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First: The situation of Algeria 1830:

before the French occupation

1827

01 - Political situation:

Historical studies are unanimous in dividing the Ottoman rule in Algeria into four stages, each of which differed from the other, and the stage of the Dayets (וובושבו) is considered the last stage of Turkish rule, the situation from 1790-1830 was characterised by the instability of the system of government and chaos prevailed in the various sectors, including the government sector, so that "during this period, 08 Dayets took over, of whom 06 were assassinated, in addition to the rebellions and uprisings of tribes and Sufi orders against the rule". According to Hamdan Hodia, "The excesses of the Turks and the chaos resulting from the deposition of the beyats began in 1791 and continued until 1818, when Hussein Pasha, the last Turkish Dey in Algeria, came to power.² " "This includes the takeover of the army by alien elements that have been putting their hands on all sensitive areas According to Hamdan Khodja, "These unprincipled armed militias started committing offences against Bedouins and tribes, and then these wretched people ignited revolutions and overthrew state leaders at their whim.³ "At the beginning of the 19th century, soldiers assassinated the Dyats,

 $^{^{-1}}$ هلال، عمّار: أبحاث ودراسات في تاريخ الجزائر المعاصرة $^{-1830}$ المطبوعات الجامعية، ط2، $^{-2010}$ ، ص $^{-1}$

²⁻حمدان بن عثمان خوجة، المرآة، تقديم وتعريب ، محمد العربي الزبيري، إ.ن.إ.و.م ، 2005، ص:135.

³–نفسه، ص:111.

including Dai Mustapha, who was assassinated in 1805, who sympathised with Jewish merchants and allowed them to interfere in the affairs of the country, and after him came the role of Dai Ahmed Khodja, this period can be called military coups, and this is confirmed by the words of Ahmed Cherif El–Zahar on the increasing role of soldiers in appointments and dismissals." The soldiers brought him to the Emirate House...and after the soldiers revolted and killed him...then the soldiers arrived at the Emirate House and sat down...^{*1}.

At first, the Dey was elected from the Riyas(الريّاس), then he was chosen from among the Janissary officers. It is worth noting that their administrative and financial tasks are affected by their behaviours and temperament.

At first, the Dey was elected from the Riyas, then he was chosen from among the Janissary officers. It is worth noting that their administrative and financial tasks are affected by their behaviours and temperament, the first type was characterised by asceticism, such as Dey Baba Mohammed Othman (1766/1791), who was characterised by asceticism². The second category was characterised by their inability to manage the affairs of the state. Some of them practiced simple and menial jobs and came to power through Janissary rebellions, the best example of which is Dey Ali El Ghassel

 $^{^{-1}}$ أحمد شريف الزهار : مذكرات، تحقيق أحمد توفيق المدني، ط 2 ، ش.و.ن.ت، ص.ص. $^{-2}$

²-Fagnan,(E), Venture de paradis, Alger au XVIIIe siècle, Alger 1898, Imp, Libraire Editeur, P:101.

, who washed the dead before 1808^1 . Dey Muhammad bin Bakir Pasha (1748–1754) was known for his extravagance, spending everything in the treasury on the welfare of his wife and children and leaving the treasury empty².

The Diwan Council (مجلس الديوان), headed by the Kahiya, became a traditional body obliged to accept the decisions of the Dey and his high-ranking assistants³. This group included a number of high-ranking officials, such as Khaznaji(الخزناجي), who supervised the treasury, Beit Malji, who managed the property, and Khodja al-Kheil (خرجة الخيل), who managed the Beyleck property, as he guaranteed the state resources, ensured the recruitment of cavalry, and on occasion led military teams to discipline rebels⁴. Agha al-Arab, commander of the Janissary and Sabahiya(الصبايحية), who was tasked with monitoring maritime activity along with subordinate officials. The period was characterised by instability, as a result of which political and other officials, knowing the short duration of their rule, whenever they assumed office, thought of increasing their own

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¹ -Grammont, Histoire d'Alger sous la domination turque (1515–1830), Paris, E. Leroux 1887, P.P : 369–370.

² -Fagnan,(E), Venture de paradis, Alger au XVIIIe siècle, Alger 1898, Imp, Libraire Editeur, P:101.

 $^{^{-3}}$ ناصر الدين، سعيدوني، النظام المالي...، ص $^{-3}$

⁴ -Tachrifat, Recueil de notes historiques sur l'administration de l'ancienne régence d'Alger, Publie par Mr, Devoulx, Alger, 1853, P:20.

⁵⁻ناصر الدين سعيدوني، النظام المالي..، ص: 27.

wealth at the expense of the public interest, in addition to supporting corrupt elements, such as the introduction of Bey Othman Bey of Oran and the delay, removal and assassination of Yahya Agha, as well as some of the beys practiced negative policies in their provinces and when complaints abound, the Dey would transfer them to other areas instead of removing them, as happened with Bey Othman who was the bey on the West 1798 Ziani(الزياني) mentioned "did not pay attention to what Allah assigned him the affairs of the subjects but made this forgotten forgetfulness¹."In 1803, he was appointed Bey al-Cherq and remained in power until he was killed in one of the battles against the rebel tribes. Faced with the deteriorating economic situation and the emptying of the treasury, the deyats resorted to raising taxes on the people.

This created a gap between the ruler and the ruled, which led to uprisings as a result of the absence of central authority, accompanied by military excesses, including the uprising of 1804-1810-1824, the Derkaoua uprising of 1804/1805, the Auras (Nemamcha) 1818, Oued Souf 1824 and Tidjaniya 1818^2 , which came as a result of the pressure exerted on the countryside and coincided with the intensification of the Anglo-French rivalry. This led to a loss of confidence between the local population and the ruling class, which

 $^{^{-1}}$ محمد بن يوسف الزياني: دليل الحيران وأنيس السهران في أخبار مدينة وهران، تقديم وتعليق المهدي البوعبدلي ،ش.و.ن.ت، الجزائر ،197،ص: 206.

⁻²عمار، هلال، نفسه، ص-2

caused the weakening of authority in Kabylia, the Babour Mountains, the Aures and the Ouersenis , as Louis Rinn explained that in 1830, Turkish sovereignty extended only over about 15 million hectares, on which 126 makhzen groups and about 104 parish groups, a group of groups dependent or allied to the Turks, resided... This means that in 1830 they controlled, directly or indirectly, only about 30 per cent of present-day Northern Algeria or 6.3 % of all present-day Algeria¹.

Administratively, the Iyala was divided into:

Dar El Sultan(دار السلطان): From Dellys in the east to Cherchell in the west and from the Mediterranean Sea in the north to the Atlas Blideen in the south.

Beyleck of the East(بايلك الشرق): Centred in Constantine and ruled by the Turks through local chiefs.

Beyleck of the West (بایك انغرب): Based first in Mazouna (1515–1700), then in Camp (1700–1792) and Oran (1792–1830), where the authority took on a military character due to the impact of the relations between the Turks and the Moroccans and the uprisings of Derkaoua and the remnants of the Spanish in Oran until 1792.²

The Beyleck of Titteri (بايلك التيطري): Medea, the centre most closely linked to the central authority. Apparently, the Turks were masters of

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 $^{^{-1}}$ صالح، عباد، الجزائر خلال الحكم التركي، دار الألمعية للنشر والتوزيع، ط1، 2013، 420.

 $^{^{2}}$ -ناصر الدين سعيدوني، النظام المالي...،ص 2

only 7.825,000 hectares, and this figure of 7.825,000 hectares represents the approximate area they occupied at the beginning of 1830^{1} .

02- Economic situation:

Weakness in the economic field has been recorded since the beginning of the 19th century, including the three fields (agriculture, industry and commerce) due to the deficit that affected the central government and the lack of a clear economic policy, so that foreign trade was dominated by the Jews in the period of the Deyats in the early 18th century in light of the economic crises, and the economic movement in the country failed due to the state monopoly on foreign trade and the imposition of high duties on imports.

A. Agriculture:

Algerian society was a peasant society and "agriculture suffered from poor means of production, which the Turkish authority did not endeavour to develop until the late 18th century, when piracy resources began to decline and the need to export agricultural products increased.²" In addition to the rulers' interest in piracy at the expense of farming, which prevented the development of the agricultural methods used and the primitive machinery used, in addition to the spread of epidemics and famines, in addition to "the

¹-Rinn, Louis: Le Royaume d'Alger sous le dernier Dey In(R.A) N°41, 1897, P:124.

2-صالح عباد، نفسه، ص:511.

lack of reclamation of marshes such as the Mitidja plain, which is considered an unhealthy area for the spread of swamp fever, in addition to the miserable conditions in which the Algerian farmer lived, as he was exposed to military campaigns. 1 and the difficult situation he was in as a result of the taxation policy imposed during this period². Especially in the late Ottoman era, the tax burden on the rural population intensified to compensate for the shortfall in the state treasury due to the lack of maritime revenues at a time when the Algerian countryside was suffering from diseases, epidemics, drought, floods, and locusts³. Consequently, Algeria experienced poor agricultural yields, especially in the coastal areas, due to the reliance on traditional methods, as the farmer's tools at the time were The lack of fertilisers, the lack of universal based on the plough⁴, irrigation methods, improved production and the reclamation of the coastal plains around Algiers, Annaba and Oran remained beyond the reach of the rural population, for example, the fertile Mitidia Plain was considered an unhealthy area due to the prevalence of swamp fever.⁵" In addition to the difficult conditions in which the Algerian peasant lived, he was exposed to military campaigns and threatened

¹⁻معيدوني، ناصر الدين: النظام المالي للجزائر أواخر العهد العثماني 1830/1792 ، البصائر للنشر والتوزيع، ط3، 2012، ص:32.

 $^{^{2}}$ -أمير يوسف: الواقع الاقتصادي للجزائر خلال العهد العثماني 1830/1519، مجلة قضايا تاريخية، المجلد 1، رقم 01، ص 62 . 3 -سعيدوني ، ناصر الدين: الأحوال الصحية والوضع الديمغرافي بالجزائر أثناء العهد العثماني، المجلة التاريخية المغربية،

العددان40/39 ديسمبر 1985، ص،ص: 432، 434.

 $^{^{-4}}$ ناصر الدين، سعيدوني: النظام المالي...، ص $^{-3}$

 $^{^{5}}$ -ناصر الدين، سعيدوني: النظام المالي...، ص.ص: 32–33.

by the armed tribes of the Makhzen(المخزن), as well as diseases and famines that swept the country from time to time. Dey Pasha (1791–1798) and dey Mustapha Pasha (1798–1805) pursued a policy of exporting more agricultural crops out of the country through European companies and Jewish monopolists such as Bakri and Boushnek, while harming agriculture. 1788, 1779, 1800, 1807, 1816, 1819, and it is noted that Jewish brokers were exporting large quantities of grain.

This has led the Algerian farmer to prefer raising livestock to settling in the land and serving it or resorting to temporary farming and mobile pastoralism, especially in areas where there is a lack of security and have become known as the country of El Baroud (النبارود) or the land of Ek Khlaa (النبارود) 2 .

B. Industry:

The industry was characterised by being pharmaceutical and did not keep pace with the European industry even before the industrial revolution. It did not reach the formation of industrial centres in the cities, while the owners of the same craft were gathered in the cities in one market or one street supervised by an official called al-Amin(الأمين). It knew a decline in the late Ottoman era so that it was no longer able to meet the needs of the population due to: Foreign

 $^{^{-1}}$ ناصر الدين سعيدوني، نفسه، ص: 33.

² -Rinn(Louis) :Le Royaume d'Alger sous le dernier Dey In(R.A) N°41, 1897, P :131.

countries dominated the Algerian markets with European manufactures, which led to the crushing of local efforts¹. Most of the industries were under the supervision of French and Spanish experts, such as the extractive industry of iron and lead, as well as the control of the Jews over precision industries such as gold and precious stones."² In addition to the sectarian system, which did not expand its scope for the development of industry and was a barrier to industrial In addition to the sectarian system, which did not development. expand its scope for the development of industry, it was a barrier to industrial development, "SO the craftsman could not manufacture or create something outside the permitted scope, and if he tried, he would be punished or expelled from his profession, and thus Algerian industries and crafts maintained the same level.³"

The local handicraft industry did not exceed the manufacture of woollen blankets and red belts in Tlemcen, zarabi in the Saharan Atlas⁴, zarrabi in Qalaat Beni Rached, leather goods and fabrics in Mazouna⁵, in addition to some simple manufacturing industries. In

¹⁻ محمد العربي الزبيري، مدخل إلى تاريخ المغرب العربي الحديث، مطبعة بن بولعيد، الجزائر، 1975، ص: 126.

²⁻ غالي الغربي وآخرون، العدوان الفرنسي على الجزائر خلفيات وأبعاد، منشورات المركز الوطني للدراسات والبحث في الحركة الوطنية، الجزائر، 2007، ص: 34.

³—نفسه، ص: 34.

⁴ Emerit(M), La situation économique de la régence d'Alger en 1830, In I. avril 1952, P:170.

⁵-Sari (Dj), Les villes précoloniales de l'Algérie occidentales, Thèse de 3 eme cycle Alger, 1969, P:07.

addition to some simple manufacturing industries. The credit for the preservation of local industries goes to some Andalusian and Jewish families who inherited their industry, so that the Jewish community specialised in processing and manufacturing precious jewels and precious stones (Tlemcen, Constantine, Algeria), while the heavy metal industry did not witness any development beyond the extraction of salt from the Oran marshes and the processing of lime extracted from the quarries or the construction of some wooden ships for the port of Algeria or the preparation of gunpowder and the casting of cannons in Constantine and Algiers¹.

However, foreign competition, opening the door to foreign imports, excessive taxation and the control of trade unions over manufacturers are the most important factors that prevented the establishment of real industries in Ottoman Algeria, even in the field of textiles, foodstuffs and shipbuilding, despite the availability of raw materials and the necessary expertise for these manufactures.²"

C. Commerce:

The period 1800-1830 is one of the most important periods of decline in Algerian production, both internally and externally, due to the link between trade and industrial and agricultural production,

-1 ناصر الدين، سعيدوني: النظام المالي...، ص: 34.

 2 ناصر الدين، سعيدوني: النظام المالي...، ص 2

which was characterised by a kind of deterioration, as the reason for the decline in internal trade is due to the following reasons Lack of markets, low per capita income, scarcity of transportation, and corruption of the administrative apparatus¹. As for foreign commerce, it relied on the export of grains, olives and dates. The Ottoman state was not interested in foreign trade as a result of the internal situation due to the chaos and turmoil and the political relationship of the Algerian state, which was affected by foreign conspiracies, for example: The Royal African Company, which was contested by foreign commercial organisations regarding the purchase of wheat². Imports totalled 1,200,000 Spanish doros and exports totalled 23,700,000 Spanish doros, meaning that the balance of commerce recorded a deficit of 92,700,000 Spanish doros in 1827.

3- Social conditions:

The population of Algeria ranged between 03 million and 03.5 million³, most of whom live in the countryside (90%), while the cities do not exceed 5% of the population, the most important of which are Algiers, Constantine, Oran, Tlemcen, Annaba, Mascara, Mazouna, Medea, Blida, Mostaganem, Ouargla... As for the social organisation of the population of cities in the Turkish era, the number of Turks did not exceed 20,000 and they are isolated from the population in order

 $^{^{-1}}$ بشير ،ملاح: تاريخ الجزائر المعاصرة $^{-1830}$ با دار المعرفة، الجزائر، $^{-2006}$ با منابع المعرفة، الجزائر، ما منابع المعاصرة $^{-1}$

²⁻صالح، فركوس: مختصرات تاريخ الجزائر، دار العلوم، الجزائر، 200،ص: 124.

 $^{^{-3}}$ ناصر الدين، سعيدوني، النظام المالي...: 39.

to maintain their dominance in government positions, and their relationship with the local population is characterised by hostility and aversion. that there is no worse relationship in the Ottoman Empire than the relationship between the Turks and the Arabs in the Kingdom of Algeria." This prevented the Turks from integrating with the local population and contributing to the affairs of the state.

As for the Kouloughlis, who were formed as a result of intermarriage between Janissary soldiers and Algerian women, this sect reflects the Turks' will to preserve the purity of their sect and their will to avoid mixing with the local element of the country In numerical terms, the Kouloughlis were more numerous than the Turks.² "Thev in spread Constantine, Oran, Mazouna and Mostaganem... They were also the majority in Tlemcen and were kept away from major tasks by the Turks, who were unable to curb their power until the Dey Shaaban Agha authorised their affiliation to the Odjaks, which led to the ascension of some Kouloughlis to high positions, such as the Kouroughli Beyleck of the West, Mustapha el-Omar (1636/1648), the Kouroughli Beyleck of Titteri, Muhammad al-Dhabah (1668/1671) and the Beyleck of the East, Bey Ahmed (1826/1837) which affected the relationship between Kouloughlis and the local population.

As for the rest of the population, they can be categorised according to their social status. Al-Hadar consists of families who are rooted in the country and reside permanently in the cities. They

¹ -Haedo, Fray Diego De: Histoire des rois D'Alger, A.Jourdan, 1881, P:219.

²⁻صالح، عباد، نفسه، : 548.

are of two types: the Baladians(البلديون), who were born in the city and whose families have settled there since ancient times, occupy about 2,500 people in Algiers, in addition to the Andalusians, who were a positive factor in economic and social life. As for the Baranis(البرانية), they are those who migrated from the countryside to the cities in search of work, known by the name of the tribe or the region from which they came, and were engaged in modest professions, while the outsiders (الدخلاء) are foreigners, including black slaves, Christian captives, freemen, and the Jewish community.

As for the inhabitants of the countryside, they can be categorised according to their attitudes towards the Turkish government, including the tribes of the makhzen, such as the tribes of the Douairs and Zemala, which were used as a striking force in the countryside to strike any rebellion against the authority and actively participate in the collection of taxes, while pastoral tribes exposed to pressure and exploitation, independent tribes far from the Turkish authority and entrenched in the mountainous regions (Aures, Oursenis ...) as well as the theocratic families dependent on their spiritual authority in Western Algeria in particular and aristocratic families derived their influence by the sword in Eastern Algeria¹.

The deplorable situation at the end of the Ottoman era encouraged European ambitions to share the heritage of the sick man (the Ottoman Empire).

 $^{-1}$ ناصر الدين، سعيدوني، النظام المالي...، ص.ص: 46-47.

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II: French occupation of Algeria 1830:

There are many French projects to occupy Algeria dating back to the era of Louis IX. When relations between them are strained, France takes the initiative to launch military campaigns to force them to submit, including Dekercy's project (1791) and then Napoleon's first project, including Boutin's 1808 reports and important maps of fortifications and sensitive sites, and the use of the Egyptian ruler Muhammad Ali through Consul Drovetti, who submitted a report to his government in 1826, provided that France bears the financial expenses of the campaign and provides political support for it¹.

The occupation of Algeria was governed by circumstances, including religious ones, the fact that the French invasion was a series of crusades waged by Christian Europe against the Islamic world and the desire to revive Christianity in Africa, in a political circumstance that required an imbalance of power between Europe and the Islamic world as part of the competition between European countries to divide the heritage of the sick man. In parallel to the economic growth that Western Europe experienced as a result of the Industrial Revolution, which increased the demand for raw materials and the search for foreign markets, at a time when the Algerian fleet entered a stage of stagnation due to internal and external factors due to the absence of a clear policy towards the military sector, in light of the increasing European ambitions, such as the English attacks of 1816/1824, and with the third decade of the 19th century, Algeria became unable to defend itself from retaliatory European raids in light of the exclusion of the local element from the military field and

-1 عمار ، هلال ، نفسه ، ص: -1

the decrease in the number of recruits from the East " During the third decade of the 19th century, only 2,145 soldiers were recruited from the East¹. The Algerian fleet was destroyed on 27 August 1816 in front of the European Holy Alliance led by Britain, and what remained was destroyed in the Battle of Navarin in 1827. This is in light of the rivalry and struggle for power, where the Dey was alone and relied on a small group of soldiers and relatives to serve him, in contrast to the complete isolation of the Algerians from power². In order to remove some commanders and replace them with less experienced ones, such as removing Yahya Agha and replacing him with Ibrahim Agha, who does not know military tactics, which led the country to assassinations and the spread of chaos and unrest³. The French newspaper Le Moniteur, in its issue of 29/04/1830, mentioned a statement that included the main reasons that prompted France to launch its campaign ". In 1825, the Dev searched the headquarters of French institutions in Annaba for weapons, demolished the French forts built around French commercial centres, and challenged the French consul by stating that he would not allow France to set up cannons on Algerian territory.⁴ "

01- Reasons for the French occupation of Algeria:

A- Political reasons: France's aspiration to compensate for what it lost in North America, India and West Africa against

⁻²عمار ، هلال ، نفسه ، ص: 32.

 $^{^{-2}}$ عمار، بوحوش، التاريخ السياسي للجزائر من البداية ولغاية $^{-2}$ 196، حن الغرب الإسلامي، لبنان، 1997، ص $^{-2}$

 $^{^{-3}}$ الحاج أحمد باي قسنطينة، ص.ص: 13 $^{-1}$

 $^{^{4}}$ أحمد، مسعودي، الحملة الفرنسية على الجزائر والمواقف الدولية منها (1792-1830)، طبعة خاصة، دار الخيلة العلمية، 2013 ص.ص: 27-72.

Britain and some territories in Europe after the Napoleonic Wars. In addition, France witnessed a conflict between the ruling authority and the Liberals, who caused political troubles for King Charles X in 1824 and almost overthrew his rule, which prompted the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies and the organisation of elections, and Charles X used the military campaign on Algeria as a means to get rid of his internal political problems¹. Charles X used the military campaign in Algeria as a way to get rid of his internal political problems.

B– Economic reasons: The most important of them is the collapse of the Algerian economy as a result of the entry of the Jewish community through the practice of usury in commercial transactions at the expense of the state treasury, which caused discontent among the people 1801-1804-1805–1815 This economic collapse was accompanied by epidemics and diseases. In addition to France's desire to make Algeria a commercial market to discharge the surplus of its industrial products and obtain raw materials, as stated by the French Minister of War Gérard when the French forces landed on the Algerian coast, quoting Marcel: "This occupation has important necessities, as it aims to open a wide passage to discharge our goods and exchange them with other goods foreign to his land."² In addition, the French coveted the Kasbah's treasury, which the French estimated at 48.7 million gold francs, and it is likely that it was not less than 100 million

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⁻¹عمار ، هلال ، نفسه ،ص: 49.

² - Marcel, Egretaud, Réalité de la nation algérienne, Ed, Sociales, Paris, 1961, P:49.

francs, in order to get rid of the payment of its remaining debts¹. This is indeed confirmed by the report of the French Minister of War, Clermont Tonnerre, to Charles X of September 1827: "... There are numerous anchorages on the long Algerian coasts, the capture of which would be advantageous to France; the territory of Algeria contains rich mines of iron and lead, abounds in salt and gunpowder, and there are rich centres on its coasts. In addition to all these riches are the treasures stored in the Dey's palace, worth more than 150 million francs."²

C- Religious reasons: France is considered one of the most dangerous European countries for Christianity, and it saw the organisation of a military campaign against Algeria and victory in it as a victory over Islam, as Charles X's decision to invade was driven by the Minister of Religious Affairs, Frisius, who was supported by Rome³. This is also what the Minister of War, Clermont Tonnerre, stated in his government report on 14–10–1827 about his hopes for the Christianisation of Algeria: In the future we can be happy as we civilise the Algerians, by making them Christians, thus achieving a victory which Providence seems to be giving us.⁴

D– **Social reasons**: France's growing population and the desire to transfer the population surplus "We are not content with conquering the Algerian kingdom, but rather making it a colony

^{.48 -} بشير ، ملاح، تاريخ الجزائر المعاصرة 1830–1989 ، ج1 ، دار المعرفة، 2006، ص $^{-1}$

⁻² بشير، ملاح، نفسه، ص: 49 -

³ -Michel, Habart, Histoire d'un parjure, Ed, de Minuit, Paris, 1960, P:173.

⁴ Charles, André Julien, Histoire de l'Algérie contemporaine 1827–1871, Presse universitaire de France, Paris, 1964, P: 31.

and a new country that allows us to transfer the surplus of France's population and activity to it.¹"

02- The fan incident (Sache-mouche) in 1827:

It is customary for the consuls of accredited European countries to pay a visit in honour of the Dey on the occasion of the first day of Bayram (Eid al-Fitr). On 27 April 1827, Deval went to the Dey's palace to congratulate him on the occasion and was fluent in Turkish². The Dey asked him why the King of France did not reply to him in the letter, and the consul replied dryly in Turkish: "It is not customary for the king to address his inferiors, and then he uttered words that harmed the honour of the Dey.³" These words in front of his court so offended his dignity that he could not contain his anger and hit him with the fan in one blow.⁴" This is according to two knowledgeable contemporary writers who were present in Algiers at the time, Cherif Zahar and Simon Pfeiffer⁵. The fan incident was nothing but a play played by Consul Duval in collusion with corrupt politicians such as Talleyrand, who were looking for any pretext to occupy Algeria in preparation for the French campaign.

03- The French naval blockade of Algeria:

 $^{^{-1}}$ أندري برينيان واندري نوشي، إيف لاكوست، الجزائر بين الماضي والحاضر، ديوان المطبوعات الجامعية، الجزائر، 1984، $_{-}$

^{.45} صد توفيق، المدنى، كتاب الجزائر، ص $^{-2}$

 $^{^{-3}}$ عمار، عمورة، الجزائر بوابة التاريخ، الجزائر عامة من ما قبل التاريخ إلى 1962، دار المعرفة، الجزائر، 2009، $^{-3}$

⁻⁴ حمدان بن عثمان خوجة، المرآة، ص-4

⁵ -Refer to the memoirs of Ahmed El-Charif al-Zahar, 1980, p. 164 and the memoirs of Simon Pfeiffer, Algiers, 1974, pp: 33-34.

On 15 June 1827, after preparing domestic public opinion, the French government decided to impose a naval blockade on Algeria as a decisive stage for the implementation of the occupation project. The French officer Collet arrived in Algeria at the head of a naval fleet with an ultimatum to Dey Hussein, asking him to send an official government delegation to offer his apologies to the French Consul Duval, and then raise the French flag on the castles of Algeria, the Dey's palace and the port, and fire 100 rounds of artillery in salute to the French flag. The deadline for accepting the satisfaction was set at 24 days¹. The French government's aim in mobilising such a large naval force was to counter any potential intervention by the Holy See or one of the rival European countries². France wanted to "starve the Algerian people and provoke anger and grievances against the ruling authority in order to overthrow it, which would facilitate its task of occupying the country¹³. This actually prevented the arrival of European materials to Algeria due to the disruption of the ports, and on the other hand, the Algerian fleet tried to engage in clashes with the French fleet.

In the face of the Dey's adherence to his positions in the face of the offer made by the French commander La Brotonniere on 03/08/1829, after he replied that Algeria could defend itself, "the unexpected happened, as it seems that the ship came too close to

¹⁻ناصر الدين، سعيدوني، دراسات وأبحاث في تاريخ الجزائر في العهد العثماني، دار الغرب الإسلامي، بيروت، 2000، ص:371.

⁻²-ناصر الدين، سعيدوني، نفسه، ص: -2

⁴⁵: عمار ، هلال ، نفسه ،ص-3

the artillery fortifications and the latter fired on it to force it to move away, and it seems that the ship La Provence approached with the intention of spying on the effectiveness of the Algerian artillery and determining its exact locations... In any case, the incident of 03 August was one of the direct reasons for the preparation of the military campaign against Algeria to occupy it ... French officials were enraged and realised that only military force could bring Algeria under French administration.¹"

On 30 January 1830, the Council of Ministers took the decision to send a naval expedition to impose France's conditions on Algeria. The Dey continued to maintain his position, and on 07 February 1830, King Charles X issued a royal decree appointing Count De Bourmont as commander–in–chief of the French army tasked with invading and occupying Algeria and granting him broad powers to do what is necessary to prepare for the campaign against Algeria².

04- The French campaign on Algeria 1830:

On 30 January 1830, the French government, headed by Polignac and King Charles 10, approved the project of the French campaign against Algeria, which was launched from Toulon, France, on 25 May 1830, heading for Algeria with an army of 37,000 soldiers and 4,000 cavalry. According to the engineer Boutin, it arrived at Sidi Fredj at the place he specified very

⁻¹ عمار ، هلال ، نفسه ، ص: 47.

 $^{^{2}}$ - بشير كاشد الفرحي: مختصر وقائع ليل الاحتلال الفرنسي للجزائر (1830–1962)، طبعة خاصة، وزارة المجاهدين، 2007، ص 2 - بشير كاشد الفرحي: مختصر وقائع ليل الاحتلال الفرنسي للجزائر (1830–1962)، طبعة خاصة، وزارة المجاهدين، 2007،

precisely, and on 14 June 1830 to begin "the landing operations in Sidi Fredj, which had only 12 cannons at the disposal of the Agha and 3,000 horsemen" and began the landing without resistance and then attacked the city by land from the south because the Turks neglected land fortifications and were satisfied with strong sea defences.

A- Battle of Staoueli 19 June 1830:

The battle between General Pierre Berthézene and the Algerians took place on 19 June 1830 when the Algerian forces that were camped on the Staoueli plateau attacked with all the force they could on all fronts where "more than 50,000 Algerian fighters, Turks, Koulleglis, Zouaoua (Kabyle), Arabs and Mozabites were assembled in a manner that lacked planning, equipment and order ... they fought in a chaotic manner²". The battle, which was led by the Agha Ibrahim and Ahmed Bey and which ended with the defeat of the Algerians, Berthézene mentions: " As we followed them, their retreat was so hasty that they took nothing, not even the Agha's treasure, which was shared by the soldiers ... The number of tents increased to 270. We know that only the Turks enjoyed this advantage. Many of the tents were distinguished by their size

 $^{^{-1}}$ جمال، قنان، نصوص ووثائق في تاريخ الجزائر الحديث 1500-1830، طبعة خاصة، وزارة المجاهدين، 1987، ص: 198. $^{-2}$ شارل أندري جوليان، تاريخ الجزائر المعاصرة، الغزو وبدايات الاستعمار 1827-1871، ج10، شركة دار الأمة ط10، ص: 198.

and comforts, for example, those of the Agha were 7 m wide and 5 to 6 in height. 1 " .

B- Fort de l'empereur or Moulay El Hassan Tower (برج مولاي) 04 July 1830:

Hamdan Khodja stated that the march towards the palace was unimpeded for the French despite the attacks launched by the Dey at Sidi Khalef on 24 June. 10 days after the Battle of Staouali, the French army resumed the military campaign by marching on Algiers on 29 June 1830, reaching the El Biar Plateau and reaching the slopes overlooking the Emperor's fortress, where it was attacked on 04 July 1830. "Five minutes of bombardment rendered the site unstable, and the Turks resorted to blowing up the fortress after evacuating it, thus leaving the inhabitants of Algiers at the mercy of the victors." The Minister of Finance, Al-Khaznaji, blew it up after the Turks were unable to keep it, lest the French use it to bombard the capital, thus opening the way for the invaders and making it accessible to them³.

C- The signing of the Treaty of Submission on 05 July 1830:

In these circumstances, the dignitaries of the capital tried to reach an agreement with the French after the situation between the people and the Dey deteriorated, as the latter

¹ –Pierre Berthézéne, Dix Huit mois à Alger récit des événements qui s'y sont passés depuis le 14 juin 1830, jour du débarquement de l'armée française, jusqu'à la fin de décembre 1831, à Montpellier, 1834, P: 83.

²⁻شارل أندري جوليان، تاريخ الجزائر المعاصرة ،...ص: 97.

 $^{^{-3}}$ -بشیر، ملاح، نفسه، ص: 52.

insisted on continuing the resistance, but many urged him and threatened him with responding to the request of the French, so Pash Mustafa Khoja sent to De Bormon to offer him the reconciliation project, but he rejected this offer and insisted on the need to hand over the forts, the harbour and the citadel. Then he sent Ahmed Bouderba and Hassan Ben Othman to him and offered him the opinion of the Dey, but he refused and only accepted the city for him, then the Dey's messenger returned with the English consul and asked him to present written conditions to the Dey so that he could see them." He presented him with a document that included the following conditions:

- The Dey surrenders to the French forces the Kasbah Citadel, the port and all the city's forts and gates on the morning of 05 July.
- The Commander-in-Chief pledges to protect his life and his personal property.
- The Dey has the option to remain in the city with his family under the protection of the Commander-in-Chief or to leave the city and go wherever he wishes.
- The Commander-in-Chief recognises all Turkish soldiers with the same protection.
- The Commander-in-Chief pledges his honour to preserve the freedom of the Islamic religion and the property, trade and

industry of the people and to respect their women and their sanctities.¹ "

After agreeing to these terms, the city was surrendered on 05 July 1830 at 10:00 a.m. The Dey left Algiers on 10 July 1830 for Naples and then Alexandria until his death in 1838. As soon as the French forces entered the city of Algiers, the French flouted the agreement before the ink was even dry and put their hands on the coffers of the Dey and the state, so that the country entered a state of chaos and became subject to military decisions that were subject to change from one day to another, if some historians believe that the French actually did not know what to do with Algeria after their seizure, as they would have abandoned it, but their fear of Britain made them keep it and even thought of a European Council to decide the future of Algeria based on a promise made by France before the seizure of it. In light of the international and domestic circumstances, France was encouraged to stick to the occupation of Algeria, but it hesitated for a while whether to settle for a limited occupation or to expand until it controlled the whole country, so it chose the second solution and actually went into the field of expansion.

¹²⁷: سندي، بوعزيز، الموجز في تاريخ الجزائر" الجزائر القديمة والوسيطة"، ج1، دار البصائر، طبعة خاصة، 2009، س127

Third: National reactions to the French occupation of Algeria: (Popular Resistance):

01 – The beginnings of the first resistance: With the fall of Algiers and the signing of the surrender document on 05 July 1830. the military disciplinary campaign turned into a campaign of revenge that included the occupation of man, land, culture and religion. The French flouted their promises and flouted the agreement. Cluzel Hamdan Khoja when he protested that the answered agreement was only a war game. Abou El Kacem Saadallah, speaking about the urban class in Algiers, says: " The city notables who agreed to negotiate with the French and insisted on Hussein Pasha after the agreement with the commander of the campaign and who, in particular, were seduced by the sweet talk contained in the statement distributed by the French on the eve of the campaign with the aim of morally influencing the population and isolating Hussein Pasha from the people, faced their first shock when they saw that the advocates of liberation had become a force of sabotage."1

The urban class discovered the true face of colonialism, which claimed that it had come to replace the rule of the Turks with a local government of which they would be the base, to confiscate their properties, lands and houses, as well as mosques, corners and endowments, including the properties of Mecca and Medina, which were an important source of support for the poor and students... and turned into public squares, theatres, military barracks, hospitals

 $^{^{-1}}$ أبو القاسم، سعد الله: الحركة الوطنية الجزائرية، ج 1 ، دار البصائر، الجزائر ، 2007، ص $^{-2}$

and churches... A French historian said: "No city in the world witnessed the chaos that Algiers witnessed when it was occupied. Earrings, chains, masts, timber and hooks disappeared from the harbour, the doors of public shops were removed, money, furniture and jewellery were looted from homes, and there were many assaults on persons and honour, and to make matters worse, Commander De Bormont left the rope on the ground, and no longer actually ruled, but left matters to the Chief of Staff and the Quartermaster, both unable to exercise any authority.1"

When the leadership on the outskirts of the capital learned of de Brumont's departure to Blida, they met at the Bordj El Bahri assembly on 23 July 1830, "which was attended by the leaders and chiefs of the many homelands and tribes of the region...It was decided to declare war on the enemy and not let him penetrate their territory.²"

De Bourmont's tenure witnessed the first military confrontation between Algerians and the French, as he tried to seize Annaba on 02 August 1830, but the inhabitants of the region and its environs resisted the campaign and forced it to withdraw on 08 August 1830. The second expedition was towards Oran and Marsa el-Kebir, headed by his son Amédée de Bourmont. The bey of Oran, Hassan Ben Moussa, had bad relations with the inhabitants of his region, especially the leaders of religious orders: "Negotiations took place between the French and Bey Hassan, through which they learnt that he was unable to move,

56. 1002 51: 11 ...

 $^{^{-1}}$ أبو القاسم سعد الله، محاضرات في تاريخ الجزائر الحديث، ط $^{-1}$ ، ش.و .ن.ت، الجزائر، 1982 ، ص: $^{-5}$

⁻²أبو القاسم سعد الله، الحركة الوطنية،... نفسه، ص: 120.

that he was surrounded by the population and that he was in complete isolation, and an agreement was reached between him and the French to quarantee him the safety of his person and the choice of his exile and to carry him into exile on one of their ships with appropriate material guarantees, but after handing over the keys of the city to the French, he was taken into exile on one of their ships. Be that as it may, a French contingent arrived on 13 August and occupied the Mers El Kebir and the forts of Oran, but the resistance of the inhabitants caused the expedition to return defeated.¹" It was in this campaign that de Mormon's son Amédée was killed. During his reign, the army went to Blida and Medea to discipline the Bey of Tetris, Mustapha Boumezrag, who had renounced the allegiance he had declared to De Bourmout, whose government decided to dismiss him on 07 August 1830. He was succeeded by Cluzel, who landed in Algiers port on 02 September 1830 as commander of the Army of Africa, and set himself three tasks to keep Algiers safe from external threats, form an administration, and lay the foundations of colonisation². He ordered soldiers to patrol the suburbs "so that the troops were forced to take up arms at the beginning of each dawn for fear of a sudden and unexpected attack.3"

He also led a campaign in November 1830 that entered Blida on 18 November, chasing the population into the mountains, after which Cluzel headed for Medea, which he entered on 22 November 1830, appointing Bey Mustapha Ben Hadj Omar in place of Bey Boumezreg and leaving with him a garrison of 1,200 soldiers to defend the city. In Blida, the

⁻¹أبو القاسم سعد الله، الحركة الوطنية...، نفسه، ص: 34.

 $^{^{-2}}$ شارل أندري جوليان: تاريخ الجزائر المعاصرة، الغزو وبدايات الاستعمار $^{-201}$ 1871، ج $^{-0}$ 10، دار الأمة، $^{-2}$ 2013، ص $^{-2}$

^{120:} نفسه، ص $^{-3}$

inhabitants attacked the French garrison led by Ben Zamoum(بن زعور), the leader of the Flissa tribe(قبيلة فليسا), on 25 November 1830: "A fierce battle took place from street to street and from house to house in which the French forces suffered human losses, and in November 1830 Cluzel returned from his campaign on Medea and found the city of Blida full of bodies, and among those killed by Ben Zamoum forces were fifty Frenchmen who were in charge of the artillery, so Cluzel decided to withdraw his forces from Blida and not occupy it and returned with his army to Algiers." Ben Zamoum's resistance was joined by al-Murabit al-Hadj Sidi al-Saadi, who contributed to stirring up the tribes in the Mitiga region against the Europeans to prevent them from settling in the plain, as the forces "were fighting on the right side of the Harrach Valley, while Boumezreg's forces were fighting in the Boufarik area.1"

The command was assigned to General Berthèzene on 21 May 1831, and in the summer of 1831 Ben Zamoum's forces attacked the French centres, including the African model farm in Housh Hassan Pasha near Oued El Harrach, the first harvest prepared by the French to celebrate the first year of their presence in Algeria, and fighting took place for several days until the capital was threatened, which made the General Commander General Berthèzene go to the capital himself in a large army consisting of six military divisions... He attacked the forces of Ben Zamoum and Sidi Saadi at a place called after the name of the marabout Sidi Erzin.²"

With the Battle of Boufarik in the autumn of 1831, Ben Zamoum's forces were defeated and he retreated to the Flisaa tribe, and Si Saadi decided

أبو القاسم سعد الله، نفسه، ص: 87. $^{-1}$

⁻²أبو القاسم سعد الله، نفسه..،ص: 87.

to join the resistance of Emir Abdelkader. General Berthèzene was removed from command of the army and replaced by General Duke De Rovigo from 06 December 1831 to 06 June 1833.

He doubled the attacks on Algerian property and sacred sites, including the conversion of the Ketchaoua Mosque into a church after the killing and injury of more than $4{,}000$ Algerians who gathered to protect it, in addition to the extermination of the tribes and the massacre of El–Ouffia on 06/07 April 1832, which was wiped out in its sleep on Thursday night, on charges of killing Ferhat Ben Said's envoys to the Duke De Rovigo, who was a strong opponent of Hadj Ahmed Bey. The tribal leader was also arrested and executed¹, and he reoccupied Blida via Boufarik on 01/10/1832.

02- Political Resistance :

As soon as the Document of Surrender was signed, and as a result of the new situation, three currents emerged: the National Party, whose demands fell within the public interest, represented by Ahmed Boudarba; the Ottoman Party, which aimed to form an authority loyal to the Ottoman Sultan, represented by Ahmed Bey, Mohammed Ibn El Annabi and Hamdan Khodja; and the third party, whose interests were linked to French interests, represented by Mustapha Ben Hadj Amar and Mustapha Ben Ismail. At the beginning of the French occupation of Algiers, the French brought the urban population closer to them. Ahmed Boudarba was the first to negotiate with de Bourmont and was the head of the municipal committee. He was removed by Cluzel and exiled by the Duck De Rovigo to Marseille in 1832, and his activities were repeated, as we find him before the African Commission

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 $^{^{-1}}$ فركوس، صالح، تاريخ الجزائر من ما قبل التاريخ إلى غاية الاستقلال، المراحل الكبرى، دار العلوم، عنابة، 2005 ، ص: $^{-1}$

1833/1834 and then a member of the municipality of Algiers in 1836. When his hopes failed, he supported Emir Abdelkader, but he was not free from French dependence and was unable to coordinate with opposition figures such as Hamdan Khodja. He sent many petitions as a representative of the notables to French officials in Algeria, protesting against arbitrary practices. "The petition sent to Berthèzene in 1831 demanding that he honour the agreement between Hussein Pasha and Bourmont, return the endowments to the Muslims, and protest the sale of the provinces of Oran and Constantine to the Bey of Tunisia.¹" As for the Ottoman movement, which the Hanafi Mufti Muhammad Ibn El Anabi tried to lead, who "was alarmed by what was happening in the country and saw it as contrary to the terms of the surrender and against the principles of the French nation itself, so he wrote a series of letters to General Cluzel reminding him of the provisions of the Algerian-French agreement and warning him of the consequences that might result from the policy followed at the time, and the French authorities wanted to expel him from Algeria, so they invented a reason that he was plotting against the state by contacting the Arabs and that he was working in favour of returning Islamic rule to Algeria.2" However, Cluzel was exiled in September 1830, accused of being connected to the tribes and trying to raise an army to expel the French, and the resistance moved to the countryside after petitions and protests in councils and committees failed.

03 - Committee of El Magharibas 1830:

The first political party opposed to French colonialism, led by Hamdan bin Othman Khodja, was founded in 1830 after the signing of the

 $^{^{-1}}$ أبو القاسم، سعد الله، الحركة الوطنية، نفسه...، ص: $^{-1}$

^{74 :} ص: القاسم، سعد الله: محاضرات في تاريخ الجزائر الحديث... ص $^{-2}$

surrender document. Its members were composed of notables whose activities were represented by submitting petitions and protests to the French authorities inside and outside Algeria. When Hamdan Khodja ascertained the attitudes of the colonial authority in Algeria, especially after the massacre of El Ouffia and his departure to France in May 1833, heading to Paris, "where he met a group of his countrymen, some of whom were exiled, some who feared for themselves from the oppression of Cluzel or Rovigo, and immigrants who were characterised by complete sincerity, goodwill and true patriotism, and formed a committee to continue the struggle for the liberation of their country and to continue their mission for which they were expelled from their birthplace, . All agreed to entrust the chairmanship of this committee to Si Hamdan because he had come to them with a document from the remaining Algerian presidents, containing their full authorisation and in the cause of their homeland. 1 Its members consisted of: Ahmed Boudarba, Ibn Amara, Hamdan Agha, and Ibrahim Ibn Mustafa Pasha, whose chairmanship was entrusted to Si Hamdan Khodja, who filed many complaints with the Council of State and utilised daily newspapers and editorial publications, especially courrier of the France and the National. The French Assembly began to be affected by these painful incidents, which caused a major split in the ranks of deputies², including Caetan de la Rochfoucauld, who declared his opposition to the atrocities in Algeria. The petition presented to the Maréchal Soult on 03 June 1833, with the participation of Ibrahim Pasha, requested the establishment of a commission of inquiry composed of impartial personalities described as accurate and thoughtful. Then a petition addressed to King Louis Philippe of

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 $^{^{-1}}$ بن عبد الكريم، محمد: حمدان بن عثمان الجزائري ومذكراته، ط 1 ، دار الوعي الجزائر، 2017 ، ص $^{-1}$

²-نفسه، ص.ص: 181–182

France on 10 June 1833 to intervene directly in the Algerian issue, and a letter to the English Minister Grey on 29 June 1833.

These efforts resulted in the announcement on 07 July 1833 of the formation of a commission of inquiry. Hamdan Khodja did not limit himself to filing petitions but publicised the grievances of the colonial authority in his book The Mirror. He appeared before the Second African Commission at the 14th session on 23 January 1834, where he presented his copy of his book to the Commission. General Voirol held him responsible for the uprisings that occurred in the suburbs of Algeria while the Commission was there through his letters to Paris¹. He was expelled from Algeria by order of General Cluzel on 26 September 1836 on the grounds that he was a conspirator against France, and was subjected to a trial in which all his property was seized and he was forbidden to return to Algeria.

04- The African Commission 1833-1834:

It is considered the first French investigative committee in Algeria to study and diagnose the situation in Algeria. One of the reasons that prompted the sending of an African committee was the debate in the French parliament on the allocation of a budget to continue the war in Algeria², in addition to the campaign carried out by some exiled Algerians, most notably Hamdan Khodja, against the actions of the French administration in Algeria, European public opinion put pressure on France to announce its official position on retaining or abandoning Algeria, especially Britain, which expressed its rejection of the occupation from the outset. King Louis Philippe approved

¹ -Gabriel, Esquer : Correspondance d'un général Voirol, Paris, 1924, V1, P :213.

² –Colonisation de l'Ex Régence d'Alger, documents officiels déposés sur le bureau de la chambre des députés, Delaunay libraires, Paris, 1834, P :37.

the commission on 07 July 1833, based on a report submitted to the Minister of War, Marshal Soult, and declared that the commission's purpose was to gather information about Algeria, envisage its future, and find solutions to its problems. It appears that "the government decided on permanent occupation, the rapid development of colonialism, and the practice of strict administration that encourages trade and emerging industry, as well as private colonisation." This was reflected in the policy to be followed, as the government denounced the breach of the pledges made at surrender and the excesses denounced by Fréderic Gaelan de la Rochfoucauld de Liancourt¹. The commission arrived on 02 September 1833, headed by General François Bonet and clerked by Piscatory, a member of parliament. The committee returned to France on 09 November 1833 and submitted its reports to the French government. The most important proposals were to retain Algeria as "French possessions in Algeria". These reports and proposals were presented to a new expanded committee formed on 12 December 18332, headed by Duc Decazes, The committee came up with a final report that was presented to the Chamber of Deputies on 10 March 1834. The result was that giving up the occupation of Algeria was a blow to the nation's honour and dignity and a sacrifice of commercial and political advantages, with a majority of 17 votes in favour of retaining Algeria and two against. They should not keep the occupation "in the coastal cities, but should make these cities forward centres to supply the army with the necessities of expansionist military campaigns in the interior of the country to

¹ -Colonisation de l'Ex Régence d'Alger, documents officiels déposés sur le bureau de la chambre des députés, Delaunay libraires, Paris, 1834, P :37.

¹⁰³: ص: نفسه، ص: الله: محاضرات في تاريخ الجزائر الحديث....نفسه، ص: -2



Popular resistance can be divided into organised resistance from 1830 to 1847, characterised by unified administrative and military organisations, and unorganised resistance from 1847 to the early twentieth century:

01 - Organised Popular Resistance 1830-1847:

01-01-Resistance of Ahmed Bey 1830–1848: Ahmed Bey (1785-1850), of Kouloughli origins, descended from the influential Ibn Gana family on the mother's side of the Biskra region, was appointed to the Eastern Beyleck in 1826, "and under him were a number of Cheikhs, Aghas and Caids who ruled other parts of the region in his name¹". By the time the bey travelled to the capital for the journey of the Denouch(الدنوش) with 400 knights in the summer of 1830, his arrival coincided with the French campaign in Algeria, and he proposed a plan "to confront the French but was opposed by ... Agha Ibrahim, He took part in the battles of Sidi Fredj and Staouali, then returned to Constantine², Once security was established, Ahmed Bey refused to surrender and cooperate with the French and insisted on resistance, relying on a regular army that included thousands of fighters from the Arab and Zawaouas tribes, amounting to 10,000 men, despite attempts to invite him to surrender, he mentions in his diary that "a letter written by General Cluzel offered me recognition as Bey of Constantine, but on condition that I pay the Lazema (اللازمة), and said that he would send me when I surrender the Kkaftan of honour in the name of the King of France."³ In the face of the refusal, on

^{.144 :} شير: تاريخ الجزائر المعاصر 1830 – 1989، ج1، دار المعرفة، 2006، ص $^{-2}$

^{20:} الزبيري، محمد العربي: مذكرات أحمد باي وحمدان خوجة و بوضربة، ش.و.ن.ت، الجزائر، 1984، -30:

18 December 1830, Cluzel signed a treaty with the Bey of Tunis giving him the territory of Constantine, including Annaba, but the treaty was not completed because the French government refused to ratify it.

A- Phases of Ahmed Bey's resistance:

A-1: The first phase: 1830-1837:

Ahmed Bey initially tried to turn to the Ottoman Sultan Mahmoud, especially after the occupation of Annaba in March 1832 and its castle, then the seizure of Bejaia in 1833, but he received nothing from him but promises and commitment to patience, and this was repeated in the Ottoman Sultan's letters to the request for help from Bey Ahmed, and the French had taken several ways to occupy Constantine, including diplomatic and military, despite the attempts to woo the Bey and invite him to surrender by writing to the Governor General Duke Rovigo through Hamdan Khodja, the Bey refused any compromise that did not pass through the Sublime Porte.

• First French campaign on Constantine 1836:

An expedition was prepared and set out from Annaba on 08 November 1836 under the command of Marshal Cluzel with a force of 8,700 men. Ahmed Bey divided his forces into two sections: "One section was charged with defending the city from the inside under the command of his successor Ibn Aissa and Ali Bedjaoui, with 1,000 men equipped with 30 cannons on the walls and the Kasbah, and the second section, which was led by the Bey, with 5,000 horsemen and 1,500 volunteer infantry and field guns¹." The weather conditions played an important role in hindering the advance of the French forces, especially the artillery, so Ahmed Bey's attack was in the

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¹- ملاح، بشير: تاريخ الجزائر المعاصر 1830- 1989، ج1، دار المعرفة، 2006، ص: 116.

area of Messalah (المسلح) on the Constantine road, so that the French became between the city and Ahmed Bey's cavalry, and in the face of repeated attacks to storm the city, "the French began to hit the city with the artillery they set up in Mansoura and the Sidi Mabrouk plateau and attacked it from the directions of Bab Kantara from the east and Koudia from the west, the siege lasted from 21 to 23 November." The French army withdrew after suffering losses in terms of men, equipment and ammunition. The Bey could have increased the pressure on the defeated French forces, but he did not do so for fear of the French reaction and the desire for peace. The defeat prompted the French government to remove Cluzel from his post on 13 January 1837 and appoint General as his successor, who prepared a second campaign to occupy Constantine.

• Second French campaign on Constantine 1837:

Damrémont tried to negotiate with Hadj Ahmed Bey to recognise French sovereignty and submit an annual tax, but the Bey rejected these proposals, so the Marshal decided to lead the campaign against Constantine, while he appointed Captain Voltaire to monitor public opinion in Constantine and take information about the Bey's military force, as well as his preparedness and movements². After the May 1837 Tafna Treaty between France and Emir Abdelkader, which established a cease–fire between the two sides, France turned its attention to fighting Ahmed Bey, sending an expedition led by Governor General Demrémont with 20,400 men equipped with powerful artillery under General Valée and a well–equipped engineering division³. In return, Ahmed Bey summoned all the armies in the province of Constantine,

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³ -Charles André Julien, Ibid, P:141.

¹– نفسه، ص: 117

 $^{^{2}}$ فركوس، صالح، نفسه، ص: 217.

bringing together 5,000 horsemen and 2,000 infantry¹. The French campaign reached the surface of Mansoura on 03 October 1837. Hadj Ahmed had assigned the defence of the city to Ben Aissa and Ibn Bedjaoui, the commander of the House, and Marshal Demrémont was killed on 12 October, as was Chief of Staff Perrégaux.

Demrémont was succeeded by Count Valée, and the soldiers, relying on artillery to attack the city walls, were able to enter Constantine on 13 October 1837. "The people of Constantine were forced to fight a war of streets and houses." A great slaughter and a famous battle took place near the stand $(\text{lbe})^2$, and indeed the city fell on 13/14 October and the invaders looted it for three consecutive days.

A-02: Second Phase 1837-1848:

After the capture of Constantine, in March 1838, Ahmed Bey tried to approach the city of his capital, urging the tribes to wage jihad. General Négrier rushed to embark on a military campaign to fight Bey, but when he despaired of pursuing him and feared the dire consequences that might result from this campaign, he sent a letter stating the following: "You are trying to agitate the masses ... I must fight you wherever I find you.³"

In April/May 1844, the French launched a French campaign led by D'Aumale, "where the French attacked the tribes allied with Ahmed Bey, the tribe of Ouled Daoud, Ouled Abdi and Ouled Wadjana." He was forced to withdraw south due to illness, then the people of Ouled Abdi in the western Aures appealed to him against the French led by General Bedeau in May 1845

⁻¹ الزبيري، محمد العربي: نفسه ... ص: 69.

 $^{^{2}}$ بن العنتري، محمد الصالح: فريدة منسية في حال دخول الترك بلد قسنطينة واستيلائهم على أوطانها أو تاريخ قسنطينة، مراجعة وتحقيق، يحي بوعزيز، دار البصائر، الجزائر، 2008، - : 111.

 $^{^{-3}}$ فركوس، صالح: إدارة المكاتب العربية و الاحتلال الفرنسي للجزائر، $^{-1}$ البصائر الجديدة، الجزائر، 2012، ص: 49.

in Mana'a(منعة), and the French attacked him on 22 May 1845, then took refuge with Ouled Abderrahmane Akbach and stayed there until his surrender¹. As a result of his advanced age, loss of financial and human resources, conspiracy, and the French blockade of the Auras throughout May and early June 1848, Colonel Conrobar and Captain Saint Germin supervised the execution of military operations, while Captain Du Bosquet was stationed in the eastern Zab, between Oued Moncef and Zeribat El Oued. At that time, the Bey's health and military condition did not allow him to continue the struggle, in addition to the fact that most of the tribes were besieged and could no longer support or protect him, so he was forced to ask for the safety...², He was forced to write to Saint-Germin of Biskra on 02 June 1848, offering to surrender in exchange for restoring his property and allowing him to emigrate to the Levant. He finally surrendered to the French in Biskra on 05 June 1848." The bey remained in Biskra under French control for two years, then on the third day he was transferred to Constantine.³ Then, due to his popularity, "the colonialists hastened to transfer the bey to Algiers". The French authorities allocated him housing and a monthly grant, but did not allow him to emigrate. He died on 31 August 1850 and was buried in the cemetery of Sidi Abderrahman et-Thaâlibi.

¹- فركوس، صالح: الحاج أحمد باي 1826-1850، ديوان المطبوعات الجامعية ، الجزائر ،2009، ص: 119.

²⁻ فركوس صالح: إدارة المكاتب العربية ..، نفس المرجع: ص: 51.

³⁻نفسه، ص: 52

V: Resistance of Amir 1847:

Abdelkader 1832

01 - The reasons for Emir Abdelkader's resistance:

After the decline of the central government, the Turks left a vacuum in the western region after the surrender of Bey Hassan ben Moussa, leaving the western region in chaos, as the French intervention went through two stages, the first in August 1830, which ended with the defeat of the French garrison in Oran and the death of Amédée the son of De Bourmont, and the second on 04 January 1831 in the attempt to occupy the Mers EL Kebir and the city's forts so that " Hassan remained in Oran, without authority, a large number of families migrated to Tlemcen to flee the French, In order to prevent expansion into the interior, he imposed a popular siege led by the Cheikh of the Qadiriya Order, Hadj Muhyiddin Ben Mustapha 1830/1832. They included peasants, the poor of the cities, the Zawayas Khouans, and the Goums cavalry sent by the many tribes. In response to these developments, including the Moroccan expansion in Tlemcen from 07 November 1830 and the Tunisian expansion in Oran by the decision of General Cluzel, on 06 February 1831, a special treaty was signed by which the Tunisian Emir Ahmed Bey was appointed to command the prefecture of Oran, with a mandate to pay an annual tribute of one million francs to France, while ensuring the protection of all French and European people coming to settle as merchants or farmers in the territory under his

 $^{-1}$ بوحوش، عمار: التاريخ السياسي للجزائر من البداية ولغاية 1962، ط1، دار الغرب الإسلامي، 1997، ص108.

authority¹. On the other hand, the French authorities strengthened their presence by appointing General Boyer at the head of the French forces in Oran on 19 September 1831 and reinforcing him with new troops. "The disorder and chaos that had begun in the interior of the country was now becoming more and more widespread, and the Muslims who lived in the coastal cities and who had fled from the French were displaced in panic and despair with their families, and the Arabs were cutting them off and plundering them without mercy, Muhyiddin felt... that the time had come for action, and by his order Abdelkader and his brothers with an important garrison circled the plains on every side, protecting the homeless and the strickens.²"

On 17 April 1832, Cheikh Muhyiddin formed a force from the tribes of the region and marched it towards Oran, where he attacked a reconnaissance party of the French occupation army and managed to eliminate most of its members, then moved to the Sidi Maarouf area between Mostaganem and Oran, where he set up a camp for the resistance forces.

02- Pledge of allegiance to Amir Abdul Qader:

The first pledge of allegiance was held on 03 Rajab 1248 AH / 27 November 1832 under the Dardara tree, following which Emir Abdelkader pledged to follow the Qur'an and jihad in the way of Allah after he chose to reside in Mascara, "and the blessings of

 1 - Derrien, Isidore : Les Français à Oran depuis 1830 jusqu'à nos jours, Imp, J-Noicot, 1886, P : 22.

²⁻تشرشل، شارل هنري: حياة الأمير عبد القادر، تر، أبو القاسم سعد الله، الدار التونسية للنشر، تونس،1974،ص: 52.

the saints, honourable and righteous, and the poor, peasants and soldiers gathered in the plain of Griss to believe in the pledge of allegiance and enter the party of jihad under the banner of the new Amir al–Mu'minin¹.(أمير المؤمنين) ", The second pledge of allegiance took of Qasr al–Imara on 13 Ramadan 1248 AH / 04 February 1833, in the mosque court of Mascara.

03 - Amir Abdelkader's Resistance Strategy:

A- Political:

- -Uniting all tribes.
- Establishing a modern country.
- Seeking an alliance with the Morocco, Tunisia and the Ottomans.
- Seeking international allies (Britain and the United States of America).

B. Military:

- -Encircle the French colonialists in the coastal areas and prohibit dealing with them.
- Attacking the cities and camps they occupy.
- Establishing a regular army.

 1 - سعد الله، أبو القاسم: الحركة الوطنية الجزائرية، ج1...، ص: 174.

-Establishing a manufacturing industry and a number of defensive forts and castles to prevent the expansion of French forces in the interior by establishing a line of fortified positions in the southern border in the hilly area: Taghdadet, Taza, Bougar, Sebdou, and Saida.

- Adopting the guerrilla method after the imbalance of power in favour of France.
- -Establishing a mobile capital known as Zmala.

04- Organisation of the country:

Emir Abdelkader began to organise the Algerian state based in Mascara, forming a government and an 11-member Choura council comprising the emirate's leading ulema, presided over by Judge Ahmed al-Hachimi al-Merahi, He divided his country into 08 administrative provinces, each headed by a Khalifa (الخليفة), to whom he assigned administrative and military tasks including mobilising troops for resistance, scouting for the French, administering justice, and collecting zaket and financial dues. In order to carry out this mission, the Khalifa made two trips a year, once in the spring to collect zaket and another in the summer harvest season, in addition to the mission of administering justice, assisted by the Agha and Caid.

05- Phases of Emir Abdelkader's resistance 1832-1847:

A- The phase of emergence and power: 1832-1837:

The military initiative and superiority in favour of Emir Abdelkader's forces culminated in the Treaty of Tafna, in which the French recognised his country as a state:

- Taking a Mascara as the capital city.
- The Emir began forming his government in February 1833.
- Boycotting the occupiers and besieging their centres in Oran and Mostaganem, including confronting the French forces led by Trizel on 26 June 1835 and killing Colonel Oudinot.
- The capture of Tlemcen from the hands of the urban dissidents led by Ben Nouna, with the exception of the Machouar or Kasbah of the city where the Koulloglis had fortified themselves.
- Capture the port of Arzew and use it to supply arms and communicate with the outside world.
- Revitalising the cities of the interior and the high plains, like Tlemcen, Meliana, Medea and Qasr al-Bukhari, and making them economic, social and military axes of the country.
- Declaring a kind of loyalty to the Sultan of Morocco to obtain material aid and facilities.
- The tightening of the economic blockade imposed on the French in Oran, Mostaganem and Arzew, which forced them to appease Emir Abdelkader, who concluded the Treaty of Desmichels with France on 26 February 1834, which stipulated the cessation of combat, free commerce,

and the Emir's sole authority in the western region, except for Oran, Mostaganem and Arzew¹.

- Emir Abdelkader exploited the period of truce to organise a regular army of 20,000 Moudjaheeds.
- The resumption of the jihad by Emir Abdelkader and his victory in the Battle of Macta on 28 June 1835.
- The Amir took Takdamet (12 km west of Tiaret) as his new capital, after French forces entered a Mascara and defeated the French at the mouth of the Tafna valley on 25 April 1836.
- In April 1836, General Bugeaud, commander of the Oran province, wrote to Emir Abdelkader to offer him peace, and the latter leaned towards a truce to alleviate the suffering of the Algerians and expand his country's influence, leading to the Treaty of Tafna on 20 May 1837.

B. The phase of organising the country, 1837/1839:

Amir Abdel Qader was able to lay the foundations of his country and expand its area, which included the western region except Oran, Mostaganem, Arzew, the capital, and southern Constantine, and extended to the south of the Sahara.

His most important achievements at this stage at the level of the Algerian state:

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¹ -Fillias, Achille : Histoire de la conquête de la colonisation de l'Algérie (1830–1860), Imp, Arnauld de Vresse, Paris, 1860, P:142.

- Dividing Algeria into 08 departments, each headed by a Khalifa, and dividing each department into circles headed by an Agha, which included a number of tribes headed by a Caids and under him an administrator who supervised a clan called a Cheikh.
- Organising his government: He formed it in 1833 and organised its work.
- Organising the army and defence: His army numbered 58,000 men, including 6,000 regulars, and he worked on purchasing weapons from abroad and establishing factories, the most important of which were: Tlemcen gun factory and gunpowder mill in Tlemcen, Miliana arms factory and ammunition factory in the fortress of Mascara, and the gunpowder mill in the fortress of Sidi Rashid, in addition to the construction of forts.
- Establishment of a judicial system: Emir Abd al-Qader appointed in each district a judge who adjudicates cases according to Islamic law according to the doctrine of Imam Maalik, in addition to each judge a mufti, and the army had special judges, and thanks to his keenness to observe the rules of justice, security spread throughout the Emirate.
- Encouraging education: by taking care of the Zawiyas, supplying them with learners and catering, paying attention to collecting books, and requiring every Douar to have a teacher.
- -Interest in commerce: Especially the grain and sheep trade, where the Emir's government monopolised exports abroad and trade with the occupation forces due to the need for funds, minting

an Algerian currency known as Muhammadiyah, and increasing the value of financial resources based on the funds of al–Zakat, tithes, aid tax to support jihad, fines for offences, market fees, customs rights, export revenues from raw materials and agriculture, in addition to the contribution of employees to the treasury of the House of Mal and the Caliph was responsible in his state for collecting them¹.

- Supporting and fortifying the internal front: By eliminating rebels, including Muhammad al-Tidjani, who besieged the Emir in Ain Madi fortress for seven months from late June 1838 until he was forced after hardship to leave the town². He also subdued the Darkaoua chiefs and disciplined the tribes that refused to pay their al- zakat in the region of Aghouat, Zenafra, Oulad Nayiel in the south, Ouled Mokhtar southeast of Medea, and the clans of Oued Zeitoun, Koulloglis, and West Yasser....
- Interest in International Policy: Emir Abdelkader was very interested in developing international relations with the United States, but they were unsuccessful. He also established diplomatic relations with Morocco, which was a source of foreign aid before the attitude of the Moroccan authorities turned hostile. Emir Abdelkader also established relations with the French occupation authorities during periods of peace. He had four representatives in Oran, Muhammad ben Yakh(محمد بن يخ), then al-Hadj El-Habib

¹ – Colonel Paul, Azan : L'Emir Abdel_ Kader du fanatisme musulman au patriotisme français, Hachette, Paris, 1928, P : 46.

² –Arnaud, Siège d'Ain Madi, Revue Africaine 1864,Alger, librairie place de gouvernement, Tome huitième, PP: 446–447.

Ben Mehr(الحاج الحبيب بن المهر), the second in the capital, the Jew Judah ben Duran(ايهوذا بن دُوران), the third in Mostaganem and The fourth was his successor, Ben Mahmoud(بن محمود), in Arzew in 1836. The Emir also appointed a delegate to Gibraltar, a British dependency, to acquire weapons and ammunition.

H. Extermination and extradition 1839/1847:

After some tribes in the eastern part of the country owed allegiance to Amir Abdelkader, the French felt the danger of his expansions and considered this a violation of the Tafna Treaty. The Emir saw no interest in war and sent a delegation to Paris headed by his Foreign Minister Miloud Ben Arech to negotiate with King Louis Philippe in March 1836, but he was referred to the French Governor General in Algeria. In light of the desire to implement the settlement project, the French offered Emir Abdelkader in July 1838 a new draft treaty that enabled them to annex all areas between Algiers and Constantine, guarantee the right of movement between Mostaganem and Arzew, and control the Emir's imports of arms. The Emir refused to submit, he sent a letter to the King of France in 1839 calling for pacification, but his letters remained unanswered, and the following summer the French expanded into the areas between Tunis and Djurjura¹.

In mid-October 1838, an expedition led by the Duke of Orléans penetrated Emir Abdelkader's territories, and the Consultative

¹- Duc d'Orléans, Campagnes de l'armée d'Afrique 1835–139, Michael Lévy frères, paris, sans date, 1839, P: 408.

Council decided to declare a jihad. In November 1839, the Algerians, led by the Khalifa Ibn Salem, attacked the French forces in Mitdija. On 30 December 1840, General Bugeaud, a strong supporter of full occupation, was appointed to arrive in Algeria on 22 February 1841, accompanied by the King's son with a large military force with the aim of taking full control of Algeria, where Bugeaud made the following arrangements:

- Attacking tribes loyal to Amir Abdelkader by following a scorched earth policy and plundering their resources.
- Closing the frontier to prevent tribes from seeking refuge in the
 Morocco and to prevent aid assistance.
- Creating fast-moving columns to pursue Emir Abdelkader's forces.
- Waging total war on the hill areas under the authority of Emir
 Abdelkader.

This period witnessed important events:

- The occupation of Medea, Meliana and Cherchell in 1840, the attack and capture of Taqdamt, Mascara, Taza, Bougar and Saida in 1841, and Tlemcen in February 1842, which made it difficult to supply from Morocco, forcing the Emir to join Ouersenis and take it as a base for jihad and establish a mobile capital of tents known as the Zmala. The Emir lost his most prominent military, administrative and economic centres, and his country lost part of its political authority and material and human resources, which

prompted some tribes to place themselves under the tutelage of the French occupation, and the French were able to connect the land connection between Algiers and Oran.

The discovery of the location of Emir Abdelkader's Smalah as it was heading to the Amour Mountains on 15 May 1843 at at Taguine. The French captured all his supplies, including his private library of 5,000 manuscripts. The soldiers and mercenaries divided the gold and silver they found, and the people of the fellowship were subjected to atrocities and enslavement, thus losing his war potential.

- Emir Abdelkader was obliged to take refuge with his supporters in early 1844 in Morocco, this caused the French authorities to hold Moulay Abdelrahmen responsible and demanded that he arrest the Emir and prevent him from returning to Algeria, On 10 September 1844, he signed the Treaty of Tangier, which came into force on 26 October 1844 and consists of 08 articles, which declared the Emir an outlaw¹, he returned to Algeria to continue the jihad on 22 September 1845.
- Emir Abdelkader was able to achieve victories over Montagnac in the battle of Sidi Ibrahim from 23 to 25 September 1845. He also clashed with the French in the regions of Dahra and Cheliff and joined the Djurjura Mountains. His successor, Ahmed Ben Salem, mobilised 5,000 Moujahideen, with whom he attacked the villages of the Mitdija plain and the Tetteri regions, and then joined

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⁻شارل روبير، آجيرون: تاريخ الجزائر المعاصرة، ط1، منشورات عوبدات .، بيروت، 1982، $^{-1}$

the Amour Mountains in Ouled Nayiel. In order to counter these developments, the French reinforced their forces with 120,000 soldiers in 1847 to harass Emir Abdelkader while suppressing the tribes, and the Moroccan authorities have stepped up their pressure on the Emir's supporters inside its territory.

". On 15 September 1847, near the mouth of the Moulouya River, the Emir found himself besieged between Moroccan and French forces led by General Lamoricière. To avoid himself and his followers from being eradicated and surrendering to the Moroccan authorities, he contacted Lamoricière on 22 December 1847 and agreed on the terms of stopping the fighting and giving safety to all his employees and soldiers and allowing them to join their tribes. On 23 September 1847, Generals Lamorisière and Cavaignac met in Sidi Ibrahim, and at the Ghazaouet, the Prince presented the Duc d'Aumale with his horse, thus turning the page on 17 years of resistance.

VI: Unorganised Popular 1916:

Resistance 1848

After the resistance of Emir Abdelkader 1847 and Ahmed Bey 1848 against the French occupation ceased, Algerians continued their resistance between 1848–1916, which was exemplified by:

01- Zaatcha Oasis Uprising in Zibans (south of Biskra) 1849-1850:

A: Causes of the uprising:

- The French expansion in the Zibans and the Aures, which began with the occupation of Biskra in 1843, and the vanguard of resistance was led by Mohemmad El-Saghir Bzn Abd al-Rahman, the successor of Emir Abd al-Qadir in Sidi Okba, Biskra.
- Local uprisings between 1848-1849 and the outbreak of revolution in France in 1848.
- The attempt by Seroka, accompanied by the Sheikh of Tolga Ben Mihoub, to arrest Cherif Bouziane, and the latter's successful escape, followed by the attempt by Dubesquet, head of the Arab Bureau, to arrest him again and demand that the people of Zaatchah Oasis hand them over to him, but they all came to his defence and the rebellion was called for¹.

 $^{^{-1}}$ لونيسي، رابح: انتفاضة سكان واحة الزعاطشة عام 1849 من خلال مذكرات الجنيرال هيربيون، مجلة عصور، عدد $^{-1}$ ص: 80.

- Cheikh Bouziane's desire to continue the resistance led by Emir Abdelkader for 17 years, as he was a follower of the Emir and served as a sheikh in the oasis of Zaatchah as part of the Emir's administration of the region.

- The economic reason is that, starting in March 1849, taxes on palm trees increased from 0.25 to 0.40 francs¹.

It began with the arrival of French forces at Zaatchah on 16 July 1849 under the command of Colonel Carbuccia, who tightened the siege on the oases, after which he was defeated², Then came the phase of the blockade of the oasis of Zaatchah when General Herbillon moved, where the French forces gathered at Kadia al-Meida (کدیة المایدة) opposite the oasis of Zaatchah on 07 October 1849 at 8 am, and the number of soldiers was estimated at 4,493 soldiers³. Herbillon occupied the Zaouia about half a kilometre from Kadia, the operations began on 20 October 1849 with the occupation of the place where Zaatchah is connected to the town of Tolga, then the artillery was ordered to bombard the walls of the orchards surrounding Zawiya to create a breach, and after the walls of the wall were destroyed, the French forces attacked Zawiya and met with desperate resistance, leaving behind 25 dead, including one officer, and 47 wounded⁴.

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¹ -Charles, Feraud : Les Ben_Djellab, Sultans de Touggourt, Notes historiques sur la province de Constantine, R.A, N° : 28, 1884, P : 399.

² -Paul, Azan: L'Armée d'Afrique de 1830-1852, Librairie Plon, Paris, 1936, P:444.

³ Herbillon : Quelques pages d'un vieux cahier souvenirs du général Herbillon, 1794–1866, Publies par son petit-fils, Berger Levrault, Editeurs, Paris, 1928, P :126.

⁴ - Paul. Azan: L'armée de l'Afrique. Op. Cit. P: 467.

General Herbillon called for help from Constantine, Batna, Skikda and Annaba to launch an attack under the command of such officers Barral, Canrobert, distinguished as Lourmel. Domantel and more than 800 soldiers¹. The blockade of Zaatchah began in early October and lasted until 28 November 1849, the date of the new attack, when instructions were given to exterminate the entire oasis and all neighbourhoods. Herbillon sent a very large number of troops and the engineering corps was used. Despite the overwhelming attack, not a single Zaatchah person asked for safety, and resistors clashed with French soldiers from street to street and from house to house². After fierce battles, the French forces occupied all the streets, squares and roofs around 9:00 a.m. 'On 26 November 1849, the house of the resistance fighter Bouziane, who fell as a martyr, was blown up, and a guillotine was erected at the door of the Herbillon camp with three heads on it: The head of Cheikh Bouziane, the head of his son, the young Chaouchi, and the head of another Cheikh who had been fighting the French since 1833, Hadi Moussa El Derkaoui also known as Bouhamara³.

Herbillon also killed more than 800 Algerians, not counting those under the rubble, and used brutal methods that are repulsive to humanity, yet the uprising continued for weeks until 05 January 1850, and France suffered 1500 injuries between the dead and wounded, not counting those who perished from cholera⁴.

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¹ -Azan, Conquête, Op, Cit, P: 408.

² -Azan, Ibid, P: 408.

 $^{^{3}}$ سعد الله، أبو القاسم: الحركة الوطنية الجزائرية، ج 1 ، الجزائر، 1992، ص: 355.

⁴-Charles, André Julien: Histoire de l'Algérie contemporaine, P: 384.

02- Kabyle Uprising 1851-1857:

It was led by Cherif Mohammed El-Amjed Ben Abdelmalek, known as Boubaghla, 'In the market of Tuesday Beni Ijar, Boubaghla held a large meeting to pledge allegiance and declare jihad collectively, after the people rallied around him, he spread his flags among them and preached a moving sermon that made the elders of the region and its marabouts offer him allegiance and pledge of allegiance to uphold the word of Allah and expel the enemy.' Among those who did so at the time was Lala Fatima, head of Zawya Ouarja(ورجة) . He took refuge in the Fort Beni Abbes and here he began to incite the tribes, attacked the colonial centres and seized the pro-French Bachaga Beni Ali Sherif's zawya and stripped him of his property, In revenge, France burned the villages that supported him, If Camou and Bosquet led a military campaign in April 1851 towards the Sahel valley to punish the tribes that received the Cherif Boubbagla, destroying 300 villages and cutting down olive trees, the Algerian newspaper Al-Mamrin wrote about it: 'They looted or destroyed, the lesson was harsh ... The soldiers left the villages on fire, hundreds of human bodies and dead horses on the ground.'2

The major attack on Bejaia was on 10 May 1851, Boubaghla's army included about 10,000 including cavalry. 'All witnesses to this battle estimated the attackers' forces at 8 to 9,000 men and about 200 cavalry, with red and green flags surrounding the sheriff who made us recognise him by his black horse and white bonnet,' says

 $^{^{-1}}$ سعد الله، أبو القاسم: الحركة الوطنية الجزائرية، ج 1 ، دار البصائر، الجزائر، ما 0 6،2009، معد الله،

² -Charles, André Julien : Histoire de l'Algérie ... Op, Cit :P :386.

Feraud.¹ He continued the jihad with the strong campaigns launched by Governor–General Randon and Governor Constantine Mac–Mahon in 1854 and the surrender of some leaders of the uprising, forcing Boubaghla and his supporters to move from one side to another until he fell as a martyr on 26 December 1854 in Oued El Sahel and was buried in Tazmalt.

As well as uprisings:

- Oulad Sidi Cheikh Uprising 1864–1881: It broke out in southern Oranie: Preparations for the uprising began when Si Slimane met with the group's council and decided to wage jihad and assigned Si Foudil to mobilise and inform the tribes and thrones affiliated with the Boucheikhia order, so that the uprising was announced on 16 April 1864, with three quarters of the Sahara tribes with him. Si Slimane's forces set out from the capital of the Emirate of Oulad Sidi Cheikh towards El Baid (Géryville), with a force of 7,500 horses and 1,200 camels accompanied by an unimaginable religious gift².
- EI-Mokrani Uprising 1871–1872: The uprising stretched from the mountains of FerJioua in the east to the Titteri and Djurjura mountains in the west to the Mediterranean coast in the north, with the plain of Medjana as its centre. El Mokrani met with his cousins on the evening of 14 March 1871 in Medjana, announcing the uprising against the French government and the mercantilist agents of the colonists, and deciding to march with

¹ -Féraud, Laurent Charles: Notes sur Bougie, Revue Africaine, Volume3, année 1858, Ed, A.Jourdan, 1858, P: 458.

^{.23 :}سوحوص: ثورة أولاد سيدي الشيخ، دار الغرب،الجزائر، 2004، ص $^{-2}$

6,000 men on the city of El Bordj on the morning of 15 March 1871. On 05 May 1871, Colonel Trumelet's forces surprised El –Mokrani's forces while Zouaf's forces were watching him. He rose to pray with his comrades and was shot four times by a member of the 4th Platoon, who killed him as a martyr in Oued Souflat in Lakhdaria (Palestro) while he was trying to storm Bouira¹. The colonial authority used 82,000 military forces and militias to put down El Mokrani's resistance. 340 battles and skirmishes² were fought between the two sides, with direct results of imprisonment, exile, confiscation of property, and mass fines.³

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⁻¹حيدي، بوعزيز: ثورة الباشاغا المقراني والشيخ الحداد 1871، طبعة خاصة، دار البصائر، الجزائر، 2009، ص-1

 $^{^{2}}$ –الطاهر، أوصديق: ثورة 1871، تر، جناح مسعود، المؤسسة الوطنية للكتاب، الجزائر، 1989، 2 .

³ -Lacoste Yves et autres, L'Algérie passé et présent, Ed, Sociales, Paris, 1960, P:342.

01- French policy in Algeria during the Military Regime 1830-1870:

After the fall of Algiers, the real intentions to occupy the entire Algerian country became clear, so it was decided to entrust military governors to manage its affairs, so that General de Bourmont established a government committee, and when Cluzel took over the French forces in Algeria, he established a new government committee specialised in areas including justice, interior and finance at his disposal, but the improvised actions and continued resistance prompted the French government to issue a royal decree in September 1831 that separated military matters from civilian affairs and regulated the administrative affairs of Algeria by forming an enlarged council that included: The head of the occupation units in Africa and the Council of Administration¹.

After four years of indecision about staying in Algeria, a commission of inquiry was sent to Algeria and, after conducting a field investigation, recommended the retention of Algeria. With the second commission, it emphasised the need for the French government to extend its sovereignty over the entire Algerian country and to exploit the country¹.

A: Algeria's administrative organisation between 1830–1870:

On the eve of the French occupation of Algeria, the question of the administrative organisation of the Algerians was raised immediately after the destruction of the Turkish system, and the search was for a leadership whose task was to provide the necessary information in order to achieve and maintain the overall occupation in Algeria, in harmony with the military activity, since the power was in the hands of the military and their task was to expand and at the same time think about the appropriate way to control the Algerians and ensure their submission to the organisation of administrative affairs².

A.1: The Arab Offices: 1841–1870: The Service for Arab Affairs was created in Algeria, where information is processed in the office of the commanding general. For lack of specialisation, the staff officers ceded the task of governing the indigenous population to the Agha of Arabs, who was in charge of relations between the French government and the indigenous population, an organisation inspired by the Turkish

 $^{-1}$ سعد الله، أبو القاسم: محاضرات في تاريخ الجزائر الحديث (بداية الاحتلال)، ط3، م.و.ك، الجزائر ، 1982ص:

2-ليلي، بلقاسم: تطبيق التشريعات العقارية على قبائل منطقة غليزان (الضفة اليسرى لواد الشلف وسهل مينا) فيما بين 1863-

1900، أطروحة لنيل شهادة الدكتواره في التاريخ الحديث و المعاصر، جامعة وهران، 2018-2019. ص: 71.

model 1. With Cluzel, the task was assigned to the Escadron de gendarmerie, and with Rovigo it was decided to establish a Cabinet With the arrival of Avisard, and at the suggestion of Chief of Staff Trézel, a special office for Arab affairs with a military-administrative character was established in charge of collecting and organising military campaigns, information for as well as following correspondence and relations with the tribes by translating documents received from them and related to them, the office was headed by a chief, assisted by two officers and three translators, and the office presented a daily report on the situation to the General, accompanied by documents translated in French². In March 1833, a special office for Arab affairs was established to ensure the success of relations with the tribes, with La Moriciere the only officer with Arabic knowledge³.

With the colonial expansion internally, it required an administrative system in line with the nature of the tribes of the region. With Damrémont, on 22 April 1837, the old Arab office was renamed the Directorate of Arab Affairs, and the aim was to facilitate and study reports with the tribes, especially the internal ones, for the purpose of domination based on respecting customs and traditions, protecting interests, establishing justice and maintaining order and security in the interest of the colonial authority⁴. When Bugeaud became governor—

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¹ – Xavier, Yacono : Les bureaux arabes et l'évolution des genres de vie indigènes, dans l'Ouest du Tell Algérois, Paris 1953, P10.

See also: the Archives Nationals d'Outre Mer in Aix en Provence :F80, 510, Bureaux Arabes 1846-1858.

²-جوليان، شارل أندري: تاريخ الجزائر المعاصرة الغزو وبدايات الاستعمار 1827–1871، المجلد الأول، دار الأمة، 2008، 363،

³-Xavier, Yacono: Les bureaux arabes ...Paris 1953., P:11.

⁴ -Xavier, Yacono: Les bureaux arabes ...Paris 1953,, P:12.

general of Algeria, he realised that military action alone would not achieve the occupation and worked to create a system that would ensure that Algerians remained under his authority and away from rebellion, for a more stable system. In addition to the General Staff, which was entrusted with military operations, he created an administrative body in charge of the tribes known as the Directorate of Arab Affairs under the order of 16 August 1841 and assigned an officer with authority over all indigenous employees.

With the expansion of the territories belonging to the French authority, the Arab offices were established. Therefore, the Ministerial Decree 01–02–1841 is considered the birth certificate of the Arab offices, which was complemented by an actual law and administrative and legal procedures applied to the tribes, a provision that is considered a new charter until the publication of Mac Mahon (21 March 1867)¹. Its director exercised his authority over the leaders, Cheikhs, rulers and judges in the field of police and administration, as well as establishing relations with tribes, especially those who refused to be loyal, and collecting various information for the benefit of the governor–general and various other interests, The position was given to Major Eugéne Daumas, who modified the administration of Arab affairs to make it the base of the Arab offices through which the settler occupation could be realised.

The Arab Bureau is a liaison between the European race who settled in Algeria in 1830 and the people who occupy the country:

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¹-Xavier, Yacono: Les bureaux arabes ...Paris 1953,, P:13.

- -Counting the Arab population in the Tribes in terms of branches and inhabitants of houses, tents and Grabas (القرابي).
- Counting ploughs for ploughing, as well as conducting observation tours of the tribes and inspecting the crops.
- -Obtaining information to complete the necessary documents for the preparation of statistics.
 - Conducting missions in the tribes by organising tax collection.
- Studying the map of the country to establish procedures to guide settlers.
- Identify watercourses, springs, reservoirs, places for camps for queueing troops, observe markets and identify Beyleck lands for acquisition or to be handed over for settlement purposes.
- Studying the forests that should belong to the government and be handed over to the administration.
- Work to settle borders between neighbouring tribes and branches of the same tribe.
- Searching for sites for establishing facilities and guarding them in case they are constructed or repaired.
 - Studying the places where public works are erected.
 - Guarding and policing.
- Collecting information resulting from tours of the tribes, preparing statistics, historical and administrative notes, bibliographies of local

leaders, preparing nominal lists (Les listes contradictoires) for use in taxation, and preparing monthly reports...¹

The number of Arab offices doubled during the rule of Marshal Randon between 1852 and 1858^2 , and their power was further strengthened with the policy of the Kingdom of Arabia from 1860, the beginning of the civil regime and the establishment of the Third Republic.

B. Provinces and communes:

The provinces: On 15 April 1845, a royal decree was issued to establish civil rule in areas inhabited by Europeans, and it was decided to create three provinces: Algiers, Oran and Constantine. Each province had lands under military rule and mixed lands. In 1848, the civilian system was materialised, as the French government decided to apply the same political and administrative system that exists in France. In 1862, the system of administrative departments was replaced by the system of provences. The governor of the provence in Algeria is under the authority of the Minister of War, and in each provence there was an administrative executive council responsible for government property and administrative affairs, consisting of the head of the province and three members and an elected council, which is considered a mini-parliament for the settlers in the provinces, in which only a small percentage of the population is represented in it.³"

 $^{^{1}}$ –Xavier, Yacono: Op, Cit, P :17.

² -A.N.O.M :8H1, Administration civile des indigènes, Rapport fait au ministre, Organisation des bureaux arabe, Départementaux, 03 novembre 1854.

³ - Claude, Bontemps: Manuel des institutions Algérienne, Paris, Ed, Cujas, 1979, P: 286.

Communes: Municipal council seats in urban areas were made up of 2/3 settlers and 1/3 indigenous and Israeli residents, After 1848, the French government approved the method of election instead of appointment, and in December 1866, Napoleon III decided to change the method of elections and appointed the mayor and his deputies, while the chief of staff appointed the rest of the municipal council members, and the settlers were keen to establish the civil system and expand their influence in Algeria at the expense of the military and the local people. 1"

C- Napoleon III's policy in Algeria 1852-1870: Since Napoleon III declared himself Emperor of France in November 1852, he decided to pursue a special policy aimed at winning the satisfaction of the settlers and the military and maintaining the stability of Algeria. He emphasised the idea of integration to the settlers of Algeria, while at the same time he was working to monopolise power and establish a special ministry for Algerian affairs. The system was eventually abolished and replaced by the General Government System in December 1860, which placed the administration of Algeria under the head of the Governor-General of the Land and Naval Forces, who was subject to the Emperor's political authority, and appointed Marshal Pellissier new military governor². After his visit to Algeria on 17 September 1860 and his briefing on what was happening in the country, he decided to abolish the Ministry of War (1857–1860) and appointed Marshal Pélissier Duc de Malakoff as Governor General of Algeria. Another decree dated 10 December 1860 defined the powers of the General Government, the Supreme Administration and the Council of

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¹⁻صالح، عباد: المستوطنون والسياسة الفرنسية في الجزائر 1870- 1900، د.م.ج، الجزائر ، 1984،ص،ص: 19،20.

² -Deval, Jules: Réflexions sur la politique de l'empereur en Algérie, Paris, 1866, P: 148.

Government in Algeria, then, on 22 April 1863, Senatus Consulte announced the decision to establish the monarchy in Algeria in the territory occupied by the indigenous people.

The second visit that led him to Algeria, after the reports he was receiving from the military and after the uprisings that took place in the Oranie departemet, including the resistance of Ouled Sidi El-Cheikh in 1864, which attracted many tribes and extended to the hill tribes, where he resolved to remove Governor General Pellissier from his post after obstructing his projects in Algeria, in light of the intense conflict between the military and the settlers, who attributed the uprising to them, accusing them of provoking the indigenous peoples, Duc Mac Mahon duc Magenta was recalled to replace him by the decree of 01 September 1864.

Napoleon's visit to Algeria on the second trip was on 03 May 1865 and lasted 05 weeks. On 20 June 1865, the Emperor showed Governor–General McMahon the letter, whose points were summarised by considering Algeria an Arab kingdom, a European colony and a French space and therefore worthy of attention. As part of his integration plan, Napoleon issued the Senatus Consult Decree on Nationality on 14 July 1865, which stipulated how Algerians could obtain French citizenship.

The period of Napoleon III's rule was considered one of the most dangerous stages. His policy was not a policy of civilisation for the Algerians, as Ismail Urbain used to declare, but rather a policy of mutilation in depth, which had serious repercussions that led to the continuation of colonialism in Algeria and resulted in catastrophic

consequences as a result of the colonial reforms that sought to instill the European element in Algeria at the expense of the native and his personal and material structure, including the period after 1866 to 1870, which was punctuated by economic crises, However, Napoleon III's reforms were not real reforms, as the settlers were able to impose themselves once the Emperor's government fell in July 1870, abolishing the military system and replacing it with a civilian system, which opened the way for them to impose their control over Algeria.

C. The policy of colonisation and Francization and its influence on Algerian society, 1830-1870:

Confiscation of property and land: As soon as French colonialism entered Algeria, it was met with popular resistance accompanied by the policy of the sword, mass murder, extermination and displacement of the population from their lands, as French forces began to seize property and land in various forms and forms, to the detriment of Algerian society, from which the French administration stole more than two million hectares of fertile land¹. The process began with the seizure of the properties of the Baylak (the property of the Ottoman state) by the decision of 8 September 1830, which were annexed to the property of the French state, and the properties of Islamic endowments and religious institutions, including the endowments of Mecca and Medina on 07 September 1830 by a decision of the Supreme Commander of the occupation forces, were also annexed.

¹- الجيلالي، صاري و محفوظ، قداش: المقاومة السياسية 1900- 1954، تر، عبد القادر بن حراث، م.و.ك، الجزائر، 1987، من 125.

With the expansion of popular resistance and the French army's campaigns of extermination and destruction, it was also confiscating land, especially with General Bugeaud, who asserted in his statements on 18 April 1841: "The invasion without colonisation will be sterile". The confiscations included all the areas that were occupied, especially the coastal areas, while the colonial administration planned to remove the peasant from his land and enacted a series of legislations, including cantonnement policies and the elimination of collective property and the substitution of individual property.

✓ **The settlement policy**: The French colonisation of Algeria took on an exploitative and colonising character. From the beginning until 1842, the French thought that Algeria could only be retained by occupying its agricultural lands and establishing settlers there, unless this condition was met, France's presence in Algeria would remain temporary. The first settlement groups arrived in Algeria in 1832. The French administration encouraged the sale of land and the granting of concessions and loans to settlers, whose number reached about 25,000 in 1839. In response to the increased demand for land, the French administration resorted to issuing the Royal Decree of 21 July 1841, Article 2 of which stipulates that all vacant and uncultivated land is considered public property that can be used and exploited for the establishment of cities, villages and population centres².

The 1844 and 1846 decisions to confiscate uncultivated Algerian land and land whose owners did not have documents proving

¹ -Général Azan : Bugeaud et l'Algérie, le petit parisien, Paris, p :54.

 $^{^{2}}$ عدة، بن داهة: الاستيطان والصراع حول ملكية الأرض إبان الاحتلال الفرنسي 1830 1962 ، ج1، المؤلفات للنشر والتوزيع، الجزائر ، 2013، ص: 55،56.

possession. During the era of General Bugeaud, 100,000 European settlers were counted, distributed according to the following nationalities: 43.5% French, 28% Spanish, 08% Maltese, 08% Italian, and the rest of various nationalities¹. With the Second Republic (1848-1852), it was decided to get rid of the unemployed and political opponents by sending them to Algeria. In 1848, approximately 12,000settlers were sent to Algeria, and in 1851 the number of settlements reached 136, distributed as follows: 58 in Mitidja, 30 in Constantine and 48 in Oran. The French administration also tended to encourage capitalist settlement, as the French administration distributed in the period 1850-1860 about 81 real estate concessions, estimated at more than 50,000 hectares², and between 1851 and 1870, the French colonialists established 104 new settlement centres: 35 in the municipality of Oran, 39 in the municipality of Algiers, and 30 in the municipality of Constantine³.

The colonial policy in Algeria has had major impacts on the conditions of Algerians, including:

At the **economic** level, the policy of land expropriation in various forms and the imposition of taxes in various forms led to the deterioration of the conditions of the Algerians, and what worsened the situation was the crises of pandemics and droughts, so the economic crises succeeded at a time when the officers of the Arab offices were assigned to review the tax lists, in the years 1866-1870, there were

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^{.06:} صالح، عباد: نفس المرجع، ص-1

 $^{^2}$ - H, De Peyerimhoff : Enquête sur les résultats de la colonisation officielle de 1871-1895, T1, Imp, Torrent , Alger, 1906, P :35.

⁻³ عدة، بن داهة: نفس المرجع،ص-3

several famines that left bad effects on the Algerians, and deadly epidemics such as cholera and typhus spread ... This led to the sale of savings and real estate under the pressure of indebtedness as a result of usurious taxes and interest, as the famine of 1867 and the accompanying deadly epidemics killed dozens of Algerians and was, as described by Saleh El–Antari, an unprecedented black famine¹.

As for **the social** situation, the human losses were not caused by the effects of popular resistance, but by the spread of epidemics in addition to the famines of 1867–1868. Many reports indicate the demographic depletion that affected Algerian society, out of three million Algerians in 1830, only 2,462,900 remained in 1876, and the population reached three million only in 1880, and studies indicate that the famine of 1867–1868 killed nearly a million Algerians, and the victims of the famine of 1886–1888 were estimated at one million people, in addition to the victims of French repression². This led to the destabilisation of entire tribes and the dismantling of the structure of Algerian society, and the spread of the phenomenon of poverty that affected the aristocratic class: "The displacement of the rural population to the cities that began to develop, the revival of European and Jewish capitalism in Algeria, and the spread of the phenomenon of Algerian emigration abroad.³"

⁻¹صالح، العنتيري: مجاعات قسنطينة، تح، رابح بونار ش.و.ن.ت، الجزائر، ص.ص.-1

 $^{^{2}}$ الجيلالي صارى، و محفوظ قداش، نفس المرجع: ص: 189–196.

⁻³ نفس المرجع، ص: 198.

French Republic in Algeria 1870

The Third French Republic in Algeria: The period begins 01with the fall of the Second French Empire and the establishment of the Third French Republic and its announcement of the establishment of civilian rule in Algeria. Once Napoleon III's government was overthrown following the Battle of Sedan, his projects in Algeria came to an end and the project of the Arab Kingdom, which had terrified the settlers, faded away, and the project of civilian rule became a reality. The beginning of the rebellion in Algeria was the municipal rebellion, or what is called the Municipality of Algiers, with the establishment of the lawyer Jurasien Romuald Vuillermoz of the Republican Defence Committee in the city of Algiers, trying to monopolise all powers, and at the beginning of November a great wave of discontent appeared in the street while receiving the news of the French army's surrender, so Vuillermoz took advantage of this to be appointed as a temporary civil inspector and took over the administration of the colony.

The events were not limited to the city of Algiers, but quickly spread to Oran and other equally important cities where defence committees were established, and the same events took place in Constantine and Annaba, but due to the small number of Europeans there, the prefecture administration and the army managed to control the situation¹.

 $^{^{1}\}mathrm{-}$ Jean, Ganiage : Histoire contemporaine du Maghreb de 1830 à nos jour, France, Fayard, $1994\mathrm{,}$

P: 215.

In 1870, a number of decrees were issued to clarify the policy of the Third French Republic in Algeria, aimed at strengthening the influence and political representation of the settlers in the French parliament, expanding civilian rule in areas under the authority of the Arab offices, and establishing the position of civilian governor–general¹. which governs the three provinces of Algeria (Constantine, Oran and Algiers), which the decree considered as one of the territories of the French Republic, which constitutes 92 territories administered by a governor who in turn enjoys the same powers granted to the provincial governor in the Republic, and receives instructions from the governor general on all matters concerning settlement, while military authority is held by the commander of the land and naval armies, who is charged with appointing the military commanders of the territory who, together with the prefects (provincial governors), send a quarterly report to the governor general on the status of each administration².

In order to preserve their privileges, representatives of the French Parliament put pressure on the French government using the card of sending the people of the departments of Alsace and Lorraine to Algeria, and forced the Governor–General in Algeria (Louis Henri, comte de Gueydon) to submit to their will. Governor–General Albert Grevy was appointed, a victory for the integrationist republicans, but he resigned in 1881. On 26 August 1881, the government of the Third Republic announced the system of annexation, which theoretically joined the Algerian administration to the French administration in Paris, thus limiting the powers of the Governor–General, whose mission

¹ -B.O.A, Année 1871, Décret de 24 octobre 1870, organisation politique de l'Algérie, P331-332.

² – B.O.A, Année 1871, Décret de 24 octobre 1870, organisation politique de l'Algérie, P331–332.

became to advise in various fields. In other words, he became an intermediary between the prefects of the territories, commanders and specialised ministries. Under Governor-General Tirman, influential deputies such as Thomson and Eugene Etienne became, and remained, the true lords of Algeria. The general government was strengthened by the abolition of the appendage system, and a new power based on free institutions geared to involve Europeans directly in the work of the governor-general so that he would not have absolute power, and it proclaimed the constitution of the delegations, the influence of the colonisers increased with the achievement of financial independence by granting Algeria its own civil personality and its own budget with the promulgation of the law of 19 December 1900^2 .

Administratively, Algeria was divided by a decree of 24 October 1870 into three regions (Oran, Constantine and Algiers). Then came the decree of 27 December 1870, which removed military rule from all hill areas and placed all tribal territories in the settlement area, as well as areas adjacent to the civilian territory, under civilian authority³. Algeria has three types of municipalities, whose legal status varies according to the nationality of their inhabitants: full-legal communes, mixed communes, and indigenous communes.

02- The colonisation policy and the imposition of the Code of the Indigenat :

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 $^{^{-1}}$ شارل، روبيرت آجيرون: تاريخ الجزائر المعاصرة، المرجع نفسه، ص: 83.

 $^{^{2}}$ - نادية، زروق: سياسة الجمهورية الفرنسية الثالثة في الجزائر، 1870-1900، دار هومة ، الجزائر، 2014، ص 2

³ -B.O.A : Année 1870, Décret 25/12/1870, mesure prescrites en vue de l'extension du régime civil en Algérie, P :448.

The government of the Third Republic took the initiative to deport the population of the departments of Alsace and Lorraine to Algeria and confiscate 340 hectares of land. It also issued the Warnier Law on 26 July 1873, which allowed settlers the right to dispose of Algerian lands and apply French law to land sales procedures by establishing individual ownership and the Francization of real estate. Between 1871 and 1895, 248 new settlement centres were built and military zones were converted into civilian areas controlled by settlers, increasing the number of civilian municipalities to 126 in 1873 and 249 in 1891. As a result of the settlers assuming control of the communes, the amount of Arab taxes, which is the source of funding for the municipalities, increased by 17 times more than it was during the era of the Arab offices, in light of encouraging European immigration in exchange for granting privileges, so that the number of settlers rose to 394,257 in 1900¹.

The Code de l'Indigenat was adopted on 26 June 1881, a set of exceptional laws that were imposed on Algerians, requiring them to show obedience and total submission to the settlers in the form of prison, confiscation of land, taxes, forced labour... The law was a terrorist tool and was met with surprise by some French sympathisers with the local indigenous population². It was issued by the French after the failure of the 1871 uprising and was reinforced with powers after the 1881 uprising. It included 21 offences in 1890 and 28 offences in 1897.

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 $^{^{-1}}$ عبد الحميد، زوزو: المرجع السابق، ص: 146.

² -Cherif, Benhabiles : L'Algérie française vue par un indigène, Fontana, Alger, 1914, P :118.

Colonisers dominate the administration of public affairs in Algeria:

The colonisers achieved gains since 1870 until they demanded their right to run the affairs of the country, and after dominating the administration of the fully empowered communes and appointing Frenchmen to head the mixed municipalities, they were able, on 19 December 1900, to pass a law granting them broad powers in governing Algeria, by granting Algeria an independent financial budget and establishing the Financial Council, an independent parliament that oversees the enactment of laws that manage the affairs of Algeria, in which the absolute majority is for the settlers, with only a third of the seats representing Algerian Muslims and a portion of these seats are appointed, so that the French administration policy depends on showing the participation of Algerians in administering the country's affairs.

The European deputies legislated financial decisions that served their interests and directed the policy of the governors general towards serving their interests and marginalising Algerian Muslims¹. Financial autonomy and the Financial Council were, as Ferhat Abbas said, "a tool for the settlers to seize the reins of government

المنجي سليم وآخرون، الدار التونسية للنشر والتوزيع، تونس، 1976، المنجي سليم وآخرون، الدار التونسية للنشر والتوزيع، تونس، 1976، ص.ص: 42، 46.

with an iron hand and enact laws that serve their capitalist interests."

On the other hand, the European communal chiefs had wide powers in local administration, establishing the necessary services and institutions to serve their interests and those of the Europeans, and imposing penalties on Algerians who refused to pay taxes. Algerians suffered persecution from the chiefs' agents, including Caids and counsellors, and the economic and social situation of Algerians worsened as a result of the taxes, the imposed authoritarianism and the Code of Indigenat restricting all activities (commerce, immigration, movement...)².

• Social Situation and Algerian Emigration 1900-1914:

The colonial policy worked to fragment Algerian society through an arsenal of legislation to enable the settlement project, in addition to the policy of racial discrimination and the breaking of large families, including the Bachtarzi family in Constantine, which no longer has a major role and some ancient families were forced to migrate outside the country, which was seen as an expression of Algerians' rejection of colonial politics, The French administration was alerted to the migration movement in 1910, and this migration was motivated by political, religious and economic motives, and some of them were linked to special reasons, such as the migration of Setif in 1910 and Tlemcen in 1911.

 $^{^{-1}}$ فرحات، عباس: حرب الجزائر وثورتها، ليل الاستعمار، تر، أبو بكر رحال، مطبعة فضالة، المغرب، 1962، ص: $^{-1}$

 $^{^{2}}$ -صالح، عباد: المرجع السابق، ص.ص: 85، 86.

As for the first migration, it was due to the arbitrariness of the leadership, the violation of land usurpation, the desire to get rid of the code of indigenat, forced recruitment, and the escalation of taxes and penalties under the unjust the code of indigenat. At a time when France thought it had put a final end to Algerian emigration and extinguished its fire by administrative measures in 1898, especially in the Djurjura regions, due to drought, the spread of epidemics ... and the loss of Algerians to their lands seized by the colonialists to establish the establishment of settlement groups, the reports of the Governor General in Algeria recorded the emigration of more than 38 families consisting of about 176 people from Yakouren that had launched their departure and migrated towards Damascus¹.

Following the law of 07 July 1908, the French authorities began to count the Algerian youth interested in military service under the French colours. In 1909, the migration movement was revived, especially in urban regions, including Tlemcen, Tizi Ouzou, Setif... As for the emigration of Tlemcen, the compulsory recruitment law, in addition to religious and economic motives, was one of the most important reasons for it, in light of what was characterised by Tlemcen families preserving their Islam and Algerian personalities, and their sons did not tolerate the state of the endowments and religious and cultural institutions, as the number of those who emigrated from Tlemcen in a collective form in 1911 reached more than 1,200 people to Syria², in addition to the forced recruitment law,

-300 دار هومة، الجزائرية نحو بلاد الشام -1847 الشام -1918، دار هومة، الجزائر، -2007، ص: -1848

⁻² عمار ، هلال: نفس المرجع ، ص: 132.

making emigration an obligation to join Islamic countries to represent a form of resistance to emigration¹.

✓ The emergence of political militancy in the early twentieth century:

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the political militancy emerged with the elite, those who were educated in French institutions, Ali Merrrad defines this class as: "They are Muslim intellectuals, mostly born in the nineteenth century, who, in addition to their social function, had a great interest in political issues². According to Ali Merrad, the number of those who have a university education or at least a secondary education is estimated at one hundred people who come from well-off or middle-class families and work in the liberal professions (doctors, pharmacists, teachers...)³.

French historians have named the Algerian youth in line with the Turkish, Egyptian and Tunisian youth, as it concerns individual or collective initiatives formed around a cultural club or a newspaper ... They raised political demands expressing their concerns and defining the miserable political situation of their co-religionists, such as the petition submitted in 1912 to the French Parliament demanding the necessary rights of every human being except the settlers, including the right to elect representatives and political representatives for Muslims⁴.

Members of the Movement of Young Algerians carried out extensive political and cultural activities in the cities, mixing with

¹ -Charles, Robert, Ageron : OP, Cit, T2, P : 1058.

 $^{^{2}}$ على، مراد: الحركة الإصلاحية الإسلامية في الجزائر، تر، محمد يحياتن، دار الحكمة، الجزائر، 2007 ، ص: 53 .

³-نفسه،ص: 53.

 $^{^{-4}}$ العقون، عبد الرحمان: الكفاح القومي والسياسي، المؤسسة الوطنية للكتاب، الجزائر، 1987، ج $^{-1}$ ، ص $^{-3}$

French intellectuals, defending the slogans of the French Revolution and demanding that the power of the colonisers be limited and that Algerians obtain their social, political, economic and cultural rights, In 1902, they established the Rachidiya Society in Algiers, the Saleh Bey Club in Constantine, and other associations and clubs in Tlemcen, Mascara, Annaba, Jijel, ... "1. They also established newspapers to disseminate their ideas and educate Algerians. They established the Al-Machaal newspaper in 1904, through which they defended their progressive ideas and personal values, the Al-Hag newspaper in Annaba in 1893, the Al-Sabah newspaper in Oran in 1904–1905, the Al-Hag newspaper in 1902, which returned regularly in 1911–1912, and the Islam newspaper in Annaba in 1909–1911 and then in Algiers in 1912-1914. In general, between 1907 and 1913, fifteen newspapers were published that contributed to the revival of the political movement, despite the administration's efforts to obstruct and disrupt them.

The ideas addressed in clubs and the press permitted the youths Algerians (الشبان الجزائريين) to make a number of protests in the years 1900–1914, there were important events, In 1908, a decree was issued stipulating the census of Algerian youths (الشبان الجزائريين) who had reached the age of 18 to be conscripted into the French army. Algerian youths protested to the French government that Algerian conscription could only be achieved by reforming the Law of indeginat, increasing the percentage of representation in local elections, and establishing equality between Muslims and Europeans. On the other hand, the settlers rejected the decision to count the

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¹-عمار ، هلال: نفس المرجع ، ص.ص: 257 ، 295 .

recruits and considered the requests illegitimate and unattainable. With the promulgation of the law of 03 February 1912 on recruitment, young Algerians launched a wide campaign to discuss the issue of military service in exchange for compensation, and a delegation went to Paris to meet with Prime Minister Raymond Poincaré and presented a petition known as the "The manifesto of young Algerians" demanding the introduction of reforms in exchange for military service and granting Algerians basic rights, including the abolition of the law of indigenat, equality in paying taxes, and political representation in local councils and the French parliament¹.

In 1913, the leaders of the Algerian Youth Movement managed to ally themselves with Emir Khaled, and on 02 April 1914, it was decided to form the Franco-Indigenous Union, ostensibly to establish cooperation between Arabs and French with the aim of achieving political and economic gains for the Algerians. In general, France conscripted approximately 82,000 Algerians into the First World War (1914–1918), and gave the Algerians only minor political reforms.

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¹ -Collet, Claude et Jean , Robert, Henri : Le mouvement National Algérien textes 1912-1954, 2 Ed, O.P.U, Alger, 1981, P.P : 23-24.

On the eve of the start of the First World War, Algeria was in a state of turmoil from within. The successive disasters under the pressure of the French authority and the Colon, especially with the advent of the 20th century, led to the explosion of the situation to express the rejection of arbitrary measures by various means. The First World War affected the development of the Algerian political struggle, as its events and developments had implications for the social and external conditions of Algeria.

01 - Algerians and the First World War 1914-1918:

The colonists were able to impose their economic domination on Algeria, in light of the extraordinary laws and the destruction of the social structure represented by the tribe in light of poverty and misery. With the internal and external developments at the beginning of the 20th century, the Algerians realised the importance of adopting peaceful political methods in the political struggle and defending their usurped rights, so that the Algerian resistance shifted from the military resistance approach to the bet of political resistance¹. On the outbreak of the First World War, Algerian elites fought political battles against the administration and colonisers, including the battle to request reforms for Muslims and oppose forced conscription. In 1908, they submitted lists for the new colonial project and elected

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⁰⁷: سوعزيز: المرجع السابق، ج2، ص-1

delegations among them to express to the French administration and its representatives on their behalf their dissatisfaction with the compulsory conscription project. The French Governor General in Algeria's office recorded the arrival of petitions denouncing the French project in Algeria from Constantine, Jijel, Collo, Cherchell, Meliana, Tlemcen, Blida, Medea, ... These petitions were unanimous: "The enlistment of Algerians in the ranks of the French army The enlistment of Algerians in the ranks of the French military is in itself an offence to their Islamic faith and is in no way in line with the teachings of their religion because it forces a Muslim to fight people with whom he has no relationship and with whom he has no enmity..." These petitions are also unanimous:" That the enlistment of Muslims in the ranks of the French military necessarily leads them to abandon their religious duties, if not to fight their co-religionists... 1"

The First World War broke out in the summer of 1914 and many Algerians believed that the defeat of France would benefit them in light of German propaganda. Many Algerians pinned their hopes on the victory of Germany and the Ottoman Empire, as many Algerians joined the ranks of the German army. At a time when the Algerian elite had not reached the stage of maturity in formulating a clear project to defend the demands of Algerians, their position remained pending on France's initiative to return the favour to those

¹-L'exode de Tlemcen en 1911, publication du Gouvernement Général , Beaugency, 1914 , P : 116-117.

who sacrificed for its flag¹. Immediately after the declaration of war, the Governor-General in Algeria directed the Algerians with a speech in which he called for helping France as the protector of Islam, and many French voices talked about the project of Franco-Islamic fraternity, at a time when the French administration sought to introduce some reforms to satisfy the Caids(القبّاد) class and the bourgeoisie, using official clerics to direct its propaganda and using a policy of enticement to urge Algerians to enlist, making the initial number of recruits 40,000. France also forced Algerians to work in professions auxiliary to the war, and thus, according to French statistics, France recruited 173,019 individuals for the World War, equivalent to 3.6 % of the total population². The first recruits had barely finished their military training, and most of them came from the rural regions, meaning that most of them were ignorant of the international situation and were carried to the European coasts and then directly to the front.

With the course of the war and the support it requires, France used the method of intimidation and seduction, so it issued seductive decrees, such as the decree of 13 January 1914, which stipulated raising the number of councillors in the communes from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$, as well as allowing young Algerians who accepted to work in the French

⁻¹عبد الرحمان، العقون: المصدر السابق، ج1، ص.ص: 61،63

⁻² أبو القاسم، سعد الله: المرجع السابق، ج2، ص،-2

army to vote in the local election¹, the French authority also issued a law on 17/04/1916 that included additional reserve divisions in order to be ready at the time of need to compensate for the shortage in the French army, and on 07/09/1916 it issued a decree requiring the forced recruitment of all Algerians born in 1890 and not allowing anyone to obtain any excuse.

✓ Popular uprisings in Algeria during the First World War:

-Béni Chougran Uprising (Mascara) 1914:

The uprising was accompanied by the preparation of lists of recruits in the Mascara region, where tribal leaders announced their rejection of the policy of recruiting their sons in a public meeting that included the regions of Beni Chougran, Farraguig and Ouled Saiid. On 22 August 1914, the tribes of Beni Chougran, Ouled Sidi Dahou, Medjaher, Ouled Khalifa, El Bourdjia and the residents of Baba Ali held a secret meeting in Ferroudja village to confirm their refusal of forced recruitment². Resistance began in practice in the village of Ouled Sidi Dahou on 28 September, when only three young men came to the office of the administrator, who ordered the arrest of nine village elders who had come to Mascara to protest. On 06 October, the French authorities sent a battalion to subdue the youth

 $^{^{-1}}$ عبد الرحمان، إبراهيم بن عقون: الكفاح القومي السياسي من خلال مذكرات معاصرة الفترة الأولى $^{-1936}$ $^{-1}$ ، المؤسسة الوطنية للكتاب، الجزائر، $^{-1936}$ ، $^{-1}$.

² -Meynier, Gilbert :L'Algérie révélée la guerre 1914-1918 le premier quart du XXe siècle Préface de Pierre Vidal- Naquet Genève Librairie Droz 1981, P :500

of Beni Chougran and their notables, and sent an army of 1,500 soldiers to the throne of Fraguig, but they met resistance from the rebels led by the leader of Fraguig, so the French authorities responded violently, as General Larbi ordered the besieging and burning of villages and the suppression of rebels by force, burning mosques, looting grain and belongings, killing animals, and the French army used machine guns and guns and seized water points to put pressure on the resistors. The events ended with the arrest of a number of people from the region and 42 of them were brought to trial, where some of them received harsh sentences, and collective punishments were imposed on the Beni Chougran tribes¹.

- The Aures Uprising 1916-1917:

On 08 September 1916, the French government issued a decree stipulating the suspension of the right to exemption from recruitment and compensation, and on 14 September, another decree was issued stipulating the use of minors in work that serves the purposes of the war, and the beginning of the uprising was in the middle of 1914 when the residents of Barika, Balzma, Khenchela and Batna announced that they preferred to die rather than submit their sons to conscription, and the operations of fleeing young people began. Several incidents of aggression were recorded in the second half of 1916, including the incidents of the night of 10/11 November 1916 in

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¹ -Charles, Robert Ageron: Op, Cit,T2, P.P:1140.

Barika and Ain Touta, where the actual start of the uprising, which included the entire region from Barika in the west to the Aures Mountains in the east, during which the revolutionaries burned settlers' farms, besieged the headquarters of Ain Touta municipality and killed the governor of the Batna district, Ageron estimated the number of revolutionaries at 4. 4,000 rebels. The French authorities responded violently by assigning five battalions of Senegalese soldiers to pursue the revolutionaries, demolishing the villages and burning properties, committing massacres and ending the Aurès Uprising incidents in May 1917, after the number of French dead reached 15 individuals and Algerians killed more than 100 according to French authority sources, 2,904 were brought to trial, properties were confiscated and exorbitant amounts were imposed on the population¹.

02- The consequences of World War I on Algerians:

Algerians contributed effectively to France's battles on the European front, as France recruited nearly 177,000 soldiers and used about 75,000 Algerian workers to work in French factories, and more than 50,000 Algerians were killed in the war.

In light of this, France issued the law of 06 February 1919 to appeare the Algerians. The law provided for the granting of French citizenship to Algerians under impossible conditions, and granted the

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⁻عبد الحميد، زوزو: ثورة الأوراس 1879، المؤسسة الوطنية للكتاب،الجزائر، 1986، ص: $^{-1}$

right to represent non-citizen residents in advisory councils, while in public councils, it raised the percentage of representation from 20% to 30%, and did not grant any representation to Algerians in the French parliament in Paris. This reform seemed important as it defined the relationship of the population with France and expanded the electoral section for Algerians and their right to participate in the election of municipal presidents, but the reform did not satisfy the elite movement, which demanded naturalisation and full integration instead of these partial reforms¹.

Although the First World War had negative consequences, Algerians had the opportunity to mix with the French on the battlefronts and factory workshops, which had an impact on the psyche of the Algerian and his sense of equality and respect, which he did not know in Algeria. The Algerians lived with different races, so new ideas spread among them and benefited from war experiences and many skills, gaining political and military experience and expertise. The Algerian elite began to be clearly influenced by the ideas of the Arab East, Wilson's principles, the Bolshevik revolution and the rise of nationalism, all of which led to raising demands calling for the self-determination of the Algerians. This was evident at the beginning of the political movement, as we find that most of those who led the political movements at the beginning of

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 $^{^{-1}}$ أبو القاسم، سعد الله: المرجع السابق، ج 2 ، ص.ص: 257.

their emergence were those who worked in the ranks of the French army, whether voluntarily or forcibly, they also practised politics through French parties.

The failure of previous uprisings, accompanied by arbitrary measures to stop them, and the emergence of an elite that gave new content to the national movement, with the emergence of new ideologies on the world scene, such as the Islamic League and Socialism in Europe, and the competition of the major countries for these currents, convinced Algerians to take a new way to liberation. In a report to the French government in 1899, General Larchi noted the beginnings of a national movement. He believed that the Algerians were clearly ready for political activity: "The agitations and turbulences in Algeria have made the Arabs consult among themselves more than ever before for political activity, and they are now ready to conspire¹. Melily, who criticised French policy in Algeria and proposed some reforms, also wrote that in Algeria there is a secret discontent that may spread at any time and become a threatening danger², so that petitions, delegations, demonstrations and protests ... One of the instruments of pressure on France.

In 1892, Governor-General Charles Jonnart presented a report on Algeria that called for a review of the existing system in Algeria, calling for Algeria to be treated as a colony and for certain rights to be given to Algerians, with the objective of recruiting a Francophile elite group for colonial policy, In 1901, the intellectual

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^{98 :} فس المرجع، ج2،ص $^{-1}$

²-نفس المرجع، ص: 99

elite exploited the 1901 law to establish associations and clubs of a cultural, religious, sports and social nature. This phase of Algeria's history witnessed a historical transformation that was accompanied by intellectual development and political mobility in light of the division of groups that emerged on the eve of the 20th century.

Mohammed Abdou's visit to Algeria in 1903, which he arrived on 27 August 1903, after obtaining a permit to enter Algeria from the French authorities with the objective of examining the situation of Muslims in Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria, had an impact on the Renaissance movement in Algeria. This visit had a great impact on the Ulema and intellectuals, especially the elite group carrying the ideas of originality and modernity between tradition and innovation, between history and morality, while conserving the Algerian personality¹. More than 150 Algerian personalities assembled around the Sheikh, including Abdel Halim Ben Samya(عبد الحليم بن سماية), Ben Khodja, and Ahmed Ben Brihmet (أحمد بن بريهمات)2. The visit deepened the ideas of reform in the minds of Algerians and was an important event in the Algerian renaissance during the 20th century, and contributed to linking relations between Algeria and various Arab and Islamic countries.

¹⁻الطاهر، عمري: النخبة الجزائرية وقضايا عصرها (من بداية القرن العشرين إلى ما بين الحربين العالميتين)، الدار الوطنية للكتاب، الجزائر، 2009، ص: 61.

 $^{^{2}}$ أحمد، صاري: الجديد عن زيارة محمد عبده إلى الجزائر وقسنطينة، مجلة الآداب والعلوم الإنسانية ع 0 0، دورية علمية تصدرها كلية الآداب والعلوم الإنسانية، جامعة الأمير عبد القادر، قسنطينة، مارس 2003،ص: 0 1.

01 - The Conservative Mass:

It consists of religious men, conservative intellectuals, graduates of Qouranic Madrasas, French-Arabic schools and universities in the Near East and Arab countries, and leaders of Sufi orders and Almoravids ... through the petition submitted by the mass in 1887 to the Council of Senators, which is enthusiastic for patriotism and hostile to Westernisation, and had a national programme based on equality, opposition to naturalisation, freedom of education and the abolition of the arbitrary laws that were imposed on Algerians during the 19th century.

Its men contributed to reform and the revival of the Algerian personality by teaching in mosques, opening Madrasas and Kuttabs, producing books and working in the press, among its most prominent leaders: Abdelkader El Medjaoui(عبد القادر المجاوي), Said Ben Zekri(عبد القادر المجاوي), Abdel Halim Ben Samya, Mouloud Ben Mouhoub(سعيد بن زكري), Abou Elqasim Hafnaoui (أبو القاسم الجفناوي), Mohamed Ben Mustafa Ben Khodja, and they called for:

- Reform within the Arab-Islamic context, rejecting naturalisation and French instruction.
- Demanding the organisation of schools and equal political rights.
- Conserving customs and traditions¹.

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 $^{^{-1}}$ عبد الرحمان، الجيلالي: تاريخ الجزائر العام، ج4، ط7، ديوان المطبوعات الجامعية، 1994،-1331.

It focused on establishing cultural clubs and associations and giving lessons and lectures on a weekly basis.

02- The Elite Mass:

It was called the liberal elite and the group of intellectuals who graduated from French universities, combining Arab and Islamic cultures, including translators, pharmacists, judges, lawyers and journalists... Their emergence began after the intellectual maturity that led to the formalisation of their ideas at the end of the 19th century, and they came into existence in the early 1900. In his book published in 1914, Cherif Ben Habiles, a member of the Francophone elite, defined it as the wealth of young Algerians who graduated from French universities, who distinguished themselves from the rest of the general population of Algerian society and deserved to be classified among the truly civilised groups, as well as the European groups in Algeria, thanks to their practice of their free professions, as doctors, pharmacists, dentists and lawyers, or in the colonial administration and institutions, as legal frameworks, teachers and professors ... He added that these young people believe that they have reached the pinnacle of civilisation, as their unbridled ambition makes them hope to run their country, or question whether they have the right to take over the management of their country...¹

¹- Charles Robert, Ageron: Les Algériens Musulmans et la France 1871-1919, T1, P.U.F, Paris, 1868, P:64.

Its requests centred on:

- Obtaining places in the French parliament.
- Allow participation in local elections.
- Recognition of Algerian personality.
- Equality in paying taxes with Europeans and the elimination the code of Indigenous.

This prompted them to form delegations and submit petitions.

03- Associations at the beginning of the 20th century: They are one of the most prominent manifestations of the renaissance in Algeria due to the reformist and cultural role they played by holding lectures, theatre performances and cultural and religious events¹, including associations that sought to address various topics related to the education and consciousness of the Algerian individual, fight moral decay, address questions of heritage, literature and history, and concentrate on spreading the Arabic language², the most prominent of which are:

A. The Rachidiya Society of Algeria: Founded in 1902 and headquartered in the capital, it is one of the first associations that emerged in Algeria, made up of students of the Arab-French³ offices in Algeria with the intention of spreading science and Its programme was disseminating it in the minds of individuals.

¹⁻أحمد، صاري: نفس المرجع، ص: 108.

 $^{^{2}}$ جمعي، خمري: حركة الشبان الجزائريين والتونسيين 1900 1930، مذكرة لنيل شهادة الماجستير في التاريخ المعاصر، جامعة قسنطينة، 2004 2000، ص: 85.

³⁻ عبد الوهاب، بن خليف: نفس المرجع،ص: 127.

limited to organising lessons in education, holding scientific and literary lectures, establishing charitable associations and calling for action, and its objectives do not deviate from the principles of the Islamic religion in order to preserve Islamic law, and its most famous lecturers include Belkacem Ibn El–Touhami, Abdelkader Madjaoui and Abdel Halim Ben Samya.

- **B.** Tawfiqiyya: Founded in the capital in 1908 and reorganised in 1911 and headed by Ibn El-Touhami, its aim was to reconcile between Algerians and the French¹. It had 200 members and had branches, especially in the capital and Constantine, and its activities centred on organising a series of scientific lectures in 1911². It also contributed to the revival of the renaissance and the development of brotherhood and the spread of Islamic principles, and organised preparatory lessons in the Arabic language on Wednesday and Friday evenings and arithmetic and algebra lessons on Fridays³.
- C. Sadikiya Society: It emerged in the city of Tebessa in 1910 with the aim of creating co-operation and unity among the members, paying attention to Islamic education and instruction, Providing assistance to the needy and some donations to the

¹⁻أبو القاسم، سعد الله: نفس المرجع، ج02، ص: 137.

 $^{^{2}}$ ابراهيم، مياسى: لمحات من جهاد الشعب الجزائري، ديوان المطبوعات الجامعية، الجزائر، 2007 ، $^{-2}$

³⁻عبد المجيد، بن عدة: مظاهر الإصلاح الديني والتربية الاجتماعية في الجزائر، مذكرة ماجستير في التاريخ الحديث والمعاصر، جامعة الجزائر، 1992، ص: 134.

poor, in addition to carrying out social reform¹, as well as paying attention to art and music and holding cultural events, which contributed to giving a strong impetus to the intellectual renaissance in Algeria.

04- Clubs in the early 20th century:

- A- Saleh Bey Club(نادي صائح باي): Founded in 1907 by some Algerian intellectuals, it was supervised by Cherif Ben Habiles, Mohamed Ben Badis, Mustafa Bashtrazi and Mouloud Ben Mouhoub. The club expanded to reach 1,700 members, and its objectives were to spread education, reconcile the colonists and Algerians, organise scientific and literary lectures, and establish libraries.
- B- Iqbal Club (نادي الإقبال): Founded in 1919 in Jijel by a group of intellectuals and known as the bourgeoisie club, with Khalaf Abdel Rahman as honorary president, the club worked to create sports associations and search for ways to advance by learning about modern science while staying away from politics.
- C- Al-Tarqi Club(نادي الترقي): One of the most important clubs in the capital, whose name is associated with reform. It was founded by Ahmed Taoufig al-Madani in 1927, and its

¹-عبد النور ، خيثر وآخرون: منطلقات وأسس الحركة الوطنية 1830-1945، سلسلة المشاريع الوطنية للبحث، منشورات المركز الوطني الدراسات والبحث، الجزائر ، 2007، ص: 136.

presidency was entrusted to Mahmoud Ben Ouanich. It played an effective role in the history of Algeria and emanated many national ideas, organised lectures and events on social, religious and cultural aspects presented by reform scholars such as Abdelhamid Ben Badis, Bachir El-Ibrahimi, Ahmed Taoufiq al-Madani, Larbi el-Tebssi and Taib al-Oqbi....¹

05- The Young Algerians Movement and Emir Khaled:

The year 1912 represented the official birth and the actual date of the political resistance due to the intensive activity carried out by the Algerian elites of various directions, where the signs of a cultural renaissance appeared in alliance with prominent figures in the political arena to support their struggle, most notably the figure of Emir Khaled who demanded political reforms in the system of government, where they had a prominent role in establishing cooperation with the Algerian youth, whereas on 02/04/1914, the French Union was formed and agreed with the approach of Emir Khaled in the issue of demands, most importantly:

 The right to education for Algerian Muslims and representation in the local assemblies of the French parliament.

¹⁻وناس، الحواس: نادي الترقي ودوره في الحركة الإصلاحية ، دار الشطييبي للنشر والتوزيع، الجزائر، 2013،ص: 146.

- The elimination of exceptional laws applied to Algerian Muslims.
- Providing protection for Algerian travellers in France.

The concordance between the Algerian Youth Movement and Prince Khaled led to a convergence of visions on the political struggle, which led to the clarity of political demands with the end of the First World War. He demanded a reformist political programme based on equality between Algerians and French without compromising the Algerian Islamic character, which was expressed in the newspaper Al-Igdam. Emir Khaled went on to put forward moderate issues that nominated him to head the delegation that presented a set of national demands in 1919 to US President Wilson at the Peace Conference in France, which was held in 1919. After the reforms of February 1919, Emir Khaled led the trend that called for integration conditional on granting French citizenship to Algerians without renouncing personal status, believing in the specificity of Islamic identity and Algerian personality, which brought him the hostility of the French administration and settlers who considered his ideas a risk, and Emir Khaled was considered the spiritual father of the national movement.

Second Semester: Contemporary History of Algeria-2-

- I. Algeria and the conditions of the Second World War 1939–1945:
- A- Political situation.
 - B. Social situation.
 - C. Cultural situation.
 - C. Economic situation.
- II: Activity of the National Movement during the Second World War:
- 01- The National Movement's attitudes towards the Second World War.
 - 03- The national movement and its position on the Vichy government and the landing.

Third: The Algerian Manifesto of 10 February 1943:

- 01 Algerian Manifesto.
- 02 The movement of Friends of the manifesto and of liberty 14 March 1944.

Fourth: The massacres of 08 May 1945 and their consequences for the national movement.

01- Causes of the massacres of 0 May 1945.

- 02- The events and processes of the massacres of 08 May 1945.
- 03-The consequences of the massacres of 08 May 1945.

V: The development of the Algerian national movement from 1946–1954:

- 01- Democratic Union of Algerian Manifesto.
 - 02- Friends of Freedom and Democracy of the Algerian Manifesto.
 - 03- Friends of Freedom and Democracy.
 - 04- Association of Algerian Muslim Ulema.

VI: Movement for the triumph of democratic liberty:

- 01 Movement for the triumph of democratic liberty.
- 02- The Special Organisation.

I: Algeria and the conditions of 1945: the Second World War 1939

With the beginning of the Second World War in 1939, social and economic life was characterised by dire conditions. Conditions were threatening famine, especially in some villages in Algeria, and many projects were halted due to the shortage of labour at a time when France was weak, with neither a strong government nor a strong army, while nationalists demanded equality and the repeal of exceptional laws that fell on deaf ears in the French parliament. The reform projects put forward by some Frenchmen, including the Blum-Violette project, also failed, and France faced the war after deciding to throw the leaders of the Algerian People's Party in prison and dissolve the party, the Communist Party, whose dissolve secretary, Kaddour Belkaim, died in the crowd, impose house arrest on the leaders of the Association of Algerian Muslim Ulema, and place Bachir El Ibrahimi in a guarded residence in Aflou.

Many of them, such as Farhet Abbas, volunteered as reservists in defence of freedom against the Nazis and Ibn Djelloul, and contributed to the administration of the indigenous in the French army. The official religious men declared their loyalty to France, as telegrams came at the behest of the French authority announcing the fatwa of the religious men, which included muftis, judges, justices, and marabouts. In addition to the

loyalty of the great Families, owners of medals and degrees, war veterans, Pachaghas and Arab cheikhs, as they are the intermediaries between France and the Algerians.

A. Political Situation: During their participation in the First World War, Algerians gained political and intellectual experience and expertise. Most of those who led political movements worked in the French army, whether voluntarily or forcibly, or participated in elected councils. In the early twentieth century, a group of trends emerged that represented political parties. namely: conservative trend represented by the Algerian proprietors, the moderate trend represented by a group of the French-educated elite, the liberal trend and included the remaining part of the French-educated elite, the revolutionary trend, the latter of which developed and the Arab-Islamic trend represented by the Association of Algerian Muslim Ulema, the socialists communists and their ideas began to appear through the French socialist and communist party¹, the same various trends that formed political parties in Algeria, and the February reforms allowed these currents to emerge. For four years (1919-1923), Emir Khaled topped the stage of political life and worked with the elite group to improve the situation of Algerians to fight the political battle against the colonial institutions. He faced the advocates of integration led by Ibn El-Touhami and competed

¹⁻أبو القاسم، سعد الله: الحركة الوطنية..، نفس المرجع، ص.ص: 228-229.

with them in the general municipal elections in November 1919, with an electoral list that included Hadj Mousa Mustapha and Kaid Hamoud and a reform programme that attracted various Algerian classes wishing to preserve their religious components, and he won the elections, and his victory was his ally in the elections¹.

On 23 January 1922, Emir Khaled founded the Algerian Fraternity Party, with the aim of improving the material and political conditions of the Algerians², embodied in the Al-Aqdam newspaper, which called on 14-08-1922 for the right to represent people without French nationality in the parliament and the abolition of exceptional and special laws such as the Code of indigenous³.

As his activism increased, the French authorities exiled him to Egypt in 1923 and confiscated the newspaper Al-Iqdam. In Marseille, where he arrived in September 1925, he explicitly explained: "The French government forced me to go to Alexandria for political reasons, and gave me a grant for retirement on the condition that I stay there.⁴" To fill the political space, his supporters emerged in two sections:

¹ -Mahfoud, Kaddache: Histoire du Nationalisme Algérien 1919-1951 ...P:102.

 $^{^{2}}$ -محمد، شبوب: الجزائر في الحرب العالمية الثانية، 1939-1945، أطروحة لنيل شهادة الدكتوراه في التاريخ الحديث والمعاصر، جامعة وهران، 2014، ص: 90.

 $^{^{-3}}$ قريري، سليمان: تطور الاتجاه الثوري والوحدوي في الحركة الوطنية $^{-3}$ الوطنية $^{-3}$ الطروحة دكتوراه، جامعة باتنة، $^{-3}$ المحدوي في الحركة الوطنية $^{-3}$ Charles, Robert, Ageron: Les Algériens Musulmans et la France.. , T2, P :1228.

- The Federation of Algerian Muslim Deputies, led by Ben Djelloul and Farhet Abbas, whose demands were reformist and promoted integration.
- Independence protests and the founding of the North African
 Najm (North African Star).

A- North African Star: (نجم شمال ايفريقيا)

It is a Maghreb union organisation for Algerian immigrants in France. In its formation, the North African Star was closely linked to the migration of Algerians to France when they mixed with new circles, especially the French left and international communist organisations, and helped them in the French Communist Party in the establishment of the North African Relief Authority¹. At a time when they followed the world events and fluctuations and learnt about democratic life and the global atmosphere after the end of the First World War, the victory of the Bolshevik war and the beginning of the spread of its principles in parallel with the principles of Wilson14².

It emerged as a branch of the French Communist Party and its leadership was initially entrusted to the Tunisian Chadli Kheireddine and Hadj Ali Abdelkader, and after several conferences, including the first conference of North African workers, which was attended by workers from Algeria – Tunisia –

 $^{^{-1}}$ عبد الله، مقلاتي: المرجع في تاريخ الجزائر المعاصرة، $^{-1830}$ بيوان المطبوعات الجامعية، الجزائر، $^{-104}$ ، ص $^{-104}$

²⁻ محمد، قنانش، المسيرة الوطنية وأحداث 08 ماي 1945، المؤسسة الوطنية للفنون المطبعية، الجزائر، 2009،ص: 24.

Morocco in December 1924 with 150 delegates¹, and they initiated in 1926 to establish the North African Star Association after Chadli Kheireddine was expelled to Tunisia and Hadj Ali Abdelkader was busy with his commerce and became the de facto leader of this movement, and Messali Hadj(مصالي الحاج) became the de facto leader of this movement, from which the Tunisian and Moroccan leaders withdrew to become a purely Algerian organisation². It adopted the defence of the interests of the people of North Africa. Emir Khalid was appointed as honorary president, with El-Hadj Ali Abdelkader and Messali El-Hadj as secretary-general.

Its objectives were:

- Defending the interests of North African Muslims.
- Working to realise the urgent requests in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco.
- Cancellation of the Code of indigenous peoples.
- Granting North African Muslims the right to vote.
- Freedom of instruction for the indigenous people.

We find that the Najm began to lose its Tunisian and Moroccan members until it became Algerian under the leadership

 $^{^{-1}}$ شبوب، محمد: نفس المرجع،ص: 14.

 $^{^{2}}$ عبد الحميد زوزو: الهجرة ودورها في الحركة الوطنية بين الحربين 1919–1939، المؤسسة الوطنية للكتاب، الجزائر، 1985، ص: 55.

of Messali El Hadj, where the independence demands were represented by :

- Complete independence for Algeria.
- Evacuation of the French army.
- The abolition of the indigenous Code.
- Press and assembly freedom.
- Establishment of an elected National Assembly¹.
- Establishment of Arabic colleges and liberty of learning.

The Nedjm implemented its demands in Algeria by several means, including the Social Combat (جريدة الكفاح الاجتماعي) newspaper and the North African Iqdam newspaper, as well as gatherings and strikes to achieve its goals, and more than 3,500 members joined it a year after its establishment². As a result of its programmes, it was subjected to a number of pressures, and a decision was issued to dissolve it on 20–11–1929. As a result of its programmes, it was subjected to a number of pressures, and a decision was issued to dissolve it on 20–11–1929. In 1930, they founded the EI–Oumma (الأحدة) newspaper, which contributed to the dissemination of independence ideas among the popular circles that sought to educate the masses and spread the

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¹⁻أبو القاسم، سعد الله: نفس المرجع: ص: 378. -محمد، شبوب: نفس المرجع، ص: 378.

principles and objectives of the Nejm¹, and as a result of its activity, it was confiscated and seized.

The party continued its activism in presenting the Algerian cause in international organisations, including a speech on 02-01-1930to the League of Nations², during the centenary celebration held by the colonial authority in Algeria to express the arbitrary state of the Algerian people during a century of occupation. In order to give the People's Party a political cover, its members founded the North African Star in 1934. Its programme does not differ from the previous demands, and the party has doubled its activities during the holding of gatherings. In view of international and local developments, the members of the North African Star approved at the meeting of 28 June 1933 two types of demands, including the abolition of the law of indigenous people, a general amnesty for all political prisoners, freedom of movement to France, equal rights and the establishment of an elected Algerian parliament and future demands include full independence of Algeria, the establishment of a national army, the retreat of all occupation forces and the formation of a national government³.

But the French authorities arrested its leaders in November 1934, including Messalli El Hadj, Ammar Aimache (عمار عيماش) and

 1 يوسف، مناصرية: الاتجاه الثوري في الحركة الوطنية الجزائرية بين الحربين العالميتين 1919– 1939، المؤسسة الوطنية للكتاب، الجزائر، 1989، ص: .76.

 $^{^2}$ -Amar , Amoura : Ibid, P : 235.

^{.165} عبد الله، مقلاتي، نفس المرجع، ص $^{-3}$

Belkacem Rajef(بلقاسم راجف), and in 1935 Messalli El Hadj was sentenced to 06 months in prison and a fine of 5,000 francs¹. As the pressure continued, the party members continued to continue their activity under the name of the National Union of Muslims of North Africa since February 1935², the party's activity continued and was able to establish 51 branches in Algeria and a popular base, and the party expanded with the interaction of the masses with the speech of the leader Messali El Hadj in his first appearance in Algiers on 02 August 1936 at the municipal stadium, and this affected the penetration and spread of his ideas and this situation did not like the Popular Front, which denied the star, until the decision to dissolve³ it on 26-01-1937⁴.

B. The Algerian People's Party: On 11 March 1937, Messali El Hadj founded the Algerian People's Party on 11 March 1937 at the Paris meeting, where the philosophy and principles of the party remained prevalent among the militants, only the name was changed so as not to be subject to judicial prosecution, with the formation of a modern system and political awareness whose slogan was no to integration, yes to independence and liberation⁵.

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¹ -Amar, Amoura : Ibid, P : 235.

²- Mohammed, Teguia, L'Algérie en guerre, Ed, Office des publications universitaires, Alger, 2007, P:31.

¹²³: نفس المرجع، ج3، ص3-أبو القاسم، سعد الله: نفس المرجع،

⁴ -Gilbert, Meynier: Histoire intérieure du F.L.N 1954-1962, Ed, Casabah, Alger, 2003, P:58.

⁵ –Slimane Chikh : L'Algérie en armes ou le temps des certitudes 2 eme, Ed, économica, Paris, 1981.

In 1938, it adopted the following programme:

- The abolition of the indigenous Code and all exceptional laws.
- Granting democratic freedoms to Algerians, equality in the performance of military service, and separation of religion from the state.
- Transform financial assemblies into an Algerian assembly,
 elected by all without discrimination of sex or religion¹.

He relied on the El-Oumma newspaper to spread his ideas and communicate his goals, which led to the seizure of the the party issued the Algerian Parliament newspaper, SO newspaper and then the Algerian Labour newspaper, and with 1937 Messalli El- Hadi moved to Algeria where he doubled his activities in the capital2, and the People's Party entered the elections of June 1937 and was a useful experience for its activists, who were suppressed. On 27 August 1937, he was arrested along with Moufdi Zakaria, and in 1938 the party moved activities from Paris to Algeria³, where it organised its in which it demanded demonstrations democracy, establishment of an Algerian parliament and the liberation of prisoners⁴, and in 1939, Messalli El Hadj was released, and with

¹⁻محمد قنانش ومحفوظ قداش: حزب الشعب الجزائري،وثائق وشهادات لدراسة التيار الوطني الجزائري، تر، أوذاينية خليل، ديوان المطبوعات الجامعية، الجزائر، 2012 ص.ص: 35-36.

²-محمد، شبوب: نفس المرجع، ص: 28.

³ –Slimane Chikh: Ibid, P:61.

⁻⁴-يوسف، مناصرية، نفس المرجع، ص: 101.

the increasing activity of the party and the approach of the Second World War, France's fears increased, so on 26 09–1939, France dissolved the party for allegedly collaborating with Nazi Germany.

C. The Muslim Elected Federation the Algerians: In the 1920s, this political mass represented the liberal elite current, and despite the moderation of its demands and its emphasis on the principle of integration, it did not receive any reform from the French administration, and after the failure of Emir Khaled and his exile and the adoption of a group of Algerian voters part of his The example of Ferhat Abbas, for those with French policy: culture, tried to eliminate racial discrimination by applying the principle of equality of rights and duties between the European minority and the Algerian majority, so they centred on integration and obtaining French citizenship. The demands of the elite emerged through the ideas put forward by Ferhat Abbas in articles he published in 1926-1930 in the newspaper الأقدام and الوفاق, published by Dr Bendjelloul, which he collected in a book called The Algerian Youth (الشاب الجزائري).

The mass of elected officials was made up of French-educated personalities, In 1927², it established the "Union of Muslim"

¹ -Ferhat, Abbas : Le Jeune Algérien de la colonie vers la province, Ed, Garnier Frères , Paris, 1981, P :26.

² -Mohammed, Teguia: Ibid, P: 32.

Electors" and defined its demands at its first assembly in the capital on 11-09-1927:

- Representation of the Algerian people in the French Parliament.
- - The abolition of the indigenous Code.
- Equality in military service.
- Provision of education and reorganisation of electoral circles¹.

What is noticeable from their demands is that they are in line with Emir Khaled, but they are far from the liberation ideas due to the French scientific training of the electorate and the influence of Western civilisation. Despite the Federation's activity, it failed to achieve its demands, as it recorded a broad programme while the base is narrow because it deals with the elite and their ideas are what caused the disparity between these audiences. They participated in the elections and rallied around the Violette project. The 1934 elections allowed them to win a number of them in the consultative councils and Bendjelloul became the first indigenous figure. The failure to pass the Blum-Violette project was a shock to Ferhat Abbas and Bendjelloul, but during the Islamic Congress 07-06-1936, the elite presented Ben Djelloul as their president, whose demands were integrative: Joining Algeria with France within the context of preserving Islamic personalities and However, it was not welcomed by the abolishing racist laws. Popular Front government, although Bendjelloul travelled to

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¹ - Slimane Chikh: Ibid, P: 41.

France and explained the points of the conference to the French authorities¹. Bendjelloul renounced the objectives of the Islamic Congress and established the Franco-Islamic Algerian Rally, and Farhat Abbas founded the Algerian Popular Union, and when the Second World War broke out, they were on the side of France in the hope that it would do them justice and fulfil their demands².

D: The Association of Algerian Muslim Ulamas : (جمعية العلماء): It emerged as a culmination of the efforts of Algerian ulamas, at the beginning of the twentieth century, an Islamic revival emerged, pioneered by Djemâl ad-Dîn al-Afghâni(جمال الدين الأفغاني) to renew Islamic thought, followed by Mohammed Abdou and Cheikh Šakīb Arslān(الشيخ شكيب آرسلان), and the emergence of reform coincided with the visit of some Algerians, such as Larbi Tébessi and Tayeb el-Oqbi, to some Arab universities in order to learn. to some Arab universities in order to learn, after their return to Algeria, they set up free Madrasas and published specialised newspapers.

In 1924, the "Scientific Fraternity (الإخاء العلمي) organisation emerged in Constantine with the aim of bringing together ulema and students and bringing their approaches to education and

 $^{^1}$ –Benyoucef, Benkhedda : Les Origines de 1^{er} Novembre 1954, Ed, Dahleb, Alger, 1989, P : 62. -أبو القاسم، سعد الله: نفس المرجع: ص: 67.

thinking closer¹, whose idea goes back to Abdelhamid Ibn Badis and tasked Bachir El-Ibrahimi with drawing up its statute².

In 1925, Ibn Badis founded the newspaper المنتقد, which fought against some Sufi cheikhs, and made a call through the newspaper to form a religious association that unites Eulams and defends الشهاب the spirit and principles of Islam. Following the centenary celebrations of the occupation of Algeria, Ibn Badis found the opportunity to revive the idea and formed a committee headed by Omar Ismail to prepare the founding meeting on May, and the meeting was attended by scholars representing various political orientations and ratified the founding charter and formed the administrative council and elected Ibn Badis as president of the association. The clerics of the French administration were unable to achieve any position to influence the direction of the association³, and thus its establishment coincided with France's centenary celebrations, as it was founded on 05-05-1931 under the presidency of Abdelhamid Ben Badis at the Tarki Club(نادى الترقي) in the capital in the presence of 72 Eulamas⁴, among them Mebarek el Mili and Sheikh Tayeb el-Oqbi.

Although the association declared in its manifesto that it was a social-cultural association not interested in political affairs, its

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 $^{^{-1}}$ رابح، تركي: التعليم القومي والشخصية الوطنية، الشركة الوطنية للنشر والتوزيع، الجزائر، $^{-1}$ 97، $^{-1}$

 $^{^{2}}$ محمد، شبوب: نفس المرجع، ص: 39.

 $^{^{3}}$ عبد الكريم، بوصفصاف: جمعية العلماء المسلمين الجزائريين ودورها في تطور الحركة الوطنية الجزائرية، ط1، دار البعث، قسنطينة، 1981، ص: 91.

⁴⁻محمد، طهاري: الحركة الإصلاحية في الفكر الإسلامي المعاصر، دار الأمة العربية للطباعة والنشر والتوزيع، الجزائر، 1999،ص: 11.

stated objectives, such as reviving the Arabic language and fighting fads and superstitions, made it the most important Algerian formation fighting colonialism by returning society to its Arab-Islamic origins and fighting against naturalisation, assimilation and Christianisation. For this purpose, it established the newspapers النصائر and relied on mosques to provide preaching, guidance and Islamic guidance lessons, build schools and educate girls and boys, in addition to clubs that worked to educate and sensitise young people, and because its opponents were many, its political activity was characterised by secrecy, evasion and adaptation according to the conditions¹.

It confronted Michel's 1933 project and protested against the policy of administration and education, supported the Violette project and demanded that Algerians preserve their Islamic conditions and their independence in managing their religious and cultural affairs, and participated in the Islamic Conference in 1936, where Abdelhamid Ibn Badis, Bachir El-Ibrahimi and Taib El-ogbi were among the poles of the conference and called for

- The cancellation of exceptional laws.
- Separation of religion from the colonial administration.
- Return of endowments².
- Teaching the Arabic language.

 2 أحمد، الخطيب: حزب الشعب الجزائري، ج 1 ، المؤسسة الوطنية للكتاب، الجزائر، 1986 ، ص 2

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 $^{^{-1}}$ عبد الله، مقلاتي: نفس المرجع: ص: $^{-1}$

When the French administration realised the real power of the Association of Algerian Muslim Ulemas, it tried its best to hit it, and simulated the assassination case of Mufti Kahoul, in which it accused EI-Oqbi of assassinating him, and imprisoned and tried him. In 1938, as a result of the intensive activity, censorship was imposed on the association's clubs and prevented them from carrying out any cultural or political activity without obtaining approval from the French administration, and on 08-03-1938, it was forbidden to open any Madressa without obtaining approval, and in 1939, Abdelhamid Ibn Badis was placed under forced residence and the newspaper AI-Chihab (الشهاب) was suspended.

E: The Algerian Communist Party: Its emergence was linked to the birth of the French Communist Party, which was considered one of the most understanding French parties of the Algerian cause. It emerged as a branch of the French Communist Party in 1926, composed of Algerians and Europeans, and it defended the requests of Algerians in the diaspora¹, and there was little demand for communist organisations due to the difficulty of spreading communist principles in Algeria. With the 8th Congress of the French Communist Party held in January 1936 in France, it was decided to transform the Algerian branch of the Communist Party into a party independent

¹- Claude Collot et Jean Robert Henry: Le mouvement national Algerien, Textes 1, 1921-1954, Préface de Ahmed Malio, Ed office des publications universitaires, Alger, 1978, P: 36.

of France, and Amar Ouzegane (عمّار أزقان) was a Communist representative at this congress.

The first Congress was held in Algiers between 17 and 18 October 1936, and what is noticeable is its adherence to the principles of French democracy, as it demanded:

- Equality of rights and duties between Algerians and French people
 within the framework of the temporary French Union.
- Demanding dual nationality.
- Formation of an Algerian parliament.
- A government headed by a person elected by the parliament.
- Official Arabic and French languages.
- Preparing society and its active elements to contribute to the reformist revolution and the realisation of socialism¹.

The party did not know any changes in its orientations and demands, which served the idea of linking with France and preserving its interests in Algeria, which led to the weakening of its popular base, as it believed that nationalism in Algeria is contingent on achieving socialism in France, and sought to materialise the ideas of integrationism, he founded several sections and newspapers, including Algiers New Algeria (الجزائر الجديدة), Algeria the

¹⁻أبو القاسم، سعد الله: نفس المرجع، ج2، ص: 324.

Republic(الجرائر الجمهورية), Al- Liberty, (الحرية)... Although his activities were aimed at European colonists, he did not include Algerian independence in his programme. The Algerian Communist Party coordinated with the Popular Front, which came to power, and since 1936 has waged a hostile campaign against the People's Party. There is no doubt that the difference was fundamental and centred on two main points: The issue of reform, which the Communists espouse. and the issue of revolutionary action, which the Communists consider an adventure of confusion. The party often cooperates with the elected, but did not want to establish relations with the Association of Algerian Muslim Eulamas¹. He had attended the Islamic Congress in 1936 with the objective of approaching political currents and gaining a popular base, and with the approach of World War II, France dissolved it on 06-09-1939 for its association with the French Communist Party, which supported German Nazism².

✓ **B. Social conditions**: At the end of World War I in 1918, as a result of the colonial policy of exploiting Algeria's resources, extermination, repression and dispossession of Algerians from their lands, Algerian society suffered from the spread of epidemics, including tuberculosis, malaria, typhoid, yellow fever³, ...

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¹⁶³ عبد الله، مقلاتي، نفس المرجع، ص $^{-1}$

²-محمد، الطيب العلوي: مظاهر المقاومة الجزائرية، من عام 1830 حتى ثورة نوفمبر 1954، ط1، دار البعث، قسنطينة، الجزائر، 1985، ص: 196.

³ -Charles, Robert Ageron : Histoire de l'Algérie contemporaine.. , P : 553.

According to the Indigenous (الأهالي) newspaper published in 1938, the number of Algerians killed in the First World War amounted to 161,377 dead, 72,035 wounded and more than 90% unemployed, which prompted many to migrate abroad and at home, including the migration of rural residents to major cities, which led to the spread of marginal neighbourhoods.

✓ **Cultural conditions**: The colonial policy tried to erase the Algerian personality, including fighting education and the Arab press and closing schools, which led to an increase in illiteracy rates among Algerians. In this regard, Ferhat Abbas wrote: "When we demanded the opening of schools, their answer to us was that we are not qualified for them because we are a people who accept neither education nor education.¹"

Colonisation also looted the wealth represented in manuscripts, documents and books, and fought the national press and Arabic magazines 2 . Here, the role of the Algerian Muslim Ulema Society emerged, which worked to revive the Islamic religion by liberating it from the colonial administration, so that the number of schools in 1935 reached about 70 schools with more than 30,000 students, in addition to the establishment of clubs 3 ...

 $^{^{-2}}$ فرحات، عباس: ليل الاستعمار، تر، أبو بكر رحال، دار القصبة للنشر، الجزائر، 2005، ص: 31

² -رابح، تركي: التعليم القومي والشخصية الجزائرية 1931-1956، ط2، الشركة الوطنية للنشر والتوزيع، الجزائر، 1981، ص: 27.

 $^{^{3}}$ ناصر الدين، سعيدوني: نفس المرجع..، ص: 301.

However, their activities were the object of surveillance, as we have shown earlier.

Feconomic conditions: As a result of the colonial policy in the agricultural field, the colonialist stripped Algerians of their lands, as the colonial administration seized more than 897,000 hectares¹ of land and granted them to European settlers, where they were allocated for the cultivation of vines, tobacco and allies ... He noted that economic life was characterised by the traditional nature of the Algerians, while it was under the control of the settlers, especially in the commercial field with the help of French banks and monopolistic companies, in which Algeria was a market for French manufactured products.

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¹-محمد، العربي ولد خليفة: الاحتلال الاستيطاني، مقاربة للتاريخ الاجتماعي والثقافي، انجاز وتصميم منشورات ثالة، الجزائر، 2005، ص:60.

II. The activity of the Algerian national movement during the Second World War:

In the late summer of 1939, the world witnessed the outbreak of the Second World War, a war in which Algeria found itself involved as one of the French colonies, especially since France found itself weak, despite its fortifications on the eastern borders and its alliance with Britain, but it was unable to confront Hitler's Nazi forces, a research in which the conditions of Algerians on the eve of the war were not comfortable, although the reports of the French administration confirmed the calmness of Algeria and the mobilisation of Algerians to support France, while the Algerian soldiers were taken to the battlefronts to pay the tax again, hoping that the situation would improve for Algeria¹.

I. The positions of the national movement on the Second World War:

Positions differed between those in favour and against joining France in the war, At the political level, the Association of Algerian Muslim Ulema remained silent², and suspended its Journal الشهاب from publication in order not to be exposed to censorship and compulsory guidance in the war, then its position developed to openly reject the position of Abdelhamid Ibn Badis, but the colonial

 $^{^{-1}}$ أبو القاسم، سعد الله: نفس المرجع، ص: 173.

²⁻عبد الحفيظ، بو عبد الله: فرحات عباس بين الاندماج والوطنية 1919- 1962، رسالة ماجستير في التاريخ الحديث والمعاصر، قسم التاريخ، باتنة، 2009،ص: 99.

administration managed to gain the loyalty of some of its members by sending telegrams carrying Fatouas that required standing by France in the war, and the position of the Association continued until lbn Badis' death on 16/04/1940, and Cheikh El-Bachir al-Ibrahimi adhered from exile to the position of the Association.

As for the Algerian People's Party, by the beginning of the Second World War, most of its leaders were in prisons and detention camps for the party's independent positions against colonial France and its opposition to the recruitment of Algerians. Since 1939, the party has worked to urge Algerian youth to reject forced conscription through channels including the distribution of documents and publications... Among them: "France won't give us anything, so why die for it?" 1.

The Algerian Communist Party did not stray far from the positions of the French Communist Party², which demanded that Algeria should ally with France against the German Nazis³, and remained a defender of the idea of Algeria's association with France. The electorate, led by Ferhat Abbas, demanded the need to stand by France in the war as a victory for peace, freedom and democracy, and its support would allow it to revise its policy towards Algerians, He supported the idea of recruitment and volunteered at the Health

⁻¹ حميد، عبد القادر، فرحات عباس، رجل الجمهورية، دار المعرفة، الجزائر، -2001، ص: -1

^{.27:} صالح، بلحاج: تاريخ الثورة الجزائرية، دار الكتاب الحديث، الجزائر، 2008، ص:27

³ -Pierre, Leffont : Histoire de la France en Algérie, Ed, Plon, Paris, 1980, P : 314.

Service with the rank of assistant and joined the French army with Dr Bendjelloul.

II. The National Movement and its position on the Vichy government and the disembarking:

The political scene was characterised by a vacuum, especially after the defeat of France in June 1940 and the establishment of the Vichy government¹, Farhat Abbas returned from the battlefronts in August 1940, in a period marked by the death of Cheikh Abdelhamid Ibn Badis in April 1940, at a time when the militants of the Algerian People's Party were active in the underground struggle and preparation for armed action. In 1941, Messali El Hadj rejected the proposal to cooperate with the Vichy government and was sentenced to 16 years in prison, a decision that angered Algerians and allowed militants to recruit the people for the revolutionary work.² As for the communists, they were non-existent, and the role of Ibn Djalloul and his elite followers declined, Ferhat Abbas returned with a changed political ideology: "The Algerian nation, which I did not find in 1936 in the general milieu of Muslims, I have found today³.

From Setif, Ferhat Abbas resumed his political activity as an opponent of the colonial administration, taking advantage of the political changes taking place in France. He wrote a memoir as a

¹ -Pierre, Montagon : La guerre d'Algérie genèse et engrenage d'une tragédie, Ed Pygmalion, Paris, 1980, P : 90.

 $^{^{-2}}$ أبو القاسم سعد الله: نفس المرجع، ص: 183.

 $^{^{-3}}$ الله: نفس المرجع، ص $^{-3}$

report entitled "Algeria of Tomorrow¹" (جزائر الغد), which he delivered to Marshal Pétain on 10-04-1941, criticising the colonial system and making a number of suggestions, including: : Nationalising agricultural companies, building schools, reforming the communal system, abolishing the military system in the south². This letter coincided with the death of Cheikh Abdelhamid Ibn Badis on 16-04-1940, who was succeeded by El-Bachir Ibrahimi, who continued his educational reform activity, Marshal Pétain responded to Ferhat Abbas' letter with the phrase "we will consider your proposals"³, it is noted that Ferhat Abbas' reforms did not receive a response by the French officials, but it raised his popularity in light of the political vacuum and the Algerians' need for someone to represent them.

With the landing of the Allies on 08–11–1942 and the achievement of victories at the expense of the Axis countries, Algeria entered a new stage in its political development, in which a unified position crystallised around the Algerians' conditions for entering the war on the side of the Allies⁴, and in light of the political vacuum, Ferhat Abbas and the group of deputies with the participation of communists continued to fill the void by trying to win over the Allies and reach an understanding with the government of Free France. It should also be noted that some Algerians welcomed the landing and

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أبو القاسم، سعد الله: نفس المرجع، ص: 184.

² – Ferhat, Abbas : De la colonie vers la Provence, le jeune Algérien, Ed, Garnie, Paris, 1981, P :168.

 $^{^{-3}}$ أبو القاسم، سعد الله: نفس المرجع، ص: 187.

 $^{^{-4}}$ عبد الله، مقلاتي: نفس المرجع، ص: 173.

considered it a sign of liberation because of the propaganda of selfdetermination promoted by Britain and the United States of America. With the landing of the Allies, Ferhat Abbas, along with many political figures, initiated a memorandum to the Allies on 20-12-1942 on behalf of the Algerian Muslim representatives, including as a condition for Algerian participation in the Second World War alongside the Allies an urgent conference resulting in the preparation of a political, economic and social constitution for Algeria¹. The Allies refused to respond to the letter as an internal French affair in Algeria, as did the French representative in Algeria. In the face of the refusal, Ferhat Abbas amended the letter with a memorandum addressed to the French authorities, a copy of which was presented to the French delegate "Giraud"2, who ignored it, and with the Governor General Marcel Peyrouton, who cut off contact with the national movement and showed flexibility with Ferhat Abbas and asked him to prepare a reform project³.

 $^{^{-1}}$ فرحات، عباس: نفس المصدر، ص: 169.

⁻² أبو القاسم، سعد الله: نفس المرجع، ص: 203.

⁻³ أبو القاسم، سعد الله: نفس المرجع، ص: 207.

III. Algerian Manifesto, 10 February 1943:

In order to put pressure on the French during the Second World War, and in view of the intransigence of the French side and the Allied forces' disregard for Ferhat Abbas' demands, especially since the simplest demands were rejected¹, the nationalists met to take a clear position on their demands, so Ferhat Abbas called a meeting in the office of lawyer Boumendjel in the capital², attended by Lamine Debaghine of the Algerian People's Party, cheikh Larbi El-Tebsssi and Taoufiq El-Madani of the Algerian Muslim Ulemas Association and other figures, where they concluded that a new charter should be issued containing the demands of the Algerian people and Ferhat Abbas was assigned to edit it, and Ferhat Abbas stated that it objectively summarised the result of 113 years of French occupation of the country³.

01 – Algerian Manifesto:

A. Content:

The manifesto contained 30 numbered pages in French and included 05 sections describing the situation of the Algerian people since the French occupation of 1830.

 $^{-3}$ عبد الله، مقلاتي: نفس المرجع، ص: 174.

¹ -Mahfoud, Kaddache: Histoire de Nationalisme Algérienne.. P: 629.

² -Ferhat, Abbas : La nuit coloniale... P :133.

The first chapter: A general report on the situation of Algeria and the landing of the Allies

Chapter Two: The importance of the two world wars in the liberation of peoples.

Chapter Three: A review of French-Algerian relations and racism.

Chapter Four: The Decline of French Reforms and the Importance of the Allied Embarkation.

Chapter Five: The most important demands¹.

As for the demands of the manifesto, they centred on:

- Condemnation and elimination of the occupation.
- Implementation of the principle of self-determination.
- Granting Algeria its own constitution that guarantees the following:
- Freedom and equality without sexual or religious discrimination.
- An end to feudal property and the realisation of an agrarian reform.
- Recognise Arabic as an official language like French.
- Freedom of the press and assembly.
- Free and compulsory education for males and females.
- Freedom of religion for the entire population and separation of religion from the state.
- Participation of Algerian Muslims in the governance and administration of their country.

 $^{^{-1}}$ محمد، شبوب: نفس المرجع،ص: 150.

- The release of all political prisoners and detainees¹.

The manifesto was approved in the capital on 10-02-1943and was attended by representatives of the Algerian People's Party Muslim Ulemas Association, the Algerian notina and convergence in the manifesto between the ideas of the directions of the national movement on the difference in their orientations, and the circumstantial overcoming of ideological differences and the reason is due to the conditions of the Second World War and the resulting repercussions that affected the leaders of the national movement². The reason for the concord between the political currents was to turn a blind eye to the idea of integration and Ferhat Abbas' call for decolonisation due to the development of the elite's ideas and their despair of French democracy, the existence of Messali El Hadj in prison for 16 years with hard work, Bashir placed under forced residence in Aflou, and the of activists affiliated with them by the French persecution authorities. Farhat Abbas was able to convince them to edit the manifesto. Ferhat Abbas met with Messali El Hadj after his release on 26-04-1943 from Lambése prison in Batna and his transfer to house arrest in Ksar El Bokhari, and here Farhat Abbas confessed to Messali: " "Yesterday I was against you, defending assimilation,

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¹ -Jean Robert, Henri : Le Mouvement National Algérien textes 1912-1954, 2Ed, O.P.U, Alger, 1981, P: 155.

 $^{^{2}}$ محمد، شبوب: نفس المرجع، ص: 157.

but now I recognise that you are right." It should be noted that the Communist Party was not present at the signing sessions of the Manifesto, as its ideology was hostile to the ideas of independence.

A copy of the Manifesto was given to Governor–General Marcel Peyrouton on 13 March 1943, a copy to the Allied representatives in Algeria, a copy sent to General De Gaulle, and another to King Farouk of Egypt. Governor–General Peyrouton pretended to agree with the manifesto in principle, said it could be adopted as a constitution for Algeria and ordered the establishment of a committee to study it called the Committee for Economic and Social Research on 03 April 1943, represented by 36 Muslim deputies¹, whose mission was to study the economic situation of the Algerian society It appears from the Governor–General's response that he used the method of manoeuvring and prevarication to gain time.

B. Manifesto Annex:

Based on the negative position of the Allies on the Manifesto, represented by the fact that the Algerian issue is a French internal affair and the release of Messali El-Hadj from prison and his transfer to forced residence, Ferhat Abbas aspired to expand his consultations to respond to the aspirations of the

1-محمد، شبوب: نفس المرجع، ص: 162.

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Algerian people, so he met with Messali El-Hadj on 16-04-1943¹, who proposed some additions to the Manifesto, which included two sections, namely:

The first section: Futuristic reforms to be realised after the end of the Second World War, which states that at the end of the war, Algeria will become an independent country with its own constitution, drawn up by a constituent assembly elected by the general Algerian population.

The second section: It includes urgent reforms in the political, economic and social fields that must be implemented, the most important of which are:

- Participation of Algerians in the administration of their country.
- Representation of Algerian Muslims in all elected bodies and assemblies, the entry of Muslims into all public offices, the abolition of exceptional laws, and the achievement of equality among all Algerians². Transforming the general government into an Algerian government made up of equal French and Algerian ministers.
- Equality before the blood tax.
- Economic and social reforms.

General Catroux, the Governor-General, did not recognise the content of the manifesto and threatened its signatories for

¹–Jacques, Simon : Messali El Hadj 1898–1974, La passion de l'Algérie libre, Ed, Trésias, Paris, 1998, P : 107.

² - Jean, Robert Henri: Ibid, P: 165.

adhering to French Algeria, and said that any reform must be within French sovereignty, and dissolved the financial assemblies and arrested Ferhat Abbas and Abdelkader Sayeh, then was forced to free them under pressure¹. The rejection led to disagreement within the ranks of the Muslim deputies, as Ibndjelloul and some elected members renounced the manifesto and its annex, and Ferhat Abbas refused to recognise the proposed reforms as they contradicted what was stated in the manifesto and its annex, and after his exit from prison, he declared his fidelity to the manifesto.

On 07 March 1944, De Gaulle announced a order on citizenship and economic and social reforms, which was rejected by the national movement as a late implementation of an old project derived from the Blum-Violette project, which offered no solutions for the Algerian people and was only addressed to a class with an advantageous connection to France.

03- Movement of Friends of Manifesto and Freedom, 14 March 1944:

During his visit to Constantine, General de Gaulle announced that he would grant Algerians a set of demands embodied in the order of 07-03-1944 in an aim to gain time, in light of the continued activity of the national movement and the continuation of World War

¹⁻ يحي، بو عزيز : الإيديولوجية السياسية للحركة الوطنية الجزائرية من خلال ثلاث وثائق، ديوان المطبوعات الجامعية ، الجزائر، ص: 96

II¹. The order was rejected by Ferhat Abbas, Bachir El Brahimi and Messali El Hadj, although it was accepted by a few Communists. On the initiative of Farhat Abbas, Messali El Hajj and Bachir Brahimi, it was agreed to establish a political grouping to defend the demands of the February 1943 Manifesto and its annex, called the "Movement of Friends Manifesto and Freedom" – on 14–03–1944², where they assembled in Setif. The movement that expressed the consensus between the political trends and defined the quality of this gathering "المساولة" newspaper, founded by Ferhat Abbas in order to spread and defend the ideas of manifesto and freedom and expose the colonialist policy, the constitution included a number of axes and defined its objectives, the most important of which are:

- -Denounce colonial racism³.
- Helping the victims of exceptional laws.
- Work to disseminate the manifesto of 10-02-1943.
- Establishing a Republic Algerian-French anti-colonialism⁴

This political movement played an important role in gathering the word of Algerian patriots, as it was well received by the public, and

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⁻¹ محمد، شبوب: نفس المرجع، ص-1

 $^{^2}$ -Benjamin, Stora : Histoire de l'Algérie contemporaine, 1830--1988, Ed, Casbah, Alger, 2004, P : 94.

³-يحي، بوعزيز: سياسة التسلط الاستعماري والحركة الوطنية الجزائرية 1830- 1954، ديوان المطبوعات الجامعية، الجزائر، 1983، ص: 111.

 $^{^{-4}}$ عبد الرحمان، بن عقون : نفس المرجع، ص: $^{-4}$

several sections were established around Algeria, estimated by Ferhat Abbas at 150 sections¹. The French position on the movement was no different, as the Catroux administration ignored the movement and worked to fail it. In September 1944, diplomat Yves Chataigneau was appointed governor of Algeria², and his main task was to force the Algerians to accept de Gaulle's reforms, in light of the affirmation by the Algerians of their requests, embodied in the movement's congress in January 1945, which stated:

- The abolition of the system of mixed communes and military rule in the south.

-Arabic is an official language.

Because of the specific contradictions between its members and the overlap of several ideologies in its composition, disagreements emerged after its second conference was held in March 1945³, after which its members were divided between the supporters of Ferhat Abbas, called moderates, who supported the idea of an autonomous Algerian republic federally united with France, while the supporters of Messali El Hadj rejected this and demanded the need to recognise Algerian nationality. The congress came out with decisions that were in favour of the Algerian People's Party as the majority of the

¹ أحمد، مهساس: الحركة الوطنية الثورية في الجزائر 1914–1954، تر: الحاج مسعود ومحمد عباس، دار القصبة للنشر والتوزيع، الجزائر، 2003، ص: 213.

²⁻يحي، بوعزيز: نفس المرجع، ص: 112.

^{300:} عبد الله، بن عقون: نفس المرجع، ص $^{-3}$

movement's members were from the independence movement, and its decisions were highlighted by the independence current:

- Recognising Algerian nationality.
- An Algerian democratic constitution.
- An elected parliament.
- Recognition of the Algerian flag.
- Replacing the General Mandate with an Algerian government.

The congress also voted to release Messali El Hadj and authorise him to engage in political activity¹.

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¹-محمد، شبوب: نفس المرجع، ص: 206.

IV: The massacres of 08 May 1945 and their consequences for the national movement:

The massacres of 8 May 1945 were connected to the development of the national movement and the spread of national awareness among the Algerian majority, when the French authority saw the need to suppress the movement in line with the objectives of the more radical colonists.

01 – Causes of the massacres of 08 May 1945:

The backdrop to the developments in the national movement with the outbreak of the Second World War, which affected the Algerian people and the leaders of political parties in particular. This was manifested through political activity and the resulting awareness in light of the colonialist tactics of appeasement and procrastination, given the living conditions that France was going through, especially after its defeat by the Germans and the establishment of the de Gaulle government. Abou El Kacem Saâdallah related that what happened on 8 May was because of the establishment of the Movement of the Friends of the Manifesto and Freedom in March 1944 and the resulting national awakening and convergence between the poles of the national movement, and the formation of a united front to reach the objectives of the manifesto and its annex, which were declared and postponed until

after the Second World War¹. When the Front included deputies, elites, students, scouts, the Algerian Muslim Ulema Association and the Algerian People's Party to become a coalition of allies rather than a political party, Andre Julien brought the idea of the Algerian nation closer and promoted the creation of a republic in Algeria, united by a federal system with an anti–imperialist French republic². These developments coincided with the economic crises that the Algerian people were suffering from, including poverty, unemployment, arbitrariness and famine... Because of the repercussions of the Second World War and the colonialist's policy, besides the dry season and the resulting pests, diseases, epidemics and decrease in grain production³.

This is in light of the multiplication of publications during 1945 calling for liberation and opposing the publication of 07 March 1944, besides anti–French writings⁴. Fearing French provocations against the friends of manifesto and freedom, the movement met on 01 and 02 April 1945 under the presidency of Ferhat Abbas, which resulted in decisions, the most important of which are:

 $^{^{-1}}$ أبو القاسم، سعد الله: الحركة الوطنية، ج 3 ، ص: 227.

 $^{^{2}}$ -شارل، اندري جوليان: إفريقيا الشمالية تسير، تر: محمد مزالى وآخرون، الدار التونسية للنشر، تونس، 1976 ، ص: 328

³ -Mahfoud, Kaddache : Ibid, P : 697.

⁴ -Charles, Robert, Ageron : Histoire de l'Algérie contemporaine.., P : 549

- that the members of the movement are not responsible for any events carried out by suspicious persons.

-The Movement calls on its militants to remain calm and abide by

all the instructions contained in the recommendations of the

Congress.

-Adherence to the demands of the February 1943 Manifesto and

work for the liberation of detainees and the fulfilment of the

ambitions of Algerians¹.

In April 1945, Messali El Hadj received Lamin Debaghine

and Hussein Assla, where they agreed on the future project of the

party after the end of the Second World War. In light of this,

Messali El Hadj was exiled to Brazzaville, Congo², when Algeria

was preparing to celebrate with the Allies the victory of freedom

and democracy, in light of the Allies' denial of the demands of the

friends of manifesto and freedom, especially the members of the

Algerian People's Party in light of the progress made by the latter

in the fields of organisation, training and anti-colonial awareness

and the restoration of full national independence.

02- The events and proceedings of the massacres of 08 May

1945:

-1 محمد، شبوب: نفس المرجع، ص: 220.

² -Slimane, Chikh: Ibid, P: 63.

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light of political conscience international and developments, Ferhat Abbas, the Ulemas Association and some activists of the Algerian People's Party agreed to organise mass demonstrations on 01-05-1945 on the occasion of International Day of Work, when the Allies celebrated their victory over the Nazis, with the aim of putting pressure on France¹. However, the protests, which started in some cities peacefully, did not prevent clashes that led to fatalities, as the official celebrations of the Allied victory began on $07-05-1945^2$, Algerians boycotted them with marches, while the Algerian People's Party redistributed leaflets on 06 May 1945 calling on all militants to raise national flags and banners expressing demands for the freedom of the Algerian people and the release of political prisoners³. It should also be noted that the French authorities gave legal authorisation for the protests called for by the Algerian People's Party, which took place in most Algerian cities, during which Algerians avoided contact with the French police, who remained on the lookout for them. On the morning of 8 May 1945, over 10,000 Algerian farmers and merchants gathered in the city of Setif, coinciding with the weekly market⁴. to launch protests in which the Algerian

¹- Ferhat, Abbas : Ibid, P : 147.

² Ahmed, Mahsas: Le mouvement révolutionnaire en Algérie de la 1 er guerre mondiale à 1954, Ed, L'Harmettan, Paris, P:198.

³ -Charles, Robert, Ageron : Histoire de l'Algérie contemporaine ...Ibid, P :572.

⁴ – Benjamin, Stora : Histoire de l'Algérie contemporaine.., P : 95.

participated, during which the Algerian flag was raised and the protest reached the centre of Setif, where clashes occurred with the removal of the Algerian flag from its bearer Bouzid Chaal and the shooting of him¹. as a result, clashes between Europeans and Algerians began in various Algerian streets and cities², including Setif, where indiscriminate shooting began, and spread to villages and hamlets and then to Guelma, Annaba, Blida, Sidi Bel Abbes, Mostaganem, Tiaret.... The protests turned into bloody events in which colonial France used all forms of violence, relying on its military forces (naval, land and air force) and the militia made up of colonialists, in addition to the gendarmerie and police. The repression operations were supervised by Duvel, who was given absolute powers, in conjunction with the forces of the Foreign Legion (Senegalese)³ and the Moroccan column⁴. The orders were to kill every Algerian protesting in the street and sweeping operations when the French air force was bombing villages and hamlets, while the French air force was destroying villages and towns. A state of alert was declared, the Colon was armed, and thousands of Algerians were mass executed on mere suspicion, all on the direct orders of de Gaulle's government, who sent a letter to

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⁻¹حمد، مهساس، نفس المرجع، -1

 $^{^{2}}$ عبد القادر، بولوفة: الحركة الاستقلالية خلال الحرب العالمية الثانية، 1939–1945، في عمالة وهران، ط1، دار الألمعية للنشر والتوزيع، الجزائر، 2011،00.

³ -Ferhat, Abbas : La Nuit Coloniale, ..P :148.

⁴⁻محفوظ قداش، والجيلالي صارى: نفس المرجع، ص: 81.

Governor-General Yves Chataigneau, insisting on imposing the administration of the victorious France and not permitting any infringement of French sovereignty in Algeria.

03- The results of the massacres of 08 May 1945:

France treated the 8 May protests with brutality, committing genocide against unarmed Algerians in violation of human rights principles, so that the results were catastrophic, as France hid the real results and stated that the number ranged from 1,200 to 3,300 victims¹, while the Algerian side estimated the number of deaths at 40,000 victims, which was confirmed by the Algerian People's Party (PAP)². The authorities also arrested 1,307 members of the national movement, of whom 151 were sentenced to death and 329 to forced work³, primarily activists of the Movement for Manifesto and Freedom, which the authorities dissolved on 19 May 1945, led by Ferhat Abbas and El Bachir El Messali El Hadi was also deported to Gabon, when Ibrahimi. France, which emerged half victorious from the Second World War, tried to justify its crimes to public opinion by demonstrating its military strength, when the militants of the national movement, especially the independence movement, were more convinced of the idea of independence.

 $^{^{-1}}$ ناصر الدين، سعيدوني: نفس المرجع، ص: 134.

²- على، تابليت: 08 ماى 1945، ط3، مطبعة ثالة، الجزائر، 1996، ص: 16

³ -Redouane, Ainad Thabet: 08 mai 1945 en Algérie, Ed, O.P.U, Alger, 1978, P: 78

01 - General situation after the massacres of 08 May 1945:

After the massacres of 8 May 1945, there was no sign of imminent French political change, and despair prevailed that the national movement would achieve important political results, when France tried to eliminate the national awareness and libertarian thought of the representatives of the national movement, especially the Algerian People's Party, which had become a threat to French Algeria, an awareness that spread to all segments of the Algerian people as France emerged from the Second World War almost victorious, as it was completely absent in international forums, turning from a major state into a minor state in the light of changing the methods of struggle of some directions of the national movement from the pre–1945 period.

Some militants were convinced of the reality of a racist France where it is impossible to achieve any demand through peaceful means. It is indicated that these massacres created a rupture between France and the representatives of political trends and a vacuum between the Algerian people and France on the other hand, as they lost their confidence in the occupier's administration, which was devoid of the language of dialogue. In an attempt to calm the situation, France summoned Algerians to

participate in the voting for the first Constituent Assembly to be elected on 21-10-1945, while the results were decided in favour of the Europeans¹. At a time when the political scene was empty of the majority of political formations after the arrest of their prominent activists, the absence of the Algerian People's Party and the movement friends of Manifesto and Freedom, who refused to participate, issued a leaflet that was distributed to Algerians in a call for a boycott. In order to absorb popular anger and break the deadlock, France issued the Amnesty Law on 16 March 1946², which provided for the release of political detainees and allowed the return of political activity. In order to calm the Algerian people's psyche and engage Algerians in illusory reform projects³. With the amnesty, the political formations in Algeria reemerged with a new image, including the need to change the struggle of the Algerian People's Party from political to armed, and the integrationists to call for the establishment of an Algerian state linked federally with France, while the Association of Algerian Muslim Ulema continued its struggle to educate the Algerian people, while the communists remained committed to their ideology based on the defence of France's interests in Algeria.

2. Democratic Union of Algerian Manifesto:

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¹-محمد، شبوب: نفس المرجع، ص: 261.

² -André, Nouschi : La Naissance du nationalisme Algérien, Ed, Minuit, Paris, 1962, P : 145.

 $^{^{-3}}$ شارل أندري، جوليان المرجع السابق، ص: 340.

After the issuance of the amnesty decision, Ferhat Abbas was released and returned to his political activity in the name of the Democratic Union of Algerian Manifesto in April 1946, more committed to the programme of the friends of manifesto and freedom, and moderate in his political orientation, to know a development in his programme to call for the establishment of an Algerian state linked federally with France, his formation was from the elite like Ahmed Boumenjel, Ahmed Francis and Ibn Djelloul ... This allowed him to participate in the parliamentary constituent elections on 02 June 1946, which were boycotted by the supporters of the Algerian People's Party, obtaining 11 seats with 71% of the total votes cast in his favour. Here, Ferhat Abbas tried to formulate his party's ideas in a constitution that he presented to the French Parliament in August 1946 under the title of the Constitution of the Algerian Republic, with France recognising the autonomy of Algeria and its national flag, Algeria becoming a member of the French Union as a common country, and Arabic and French as official languages with obligatory education². The French Constitutional Council did not take the proposals of the Union's deputies seriously, and at the October 1946 congress it was decided: The formation of the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto, the transfer of Messali El Hadj from Brazzaville

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¹ -Ahmed, Mahsas: Ibid, P: 222.

² -Mahfoud, Kaddache: Ibid, P: 729.

to Paris, allowing the return of the newspaper (L'égalité) المساواة and demanding compensation from France for the massacres of 8 May 1945, while Ferhat Abbas continued to defend the policy of integration (La politique d'assimilation).

03. Friends of Liberty and Democracy:

Because of its positions on the massacres of 8 May 1945 and the rest of the national currents, especially the independence movement, which destroyed the popularity of the party due to its anti-Algerian nationalist ideology, so that the Communists in the local elections on 02 June 1946 only obtained 536 votes¹. Therefore, he sought to restructure the confidence of his entity by relying on new means, including purifying the party from elements that were accused of raising slogans hostile to the national movement and its leaders², including the removal of Ammar Ouzagan, Secretary General of the French Communist Party in 1948, while he included strong elements and gave a new name "the friends of freedom and democracy", among the demands of which are:

 Consolidating the principles of peace and establishing relations with the great powers.

¹ -André, Nouschi : Ibid, P : 144.

²⁻ ناصر الدين، سعيدوني: نفس المرجع، ص: 137.

- Developing industrial production and nationalising the Bank of Algeria.
- Applying the social laws in effect in France and defending workers¹.

However, the party stayed attached to its ideology of not recognising an Algerian entity, as its ideas were inspired by the so-known Communist International.

04. Association of Algerian Muslim Ulemas:

Its activity did not change after the Second World War, As soon as El Bachir El Ibrahimi was released on 16-03-1946, it continued its reformist activity such as building free schools in cities, villages and towns, building mosques, spreading the Arabic language and fighting heresies², and its activity culminated in the the establishment of Abdelhamid lbn **Badis** Institute in Constantine. In this context, the association denounced France's arbitrary policy towards endowments and mosques, and in return, it started publishing the second series of the newspaper 3 البصائر, and at its ninth congress on 21-07-1947, it called for :

 $^{^{-1}}$ محمد، شبوب: نفس المرجع، ص: 274

²-محمد، شبوب:نفس المرجع، ص: 275.

^{.205} صحمد العربي، زبيري: تاريخ الجزائر المعاصرة، ج1، منشورات إتحاد الكتاب العرب، دمشق، 1999، ص $^{-3}$

- Recognise Arabic as an official language.
- The liberty of Islamic culture.
- The application of Islamic justice.
- Opposition to recruitment
- The release of political prisoners.

Sixth: Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties (M.T.L.D):

After the liberation of Messali El Hajj on 11 August 1946¹, he communicated out to the Algerian masses, who became attached his objectives and rallied around his demands, It was necessary for the leadership of the independence movement to search for new methods and ways while maintaining the main demand of full independence for Algeria, as the way to achieve it changed for some party members, including young people, especially those such as Lamin Debaghine and Hussein Lahoual, who oversaw the leadership of the party during the period of Messalli El Hadj's imprisonment. They demanded the need to start thinking about military action by establishing a secret organisation², as they believed that achieving their demands was impossible through political struggle. After Messalli El Hadj's arrival in Algeria on 13–10–1946, the party's leadership was confronted with several issues, including the legitimate status of the party and participation in the elections of 10-11-1946. Some activists called for the reconstitution of a party to defend the party's objectives, while others, such as Mohamed Kheider and Lamine Debaghin, called for keeping the activities of the party

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¹ -Mahfoud, Kaddache: Ibid, T2, P: 753.

² -André, Nouschi : P : 145.

secret and considering adopting a military approach. Messali El Hadj decided to allow participation in the elections and assigned a wing to think about militant action, the occupation administration refused to allow the Algerian People's Party to run in the elections under this name¹, so a new name, the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties, was proposed as a legitimate cover that would allow it to hold assemblies and run as a candidate.

He participated in the legislative elections with a list called the "List for the Liberation of the Algerian People", but France resorted to a policy of manoeuvring and fraud because of its fear of the elements of the Algerian People's Party because of its wide popularity, and because of this, the elements of the movement obtained only 05 seats, in light of this atmosphere, Messali El Hadj invited the movement to hold its first congress on 15–02–1947 and during the conference sessions, 03 groups emerged to come up with three points represented in the meeting, namely:

- -Maintain the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties in its legal form.
- Participate in elections
- Forming a special organisation for military action to train young people in preparation for revolutionary action.

This was the beginning of a new phase in the party's march

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 $^{^{-1}}$ يحى، بوعزيز: نفس المرجع،ص: 28.

02- L'Organisation Secret:

Its establishment was an important transition in the history of the Algerian national movement by moving from political struggle to armed struggle, as a result of the French repressive policy and judicial prosecutions, and after the first conference of the movement on 15 and 16 February 1947, the decision that emerged from it was: The establishment of a secret paramilitary organisation (L'O.S.)¹ to prepare and mobilise for the revolution, and the establishment of a five-member committee consisting of: Messali ΕI Hadi, Hussein Lahoual, Lamine Debaghine, Boukadoum, Ahmed Bouda. It was entrusted with the selection and appointment of the members of the Central Committee of the Special Organisation in 1947, and Mohamed Belouizdad "Si Messaoud" was appointed as its president, as all those who meet conditions such as physical force, courage, experience in the movement, national spirit, political consciousness, belief in the revolutionary method and taking the loyalty oath are accepted into its ranks. Following the appointment of Mohamed Belouizdad, the organisation began to be structured, with a total of 1,500 members distributed across the national territory, while the private organisation was given full independence from the party in financial and administrative matters in order to preserve the

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¹ -Mahfoud, Kaddache : Ibid, P : 753.

normal functioning of the official activities of the Algerian People's Party (PAP).

One of its achievements was the recruitment of young men eager to take up armed action, who were required to have militant experience, and the collection of weapons through the black market and smuggling, most of which were left over from the Second World War. As for training, it initiated two military training courses in January 1948 and August 1948. As soon as 1948 arrived, the Military Special Organisation was ready to carry out revolutionary operations, the most important of which was the attack on the Oran Post on 07–04–1949, which resulted in the seizure of a sum of money used to purchase weapons, among the militants involved were Ahmed Ben Bella, Ahmed Bouchaib, Nemich Jalloul "Bakhthi" ... besides the attack on the Ouenza mine in Tebessa and the attack on the police prefecture in Boudouaou (ودواو) in the capital..

For medical reasons, Hussein Ait Ahmed succeeded Mohamed Belouzided until 1949, France held the MTDL responsible for carrying out the revolutionary operations, but the party disavowed this, accusing the French authorities of plotting against it. Among the organisation's activities in the field of arms and supplies was the acquisition of a first batch of weapons, estimated at 300 pieces from Libya, while the second batch was

collected and purchased in the Algiers and Kabylie regions and distributed to several caches in the region. Hussein Ait Ahmed and Mohamed Yousfi were able to obtain a transceiver (Emetteur -récepteur) from Eisenhower's headquarters in Algiers. As for the organisation's efforts to prepare for the revolution at the external level, it was represented by contacts with the Moroccan national the visit through made by Mohamed commissioned by Mohamed Belouzided, to the Tendrara region(منطقة تندرارة) in southwestern Morocco, with the mission of bringing a quantity of weapons and contacting the Tunisian movement, as well as Libya and Egypt.

The Special Organisation was discovered in 1950 despite its clandestine nature. There are many accounts, but the incident in Tébessa, on which many historians agree, resulted in the arrest of about 500 militants in the ranks of the national movement, who were sentenced to various sentences ranging from forced work to life imprisonment, most of whom fled abroad or in the mountains.

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