarify the contribution of his book 'The Mirror' in the codification of national history and the forging of a national identity that represented the first seed for the national movement.

1- **Hamdan Othman Khoja biography**:

1-1: **Hamdan ben Othman Khoja birth** [1] :He was born in Algiers in 1773, and based on what he said himself he lived in Algeria until he was sixty years old, knowing that he left the country permanently in 1833, so it can be said that he was born in 1773 AD . [2] His father Othman is of Turkish origin, his mother is Algerian. He personally feels thoroughly Algerian and this is shown by his saying in his book 'The Mirror' My homeland is Algeria, my sons are my countrymen [3] He also wrote in his memoirs during his visit to Constantinople about his descent to his homeland and pride in that by saying: 'I was assigned to collect what I have in this matter ,though means are not enough and problems are many and I was far from sons and family. [4]

1-2 education :

After the death of his father, he took his place as a teacher of religious sciences for a short time and then practised commerce with his uncle and succeeded in it, becoming one of the richest people in Algeria, which opened the way for him to make several trips to Europe, the Levant and Constantinople, where he was able to learn several languages such as French and English, which helped him to open up and expand his knowledge and learn about customs, traditions and political systems prevailing in those countries.

1-3 S**cientific works**: Hamdan ben Othman Khodja worked as an author, translator, and editor of the Arabic-language newspaper " Taqyim al-Waqai", published in Istanbul. In addition to 'The Mirror', he left behind

many other works, including: "Al-Ittihaf Al-Monsifin and Al-udabaa lilihtirazi min al wabaa" ; and "Setar Al-Ittihaf, Imdad Al-Fattah " : a huge collection, which contains the transmission and summarisation of several books in various arts, and the book we are concerned about here is 'The Mirror[5] written by its author in Arabic, then translated into French by his friend Hassan Dghissi Al-Tarabulsi[6] to be published in Paris in October 1833 " **Aperçu historique et statistique sur la régence d'Alger** ", and then Ali Reda Pasha ben Hamdan Khoja translated it into Turkish under the title 'The Mirror of Algeria'. It is truly a mirror reflecting the conditions of Algeria in the beginning of the French occupation, as he collected in it every small and large detail about the conditions of the nation before the invasion and what it became after the invasion: 'The French must realise that any man who truly loves his country cannot write with calm nerves, without stopping at every incident that represents to him the extermination of citizens or their slaughter and the desecration of their ancestral tombs ... I am but an echo of the events and the tongue for my countrymen. [7]

This book was translated by two Algerian researchers. The first translation appeared in 1972, translated by Professor Mohamed Ben Abdelkrim, and his translation is considered complete, as he translated all the contents of the book, including the documents in it[8] The second translation was done by Professor Mohamed Larbi Zubairi, and is truncated from the third section, which includes a collection of the author's private documents. The National Publishing Company published the book in 1975[9]

Some references indicate that Hamdan Khoja did not publish his book until after he was sure of the malicious intentions of the French and after the method of begging failed and after he was sure that France was stealing his homeland and that any attempt to go along with it is a futile attempt. He presented the book to the African Commission[10] to be an expression of his national feeling and an expression of those pains that afflicted the nation and his person as one of the notables and representatives of the nation, it is

an expression of dismay: 'Had I not been as perplexed and tormented as I was by what my poor country had become, I could have compiled the most marvellous documents for this part of Africa(11)

2 INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOK "The Mirror " :

The book (280 pages 2008, Algeria.) was published by the National Foundation for Communication, Publishing and Publicity, Rouiba Printing Unit.

2-1 The content of the book: Through the title, we can identify the general content of the book, which is a reflective mirror of the general conditions in Algeria during the last period of Ottoman rule and the beginning of the occupation.

2-2 **A preface**: A three-page foreword by President Abdelaziz Bouteflika explaining the importance of the book as a rare source of Algerian history that must be read and analysed. From page 03 to page 05.

2-3 **Introduction**: five pages from page 07 to page 11 by the writer, in which he highlights the objectives that prompted him to write the book, including his attempt to seek pity from the invaders to the plight of the Algerians. He says: 'I do this so that they may show sympathy for the Algerians when they see their situation(12)
Chapters: The author divided his book into twelve chapters that included various topics related to the Algerian nation, it was a first hand description written by a man who lived among the people and knew their secrets, their pains and hopes, and knows the nature of Ottoman rule, knowing that he was close to the ottoman rulers, he knows the conditions of the Ottoman state as he says: 'My knowledge of the parts of this country and my social situation in Algiers has enabled me to present a truthful picture, and I also relied on my knowledge of the conditions of humanity in general.(13)

3-1 **Book content**: "The Mirror" can be divided into two large sections, the first section presents the cultural, social and political history of

Algeria in a detailed and accurate manner - The second section deals with the reasons for the French invasion of Algeria and the details of its landing at Sidi Fredj . The book also includes important information about Islamic Awkafs [14] in Algeria and other documents[15].

3-2 **the reasons behind writing 'The Mirror'**:

Hamdan khodja wrote this book, which is truly a mirror reflecting the painful reality that the nation was living and was specifically addressed to the African Commission, as he believed that the Committee would do justice to the nation after reading his book, which was full of praise for the 'ideals of equality, rectitude and justice that characterised the members of the Committee [16] Hence the author's great hope in the Committee and his indescribable trust in its members: 'But I am convinced that France has men who will not be deterred from discovering the truth by any means offered to them which will enable them to contemplate the consequences of the excesses of politics, and I am sure that these distinguished men will be chiefly concerned with the glory of the French nation by eliminating all acts contrary to that glory. I address myself to those men who sacrifice their own happiness for the happiness of others...[17] But his dream was shattered when the commission ruled against his expectations, supporting the French army, stabilising the French administration and considering Algeria as a vital country for France[18] The Commission, in which he placed all his hopes for the triumph of justice and humanity disappointed him by recommending, after acknowledging the misbehaviour of the French army and the breach of the Algerian-French agreement, the annexation of Algeria to France, which was actually carried out by the decision of July 1834[19] 'Unfortunately, it is this difference in customs and traditions that is always the basis of the contempt of nations for each other[20]

He also elaborated on the bad state of the nation as a result of the unjust French campaign against Algeria: ' It is very difficult to find, in the question of Algeria, a positive aspect for the people. I am still searching in

vain for amusements for those people, their hopes are absent, there is no pity, no mercy, no justice, I wonder why my country is shaken in all its foundations and is affected in all its vital principles.(21) He then goes on to compare the state of the Algerian nation to what is happening in Christian Europe, as if he recalls the hidden objectives of the campaign, including religious hatred: 'Besides, I look at the conditions in which other neighbouring countries are living , and I see none of them forced to endure conditions similar to those imposed on us: I see Greece is being helped and being built on a solid foundation after it was separated from the Ottoman Empire…….When I turn my gaze to the country of Algeria, I see these poor inhabitants suffering under the yoke of tyranny, exposed to extermination. And for all the scourges of war and all these injustices committed in the name of Free France"(22) With these moderate ideas, Hamdan Khoja to seek sympathy from the French, addressing the enlightened and civilized people among them , including Louis-Philippe(23), But The French extremists did not leave him alone as he himself was subjected to exile, fines, and confiscation. It is the French justice.

4- the method used in writing the book "The Mirror":

Through a careful reading of the man's cultural life, it became clear that he was fluent in many languages. In addition to the Arabic and Turkish languages, Khoja remained outside Algeria for about seventeen years. At that period, the world was witnessing important historical events(24),Also his work in high positions during the Ottoman period and his direct contact with Europeans, whether at the official level or through his practice of trade, he is truly a linguistic and intellectual encyclopaedia. It is through a careful reading of his book that we can come up with a number of observations about his methodology in writing which can be summarised as follows:

4-1 The descriptive method:

We see throughout the book an accurate description of the conditions of the Algerian nation and the state to which it has arrived after being exposed to the unjust invasion. On page thirteen, in brief lines, he summarises the components of the state, including cities, villages, ports and countryside, and in the first chapter an accurate description of the nomads, their habits, customs and centres of their presence. He also talks about the berbers and describes them as barbarians and how they contributed to the conquest of Andalusia, but one of the characteristics of their customs is the national spirit that each one of their tribe(25) manifests courage, solidarity and maintaining a strong blood bond but sometimes he exaggerates the description to the point of inappropriateness and their clothing as a bag pierced in the middle for the head and two other holes in it. They emit an unbearable odour when wet by the rain(26)... and their children as being "completely naked"(27) He also describes their wickedness and their houses with great precision "their houses are built ... with wood and reeds tied together and each house has four sides»(28) Then he talks about the inhabitants of the plains in the fourth chapter and divides them into two kinds: The people of the desert and the people of the hills, inhabitants of small mountains of low height(29)

He then goes on to describe in the fifth chapter the inhabitants of Metidja, the nature of its inhabitants and their customs, the inhabitants of the western side. Hence, Hamdan khoja was able to deliver his message to the French public opinion explaining the miserable state to which his nation has reached, all this is done with a clear and a precise description intelligence and integrity, 'I speak here with all integrity, and I do not narrate events except as they happened(30) . He also explains the role of the successful historian and that he must stand on the facts and describe them as they occurred despite the difficulties and rejection he may face. 'Bad demons appear in all ages, dragging behind them all kinds of sufferings. Kings - in every era - are forced to watch these battles, trample the corpses

with their feet, hear the screams of pain ... and finally see all the horrors of plunder and death![31]

In his description of the state of poverty and destitution that the nation has reached due to insecurity, lack of fruits, people's poverty and hunger, and everyone waiting for the gestures of France, he says that It is the policy of starvation applied by France. Empty bellies lead to the disruption of minds and the weakness of will, which facilitates the process of colonialism. Although he admits sometimes falling short from describing the real pains and sufferings due to pressures: ‘We do not mention here, nor do we repeat the painful scenes of all that is going on, knowing that we are unable to convey them properly[32]

4-2 the writer as a witness to history :

There is not a single page of the book that does not contain a report of facts that he himself witnessed to convey them to the French public opinion or to the officials, taking care to describe them and communicate them in an image that corresponds to reality or close to it, despite the pressures, as we mentioned earlier. he says ‘If I were not afraid and pained by the miserable situation of my country, in addition to the troubles caused by my old age, I would have collected more wondrous documents about this region of Africa[33]

He said in this regard. All that he observed and lived during his travels, drawing a true picture of the customs and habits of the nation without distortion or falsification, trying to prove the existence of a nation distinct from France that does not want to be French, but rather an independent nation with its own entity, knowing that he was the first to call for Algerian nationalism, according to the historian Abulgasim Saadallah's : ‘Among the pioneers of Algerian nationalism is Hamdan khoja. He adds ” to these principles his knowledge of the rights of nationalities, civil

liberties, equality between people, and tolerance.(34) In standing up for the truth in a direct way and guarding the truth even though it is a dangerous task, he says: 'And my desire to fulfil the dangerous task entrusted to the real historian ... and my determination not to hide anything ...(35) In describing the berbers and their dress, he says: 'They are completely naked as I have seen them myself (36) . He also says he saw them:' in their regions and in the city of Algiers, I have seen them in summer and winter taking off their clothes and making them a pillow when they sleep.(37) describing at length the homes of the Berbers and how they live in distress and poverty:

Since I was not accustomed to this type of life, it was impossible for me during my journey to Constantine to endure living inside these dwellings. I preferred to sleep in the open air rather than sleep in the middle of this Noah's Ark. The owner of the dwelling where I stayed had to go out with me to protect me.(38)

In his description of Berber women, he says: 'So we see these women who do not stop working, we see that they are dirty and do not take care of themselves...(39) On another occasion, to emphasise his truthfulness, he says: 'As for the inhabitants of the distant desert: 'I have not personally visited them..."Speaking about some Turkish governors who were known for their excesses and aggression, he says: "When we see the behaviour of the governors in Africa, we tend to believe that they are spreading discord in order to sacrifice the Algerian people.(40) Speaking about the French entering the city and laying siege to it and his presence at the time and his participation in trying to break the siege, he describes the incident saying: '. Although I was certain that we would not be able to break the siege of the city and defend it, I did everything in my power to perform this task.(41)

On the mistake that Dey Hussein made by removing Yahya Agha, a capable and experienced man who was able to resist the invading forces, and appointing Suhra Ibrahim Agha, who was less experienced, he says: 'It was the custom of Yahya Agha to conduct mock raids and training

movements for his soldiers every day, putting them on the defensive and making them assume that the enemy was about to attack them. The militarised guard posts were always vigilant.(42)

On the role of the Jews in plundering the wealth of Algerians and buying it at a low price before the campaign; he says in this regard that the Jew Bekri forced an agent to sell his precious furniture and various types of decorative items, estimated at four thousand francs. He did not pay him this in cash, but signed a bond for a known time, and I can hardly believe my eyes even though things were happening in my presence.(43)

4-3 **the use of official and reliable sources**: Hamdan khoja in his relentless endeavour to reach the truth, was keen to convey it from its sources, either from the leaders of the Ottoman state, the military commanders or from the common people who suffered the flames of the unjust campaign and those whom he trusted from the leaders of the French campaign themselves who contributed to the tragedy of the nation and whom he called human demons. Speaking about the inhabitants of the desert, he says:' As for the inhabitants of the distant desert, I have not personally visited them, and what I say about them is an account from reliable persons.(44) In the case of the two Jews Bekri and Bushnak, who were involved in provoking the crisis between the Dey and France, namely the debt crisis and the consequent incident of the fan and then the blockade, they were the direct causes that led to the invasion: 'I took this information from this partner himself.(45) On another occasion and on the same issue, he relies on public accounts for his inability to reach the truth himself, he says: 'I do not know anything about the subject, so I am content to repeat here what I have heard from people.(46) On his keenness to collect the correct data contained in "The Mirror "and his distrust of some, he says: "Although a number of writers have published books on Algeria, most of them have only dealt with this issue from the angle of material benefits in the country.(47) On his trust in some Frenchmen, he says: 'But I am convinced

that France has men who will not neglect to discover the truth….I especially address myself to those men who sacrifice their own happiness for the happiness of others and for the multiplication and strengthening of social relations.(48)

On the issue of Ahmed Bey's dismissal and the appointment of Ibn Qara in his place, Hamdan Khoja says: 'Haji Ahmed informed me of the secrets of all these correspondences, and in this regard he said to me: 'How can the French…. trust manipulative Jews, including the so-called Ibn Qara Ali, who was appointed Caliph in the eastern region and who could not occupy the post for more than three days?(49) While On the issue of the massacre of Oufiya, and in his dealings with the French sources that preceded him in writing about the incident, he says: What amazes me in this incident, and makes me ashamed when I talk about these events, is that Mr Pichon has presented before me, in a book, in a truthful manner, these events, and the French government did not take any measures to denounce these acts that do not befit its status and dignity.(50)

Regarding the massacres committed by the French soldiers to obtain the women's jewellery, Hamdan Khoja says in this regard: "Some people mention that some babies were cut off while they were on Their Mothers' breasts and looting took place everywhere. (I speak here with all impartiality, and I do not tell the facts of the events except as they happened.(51) As for the abuses that occurred during the invasion of Blida, he says: 'There are those who assert that the French government had the right to take the women's jewellery and later adds 'There are those who assert that the French government ordered the Muslims to convert to Christianity ... It seems that the French mail of 20 June discovered the secret.(52)

Regarding his membership in the municipal council formed by the French to manage the affairs of the capital, he says: 'Thus, General

Touloussan invited me to fill one of the two positions, and I accepted because I could not refuse.(53)

Conclusion:

Through this simple presentation, we can consider Hamdan khoja as one of the pioneers of Algerian nationalism and its first pillars, and one of the first founders of the national movement. His book "The Mirror " is considered as one of the important sources in writing the history of our homeland, as the writer was taking from trusted people and direct observation, including, but not limited to, in his description of the massacre of Oufia, he says: 'Where we saw with our own eyes Bracelets still attached to severed wrists and earrings covered in blood. It is very clear that Hamdan khoja knows the subtleties of politics and devoted a chapter to it entitled the causes of the decadence and demise of the Turkish government and mentioned many types of injustice and oppression, He also wrote lengthily about the defects of Algerian Berbers and Arabs. In contrast to that, he praised the residents of the city of Algiers because they were Turks and Andalusians. Though Hamdan khoja was a witness to the injustices of the French, his book was geared towards defending his private property, begging the French through phrases of praise that appeared throughout the book such as: 'French civilisation', "French justice", "French equality" Actually, we find no excuse for this, except flattery for narrow personal interests, and lack of boldness and courage on his part.

References:

(1) Khouja or Khawaja: Hamdan was born in 1773. He memorized the Qur'an and learned some religious sciences from his father. Then he entered the primary school, in which he succeeded with distinction, so as a reward, his father sent him with his uncle on a trip to Istanbul in the year 1784 AD, in that trip, his uncle was on the mission of carrying gifts to The Ottoman Sultan, this trip played a major role in the psyche of the child who did not exceed eleven years old,as doors were opened to him to look at everything that is sublime. As for the term Khoja, it was an honorary title granted to notables, including ministers and scholars. Later, the meaning of Khoja extended to include clerks and public administrators. Ibn Naimah Abdul Majeed and others see Encyclopedia of Algerian Media, 1830-1954 AD, Publications of the National Center for Studies and Research in the National Movement and the First Revolution November 1954, Algeria, 2007, p122

(2) Mohammed al-Arabi al-Zubairy : "Hamdan Khouja his Origin, upbringing and culture"Al Mujahid weekly magazine 1972 page 14

(3) Hamdan ben Othman Khouja 'The Mirror" Publication 2 translated into Arabic by Mohammed al-Arabi al-Zubairy National Publishing and Distribution Company Algeria 1982.p11.

(4) Kheither Abdenour: "the beginnings and foundations of the national movement1830-1954 " Publications of the National Centre for Studies and Research in the National Movement and the Revolution 1st November 1954 Algeria 2007, p189,p 190

(5) Hamdan ben Othman Khouja 'The Mirror" Presented and translated into Arabic by Mohammed al-Arabi al-Zubairy special publication ministry of al mujahideen National company for Communication, Publishing and Publicity Printing Unit. Rouiba,2008

(6) Hassouna Al-Deghisi Al-Trabelsi from a Turkish family famous for science and politics Tripoli He served as Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Karamanli government and then resigned ,after that he went to Fez, then London, then Paris, then settled in Istanbul where he met Hamdan Khoja and participated with him in intellectual and media work He died on December 17, 1836: Argment Curran : Ottoman policy towards the French occupation of Algeria 1827/1847 , Translation,Abdul Jalil Al-Tamimi" Tunisia 1974 .

(7) Khouja , Op.Cit, P15

(8) Mohammed Al-Tayeb Khouja: pioneer of Islamic renewal - , Algiers , Capital of Arabic Culture, p 32.

(9) The African Committee : it is a committee formed by the French authorities on the 7 of July 1833 on the backdrop of the heated debate in the French Parliament about the budget destined for the continuation of the war in Algeria and for the examination of complaints filed by certain exiles, especially Hamdan khouja against the actions of the French administration in Algeria, and the pressure of European public opinion on France to announce its official position on Keeping or abandoning Algeria. Abu

Alkacem Saad Allah : Lectures in the contemporary history of Algeria ،publication 3, National Publishing and Distribution Company, 1982 . p97.

(10) It was the first force in Africa in that period for further details see Abu Alkacem Saad Allah : Lectures in the contemporary history of Algeria ،publication 3, National Publishing and Distribution Company, 1982 . p97.

(11) ibid,p30,31.

(12) Abu Alkacem Saad Allah; Op.Cit, p7

(13) Abu Alkacem Saad Allah; Op.Cit, P 08.

(14) Awkaf (also spelled awkaf, singular waqf/wakf) is an Arabic word meaning assets that are donated, bequeathed, or purchased for being held in perpetual trust for general or specific charitable causes that are socially beneficial, awqaf have played a major role in providing sustainable finance for many social services, including but not limited to education and health. from:https: www.isdb.org , day of visit :21/12/2024.

(15) Abu Alkacem Saad Allah, Op.Cit P, 9.

(16)Charles-André Julien : Histoire de l'Algérie contemporaine, La conquête et les débuts de la colonisation page194 (the history of conteporary Algeria.the invasion and the beginning of colonisation) ,Daar Al Umma publication .Algeria P7.

(17) khouja : Op.Cit, P 09.

(18) Abu Alkacem Saad Allah. Algeria's Cultural History ,part7,1830-1954. Dar al-gharb Al Islami , Beirut Lebanon1992-P399 .

(19) Abu Alkacem Saad Allah: Algerian National Movement 1900-1930 National Publishing and Distribution Company.publication1983, p 32 .

(20) khouja, Op.Cit, P 10.

(21) khouja, Op.Cit, P 7.

(22) ibid,p 8.

(23) Louis-Philippe was born on October 6, 1773, in Paris of the Louis XVI family, he was known for Philippe equality and Philippe le beau. He engaged in the revolutionary army .After the year 1789, he became king but he abdicated after "the Paris revolution" in 1848 and died in 1850 in England. See Abdelouahab AL Kialli Encyclopedia of Politics, Arab Foundation for Studies and Publishing, Jordan.2001 part5. p 538

(24) Abu Alkacem Saad Allah: The Algerian National Movement 1900-1930 National Publishing and Distribution Company Publication 1983. p 583.

(25)Khouja opcit,p18.

(26)ibid,p 23.

(27) Ibid, P 24.

(28) Ibid, P 30 ,31.

(29) Ibid, P 31.

(30) Khouja, Ibid.p216.

(31) Ibid, P ,217.

(32) Khouja,opcit,p219.

(33) Ibid, P 30.

(34) Abu Alkacem Saad Allah: Algerian National Movement, p29 , 30.

(35) Op.Cit, P 9.

(36) Ibid ,p 24

(37) Ibid ,p 24

(38) Ibid, p 27.

(39) Ibid, p 37.

(40) Ibid, p 103.

(41) Khouja, Op.Cit, p159.

(42) Ibid, P , 163.

(43) Ibid, P 184.

(44) Khouja, opcit ,p37.

(45) Ibid, P140 , 141.

(46) Ibid, P 141.

(47) Ibid, P8.

(48) Khouja ,opcit, P 9.

(49) Khouja ,opcit ,p 41.

(50) Ibid, P 43.

(51) Ibid, P 216.

(52) Ibid, P 220.

(53) Khouja ,opcit ,p 223.