

The Philosophy of Liberation in the Thought of the Algerian National Movement and Liberation Revolution, 1919-1962

Dr. Ali Ayada^{1*}, Dr. Sadek Abdelmalek²

^{1,2}Laboratory for historical and civilisation studies of the l'Aures and the Eastern Sahara through the ages. University of Biskra (Algeria). **E-mail:** ali.ayada@univ-biskra.dz, sadek.abdelmalek@univ-biskra.dz²

***Corresponding Author:** Dr. Ali Ayada

***E-mail:** ali.ayada@univ-biskra.dz

Received: 02/2024

Published: 08/2024

Abstract:

The Algerian people struggled under the banner of their leaders through different stages in the military, political, intellectual and social fields, and the secret behind this was the ideas behind these historical events, whether in the course of the Algerian national movement or the blessed Algerian liberation revolution. From this perspective, every revolution is the offspring of an idea, which means that there is no revolution without a revolutionary theory and its conceptualisation. This shows the deep connection in every revolutionary project between thought and reality, through the embodied work and effort to realise the idea and complete its stages. Therefore, the Algerian revolution, and before it the national movement, was a clash and a struggle between minds, ideas and wills.

We will try to show that the national idea and the revolutionary philosophy inherent in it have been present in the thoughts and consciousness of the Algerian people since the French colonial presence and remained so until the outbreak of the liberation revolution. These ideas, hopes and aspirations were embodied by the Algerian people under the collective leadership of individuals and personalities who were the vanguard of this people.

Keywords: Thought; Revolution; Philosophy; Liberation; Independenc.

Introduction:

The nationalist liberation movement is the culmination of a phase of total impasse between the possibility of coexistence between a colonial consciousness deeply rooted in rigidity and stasis, and a practice and thought profoundly backward, denying the other and rejecting all his rights, including the right to life; and an emerging divergent consciousness, born of an accumulation of struggles, saturated with the certainty of this impasse, utterly despairing of any possibility of change in its favour. In Latin America and Africa, especially in the Arab countries and especially in the Maghreb, a global movement of liberation and emancipation is stirring, where armed revolutions have broken out, whose leaders demand the independence of their countries and the liberation of their peoples, as well as the self-confidence and the ability to ignite the revolutionary liberation action against the background of the national movement, which has created a military wing, represented by the Special Organisation (O. S.) set up at the end of the 1940s (1947) within the Algerian

People's Party, the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties (M.T.L.D.), where young fighters were trained in the use of weapons, battle management and guerrilla warfare.

In this way, nationalism, as a social, cultural and cognitive consciousness, evolved from a state of spontaneity and an experience based on political demands to a liberation project that encompassed all the components and capacities of the Algerian people, becoming a reconciled position between theory and practice, thought and action, and between the management of the revolution in the vanguard of the Algerian national movement and the developments and dates of local and international reality, creating a quantum leap whose beginning was 1 November 1954.

This blessed revolution of liberation had a Novemberist philosophy that was not itself divorced from many contemporary intellectual, political and social currents, so any approach to the philosophy of November must also take into account all the national, regional and global intellectual currents that preceded and coincided with it.

This raises the question of the nature of this philosophy and the extent to which it is linked to the ideas and philosophy of the Algerian national movement, and what distinguishes this philosophy from other contemporary and earlier ideas.

First: The Philosophy of the Currents of the National Movement

1. The independentist current: The currents of the national movement, whose official activity began in 1926 with the creation of the North African Star (Étoile Nord-Africaine) under the leadership of its leader Messali Hadj, had adopted a unified idea which was the beginning of a real revolution with an independentist orientation within a political framework with certain rules and foundations. The Star adopted broad outlines that were an extension of the old programme led by Prince Khaled El-Hassani, the grandson of Prince Abdelkader, after the end of the First World War, since his leadership of the “Young Algerians” movement. The philosophy of independence for the North African Star, adopted in the speeches of its leaders since the Brussels Conference of 10 to 15 February 1927, was based on three objectives:

- Nationalism through the implementation of a political revolution leading to the achievement of full independence and the revival of the Algerian state.
- The implementation of certain reforms, including socialism, in order to achieve agrarian reform¹.
- Gradualism, represented by the importance of Algerians in education, the consolidation of the Arabic language and the right of Algerians to it, by opening the doors of schools without any restrictions².

2. The reformist movement:

As for the reformist movement led by Abd al-Hamid ibn Badis after he founded the Association of Algerian Muslim Scholars in 1931, its philosophy in the struggle against colonialism was manifested in the fight against heresy and the dissemination of Arabic-Islamic education. This was an Islamic mission that the leaders of the Association sought to spread throughout Algeria through the frequent activities and excursions of its prominent figures, such as al-Bashir al-Ibrahimi, al-Shaykh al-Arabi al-Tebessi, Mohammad El-Amin al-Ammoudi, Moubarak el-Mili, and others. The Association of Algerian Muslim Scholars worked diligently to raise awareness and summarised its programme in a series of points:

1. Liberation of the Algerian masses from all French attempts to integrate Algerian society into Western society.
2. Fight the vices forbidden by the Islamic religion, condemn their commission and censure their perpetrators³.

With regard to the War of Liberation, the position of the Association, like that of other formations, on the first operations carried out by the soldiers of the National Liberation Army against French colonialism on the night of 1 November 1954, was expressed in the first issue of the newspaper al-Basa'ir, published on 5 November 1954, in its editorial under the title “The sad events”, without any comment or clear and specific position⁴.

We cannot comment on these events except to discern the ways of justice. It is not the role of al-Basa'ir to take such positions, but after the revolution developed on the ground, the most prominent members of the association individually joined the National Liberation Front, where positions crystallised with the development of the situation on the ground. In an explicit call for jihad, al-Shaykh al-Arabi al-Tebessi said in the newspaper al-Basa'ir on 8 February 1955:

In an explicit call for jihad, al-Shaykh al-Arabi al-Tebessi said in al-Basair newspaper on 8 February 1955: “They are men who have learned, who have moved, and in whom the spirit of free life has stirred, which breaks down every obstacle, no matter how strong, and they have advanced, fighting the battle of life, carrying their souls in their hands, advancing and not retreating⁵.”

3. The culture of the revolution according to the historian Abou Al-Qassem Saad Allah:

In reality, the late historian Abou Al-Qassem Saad Allah did not write extensively about the Algerian War of Liberation, unlike the many books he wrote about the national movement in particular and the modern and contemporary history of Algeria in general. From what the historian mentioned and recorded in the tenth volume of the Cultural History of Algeria (1954-1962), which was printed and published after his death, he spoke of the economic, political and administrative stagnation in Algeria on the eve of the revolution and of the bitter split in the Algerian People's Party, the only political current that called for Algerian independence throughout the party's political activity. As for the Association of Algerian Muslim Ulema, he considered that it had failed to establish free schools, but that it had been active and successful in

¹- Anissa, Berkat. (1995). Historical and Literary Lectures and Studies on Algeria. Publications of the National Mujahid Forum, Algeria, p. 187.

²- Mouhammad, Kananch (1982). The Independence Movement in Algeria. National Society for Publication and Distribution, Algeria, p. 48.

³- Al-Bashir, al-Ibrahimi. (1935). Minutes of the Conference of the Association of Muslim Scholars, Islamic Algerian Printing Press, Constantine, Algeria, p. 70.

⁴- Mouloud Qasim, Nayt Balkacem. (2007). First reactions inside and outside at the beginning of November. Dār al-Umma, Algeria, p. 65.

⁵- Mohammad al-arabi, al-Zabri. (1984). The Algerian Revolution in its first year. Dar al-Baath for Printing and Publishing, Algeria, p. 180.

promoting and defending the Arabic language, in addition to its important role in developing the Arabic press and contributing to the Arabic printing movement⁶.

Regarding the revolution, Saad Allah believed that the programme of 1 November 1954 was drafted by socialists in their orientation. The aim of their declaration and political programme was independence within the framework of Islamic principles. In his opinion, this point was somewhat ambiguous, as the authors of the declaration were to the left of the socialist ideological line, which he interpreted through the term "social democracy", meaning that the system Algeria would adopt would be communist or socialist, not a just social system⁷.

As for the Soummam Conference, he mentions that its political programme, written by Amar Ouzegane - a communist in orientation and doctrine - did not produce a cultural plan for the future, stressing that it did not declare a clear and explicit programme for the post-independence period. This is in addition to the absence of the Arab discourse on cultural identity, which is the fundamental pillar of the Algerian nation⁸, as is clear from the texts of the Evian Accords. The historian Saad Allah criticised the Algerian negotiating delegation, comparing it to the representation of French-speaking countries such as Canada or Belgium through its French-language discourse and writing, and the complete absence of the Arabic language in the provisions of the Evian Accords, considering that Arabic would be the language of the Algerians in education, administration and transactions, with Arabic mentioned only once⁹.

In reality, the historian Saadallah focused on the cultural identity of the Algerian people and the almost total exclusion of the Arabic language by the French culture found in the speeches of Algerian politicians, as well as on some of the concessions and conditions laid down in the Evian agreements and the talk of cooperation in many fields. However, he forgot the many problems that the revolution experienced, especially in its final phase and since the arrival of General "de Gaulle" as president of the Fifth French Republic in 1958, and the manoeuvres that he carried out to isolate the revolution from the people through some concessions and a series of illusory political, economic and social projects aimed at eliminating the revolution, which created a kind of internal tension and upheaval in the ranks of some Algerian political and military leaders, which was quickly noticed thanks to the cunning and sound judgement of these leaders who mastered the art of dealing. This historical legitimacy, according to some leaders of the Liberation War and according to Rabah Lounici, was a point of weakness that led to the emergence of the summer crisis of 1962 and the events that it brought as a result of the leadership conflict¹⁰.

All these strong circumstances and problems, which the political leaders concerned overcame at the Evian negotiations, led them, according to their own opinion, to address the coloniser in his own language, on the basis of the saying: "He who learns the language of a people is safe from their deception".

In general, the late Dr. Abu Al-Qasim Saadallah chose to study the history of the Algerian Revolution by dealing with its cultural aspects, although when he was asked in the 1970s why he did not write about the history of the Algerian Revolution, he replied that there were difficulties facing the historian, including the proximity of the events of the revolution to us,

He therefore chose to study the history of the Algerian Revolution by dealing only with its cultural aspects, which he considered less dangerous than its political, military and diplomatic history¹¹.

Second: The reality of the philosophy of the November 1954 revolution

Analyses have shown that the November event did not emerge in a vacuum, but was the result of the long historical struggle of the Algerian people and the direct product of the Algerian national movement, which, according to the declaration of 1 November 1954, was nearing its final stage. Its philosophy also reflected the ideology of the movement.

⁶- Abu al-Qasim, Saad Allah. (2007). History of Algerian Culture, 1954-1962, vol. 10, Dar al-Basa'ir for Publishing and Distribution, Algeria, p. 25.

⁷- Ibid, p. 78.

⁸- Ibid, p. 90.

⁹- Ibid, p. 102.

¹⁰- Rabeh, Lounissi. "The Internal Conflicts of the Algerian Revolution in the Algerian Historical Discourse", Journal of Linguistics, available at: <https://doi.org/10.4000/insAniyAT6492>.

¹¹- Mouloud, Aouimer. "The Algerian Revolution in the Writings of Dr. Abū al-Qasim Sa'd Allah", available at: <https://oulama.d2>.

1. Its concept: It is a philosophy of national liberation, according to which, in the face of French settler colonialism, the demand for the restoration of the national state was the primary imperative for any new confrontation with it. This could only be achieved through the total internal subversion of the intellectual and material system underpinning French rule, not only in Algeria but also in the Arab world and Africa, through an organised, armed revolutionary struggle by the whole people, represented by all its social and political forces. This would involve making full use of the lessons of past struggles against the French presence and the rational use of all moral and material resources, as well as the positive lessons of humanity's past and present struggles for freedom. In other words, it is a philosophy of the total liberation of humanity from colonialism through an armed national struggle¹².

This understanding of the philosophy of November affirms that it was fundamentally the product of the particular colonial conditions that nurtured it. Its content was that of an armed revolutionary struggle before it was a peaceful, political one. This made it closer to the Vietnamese liberation philosophy of "Ho Chi Minh" than to the Indian liberation revolution of "Gandhi". This does not mean, however, that it was a purely militarist philosophy. This created a character of both continuity and rupture in relation to national ideology in particular and revolutionary liberation philosophies in general.

2- Manifestations of continuity: The continuity of the November philosophy is shown, among other things, by the fact that this philosophy has adopted the ideology of the Algerian national movement, just as the ideology of the Algerian People's Party has adopted the principle of independence as its sole and exclusive objective, and by the many slogans, literature and practices of the latter in its revolutionary struggle against colonialism. This congruence is particularly evident in the content that some approaches claim to have found between this philosophy and the ideology of the Algerian People's Party and, in particular, the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties.

Some of these approaches have considered the vanguard that embodies this philosophy and is represented in the National Liberation Front not only as an internal movement within the Algerian People's Party, but rather as the culmination of an internal power struggle between those who hold power within the Central Committee and those who do not.

The same truth applies to the continuity that the philosophy of November has formed with some regional and global revolutionary and liberationist philosophies. This continuity is manifested in the adoption of this philosophy of the principle of revolutionary struggle as the primary means of resisting the coloniser, in its reliance in this struggle on the people represented in all their different social and political groups, and in its theoretical and scientific opposition to colonialism not only in Algeria but wherever it is present. It is this continuity that has led some to believe that the philosophy of November and its revolution are subordinate to some contemporary global philosophies and revolutions, especially socialism¹³.

3. The manifestations of rupture: The manifestations of rupture are no less numerous than those of continuity. They are particularly evident in the systematic rupture with the Algerian People's Party - Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties and the liberation of its long-standing activists from the hegemony of its central administration and the aura of the leader. Moreover, this philosophy transcended the theoretical and traditional political work adopted by this party, as well as the ineffective slogans, methods and practices of the reformist movement represented by the Association of Algerian Muslim Scholars, towards the work they saw as the only way to achieve the freedom desired by the people. This is confirmed by the Revolutionary Declaration of 1 November 1954, which embodied the principle of the need to correct the course of the national cause by overcoming the many ideas, methods, practices and ineffective slogans that had dominated and hindered such effective popular revolutionary action since 1830, which had become the main criterion for any genuine struggle against the coloniser.

This philosophy stated that, in the face of the coloniser's oppression, daily terrorism and material superiority, the true revolution could only be carried out through the united thought and action of the entire Algerian people, represented in all its social and political strata, far from any individual, regional or tribal isolation and any political, social, cultural or gender exclusion. Thus, the philosophy of November, through this unique liberation front in which many political, social, gender and regional differences had relatively melted in form and substance, in word and deed, affirmed the philosophy of the national parties and many global philosophies, as well as the existence and gender, religious, civilisational, cultural and geographical distinctiveness of the Algerian people from colonial France¹⁴.

¹²- Al-Boukhari, Hamana. (2012). *Philosophy of the Algerian Revolution*, 1st ed. Ibn al-Nadim Publishing and Distribution, Oran, Algeria, Dār al-Rawafid al-Thakfiya - Publishers, Beirut, Lebanon, pp. 199, 200.

¹³- Al-Boukhari, hamana, op. cit., pp. 201, 202.

¹⁴- Mohammad, Abbas. "Characteristics of the National Ideology", Al-Sha'b Newspaper, 17-04-1989.

The philosophy of November also stated that in the face of the repeated abortions that the coloniser had succeeded in inflicting on all previous Algerian national uprisings and resistances, the new revolutionary project it had brought must this time reach its inevitable conclusion, whatever the sacrifices and costs, in order to enable the Algerian people to wrest their usurped state and homeland from the state and the French settlers by force of arms.

Third: The Philosophical Foundations of the Revolution of 1 November 1954

By “foundations” we mean that which determines the free acceptance of an idea or something presented to the individual or the community, on the basis of the propositions or justifications contained in that thing or idea, which make them believe in it and act accordingly. These foundations can be found in five main areas:

1. Optimism: Perhaps the first foundation of the philosophy of the Algerian Revolution is its optimistic view of man and the universe. This philosophy sought to be, and was, a philosophy of hope in the face of the colonial reality in which the Algerian people were struggling. It was this optimistic view of man that enabled this philosophy, on the eve of 1 November 1954, to trust in the ability of the Algerian people, sunk in the darkness of poverty, ignorance and disease, to engage in armed struggle with the coloniser, undaunted by the cost, and to achieve final victory despite the overwhelming material superiority of the French enemy. This is confirmed by this extract from the declaration of 1 November 1954: “This is a difficult and arduous task which requires the mobilisation of all forces and all national resources. It is true that the struggle will be long, but victory is assured”¹⁵.

2. Clarity: The philosophy of the revolution of 1 November 1954, from the first moment of its outbreak, was committed to clarity as the true criterion of any revolution worthy of the name. In the face of the growing colonial danger that threatened Algeria, its land and its people, its past and its future, more than ever, with extinction, it was not slogans that mattered, but their embodiment in struggle and sacrifice on the ground, with the masses and for the masses, once they had been able to clearly articulate the revolutionary strategy and its means, an articulation that would soon transform them from passive spectators of history into active participants in it. From this point of view, the November philosophy clearly stated that peace with the coloniser would follow the armed revolutionary popular struggle aimed at forcing the coloniser to recognise the one and united Algerian nation and its independent state¹⁶.

3- Action: This means that what is important for the philosophy of the November 1954 Revolution and its early leaders is not only the theoretical contemplation of the revolution, but also the practical work of embodying it on the ground. This philosophy had to tangibly convince the Algerian people that this time their enemy would have to give in and meet their demands, and that their sacrifices and sufferings would not be in vain¹⁷.

This philosophy also had to wage a fierce and unequal war against a coloniser that the Algerian people knew only by repression and violence, and which was more determined than ever not to allow another “Dien Bien Phu”¹⁸ on Algerian soil, but rather to wash away the shame of that defeat in Indochina with the blood of the Algerian people and to enable them to wrest their rights from this coloniser¹⁹.

4. Democracy: The concept of democracy in the philosophy of the revolution of November 1954 becomes clearer and more objective if we remember and recall that the FLN did not, on the eve of 1 November 1954, find the nationalist parties in power in order to oust them and take their place, but that all it did by appealing to them was to give the people the opportunity to embody those principles which it had been raising and repeating to their ears without ever being able to achieve even a little of them, a truth confirmed by this paragraph from the declaration of 1 November: “Our purpose in publishing this declaration is to explain to you the profound reasons that have led us to act and the validity of our position, which is still the goal of national independence within the framework of North Africa”²⁰.

The revolutionary project of the Algerian people included, for the first time, the principle and practice of popular democracy for the national political parties and for all Algerians. This principle was applied with relative rigour and objectivity, regardless of gender, wealth, rank, reputation, regionalism or social and religious status. Through this

¹⁵- The Declaration of 1 November 1954.

¹⁶- The Declaration of 1 November 1954.

¹⁷- Al-Boukhari, Hamana, op. cit., pp. 217, 218.

¹⁸- On this battle, see: Ahmad al-Minaoui, (n.d.), *The Flea War; Guerrilla Warfare from Cuba to Vietnam and from the Lebanon War to Gaza*, Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi. Damascus-Cairo.

¹⁹- Al-Boukhari Hamana, op. cit. pp. 220, 221.

²⁰- The statement of 1 November 1954.

democracy, the project was able to definitively reject the cult of personality and individual leadership and establish the principle of collective leadership, which was not just an empty phrase²¹.

5. The holistic: Integration and cohesion²² are evident in the holistic and comprehensive nature and the strong interconnection between the different aspects of the November Revolution's philosophical project. This project was deeply imbued with the values of the Arab-Islamic nation and its integrated vision of man and life. The integrative perspective is clearly manifested in the liberation of the self and others, between the national reality and the Arab-Islamic and Third World realities (especially those under colonial subjugation), between the military and political aspects, and between the past and the future. This philosophy was convinced that the revolution was a comprehensive whole in which each aspect complemented the others²³.

This explains the emphasis that this philosophy placed on the diplomatic front²⁴, while not relenting in the armed struggle, recognising that the diplomatic isolation of the colonial power was as effective as its military encirclement.

The integrative character is also evident in the complementarity of all its charters and declarations, where the declaration of 1 November 1954 defined the general political and military lines of the revolution, the Soummam Congress²⁵ of 20 August 1956 defined its practical and institutional course through the creation of bodies such as the Supreme Revolutionary Council and the Coordination and Executive Committee, and the Tripoli Charter²⁶ of 1960 articulated the ideological and social foundations of the future modern national state.

Fourth: Characteristics of the Philosophy of the Revolution of 1 November 1954

The characteristics of the philosophy of November and its revolution must be sought in aspects other than those closest to its results, which are essentially:

- Rejection of all forms of evolutionary solutions and gradualist politics.
- Breaking with the colonial system.
- The Arab-Islamic authenticity derived from the Arab-Islamic history of the Algerian people, in addition to its mass character and the simplicity of its ideology.

These characteristics are manifested in the following ways:

1. The originality of its vision of national reality: This is confirmed by this paragraph from the declaration of 1 November 1954: "We believe, first of all, that the national movement, after stages of struggle, has reached the stage of realisation, and that the Algerian people are united around the question of independence and action in its internal conditions"²⁷.

In this way, the philosophy of November, through the revolution it embodied, raised the Algerian people above their tragic reality in order to embrace that future to which they had never ceased to aspire and which they believed they were capable of creating. Whereas the parties of the Algerian national movement had only perceived the weakness of the Algerian people, the philosophy of November 1954 discovered its creative and latent forces and glimpsed the beginnings of its renaissance²⁸.

²¹- Al-Boukhari, Hamana, The Previous Reference, pp. 231, 232.

²²- The objective that the National Liberation Revolution sought to achieve from the outset and which was embodied in the operations carried out on the night of 1 November throughout the national territory. See: Mohamed El-Arbi, Zoubiri et al. (2007), A Reference Book on the National Liberation Revolution 1954-1962, Publications of the National Centre for Research on the National Movement and the Revolution of 1 November 1954, Ministry of Mujahideen, Algeria.

²³- Al-Boukhari, Hamana, The Previous Reference, pp. 233, 234.

²⁴- It was first represented by the external delegation composed of the historical personalities: Mohamed Khider, Hocine Aït Ahmed and Ahmed Ben Bella and the coordinator Mohamed Boudiaf, then by the Coordination and Executive Committee and finally by the Provisional Government. See: Abdullah, Maqlati, (2008), Algerian-Maghreb Relations during the Algerian War of Liberation (1954-1962), Doctoral Thesis, University of Mentouri, Constantine, Algeria.

²⁵- It took place on 20 August 1956. See: Abdel Hafidh, Amgran, The Soummam Congress of 20 August 1956: Preparation, Organisation and Content, Al-Awwal November Journal, No. 68, Algeria, 1984.

²⁶- See: Boualam, Ben Hamouda, (2012), The Algerian Revolution, The Revolution of 1 November 1954: Its Fundamental Features, Dar An-Na'man for Printing and Publishing, Algeria.

²⁷- The declaration of 1 November 1954.

²⁸- Al-Boukhari, Hamana, The Previous Reference, pp. 241, 242.

2. The unity of the leadership: This was represented by the National Liberation Front and the National Liberation Army, which, after a short period of the outbreak of the war of liberation, became the only strong central authority to which all the national political parties were quickly assimilated, without any military or political opposition from them, except for the creation of another armed movement led by “Belkacem Krim”, known as the Algerian National Movement (M.N.A.)²⁹. The importance of such an achievement becomes fully apparent when we remember that one of the main reasons for the failure of all previous national resistances, uprisings and revolutions prior to the November 1954 Revolution was not only the material superiority of the French enemy, but also their lack of such a unified leadership and such a central revolutionary national authority from which it could have emanated³⁰.

3 - Uniting the Algerian people through armed struggle: The importance of this achievement in the philosophy of November 1 becomes clear when we recall that the absence of such popular unity in the national struggle against the coloniser was one of the most prominent factors that led to the failure of all past national resistances, starting with the battle of Staoueli in 1830³¹, through the resistance of Ahmed Bey³² and Amir Abdelkader³³, to the Aures uprising in 1916 and others.

This is also confirmed by the extent of the events of the night of 1 November 1954, which affected almost all parts of the country, and the events of 20 August 1955, which aimed to thwart the French colonial military plan to suppress the revolution in the Aures region and to turn the whole of Algeria into the theatre of their military operations and the revolution for seven and a half years, and thus into a revolution for all the people and with them³⁴.

4 - The humanist and moral trend: This is manifested in the adoption of the Algerian human being in particular and the human being in general as the primary axiom of any real revolutionary act and the embodiment of the principle that “man is nothing but his dignity”. This is the first fundamental principle of the philosophy of November 1, 1954, and it is the principle inspired by the traditions of the Arab-Muslim Algerian people and its outlook on life.

Morally, the philosophy of November has rejected in form and content the Machiavellian principle of justifying the end by the means, based on the conviction that every moral act transforms its author into a project for the whole of humanity, and that the end, if it can only be embodied by the means, is only ethically determined by the end it seeks.

5- The unconditional commitment to all causes of freedom in the world: This commitment is manifested in the repeated assertion in the philosophy of November that one of its fundamental objectives is the destruction of all the pillars of colonialism, not only in Algeria but wherever it exists, especially in the Arab world, Africa and the Third World. This clearly shows that the November Revolution is part of the natural and historical path of humanity, which no longer accepts the existence of subjugated nations within it.

Conclusion

Finally, we can draw a number of conclusions and perspectives, including the following

- The philosophy of the revolution is the only one that directly, clearly and practically reflects the history, civilisation, aspirations and values of the nation from which it originates, and this was also the case with the philosophy of November 1954.

- The deep interaction with the national and world realities has made the process of understanding the November 1954 philosophy and determining its content, nature and characteristics a difficult one.

²⁹- Asmahan, Mansouri, (2016-2017), Mobile Units during the War of Liberation 1954-1962, Master's thesis, University of Mohamed Khider, Biskra.

³⁰- As-Sadik, Bakhouch, (2009), The Political Thought of the Algerian War of Liberation: An Approach to Studying the Background, Grenada for Publishing and Distribution, Algeria.

³¹- On 19 June 1830, the first confrontation took place between the French occupying forces and the Algerian forces led by Ibrahim Agha, starting from the Sétif camp. See: Jamal Qunan, (2011), Texts and Documents in the Modern History of Algeria (1500-1830), special edition, Ministry of Mujahideen, Algeria.

³²- See: Bachir Bellouh, (2006), History of Contemporary Algeria, Volume 01, Dar Al-Ma'rifah, Algeria.

³³- See: Mohammad ibn Abd al-Qadir al-Jazairi, (1964), The Visitor's Delight in the History of Algeria and Emir Abd al-Qadir, Dar Al-Yaqazah, Beirut, Lebanon.

³⁴- Al-Boukhari, Hamana, the above reference, pp. 246, 247.

References

1. The Proclamation of 1 November 1954

The books

1. Al-Ibrahimi, Al-Bashir, (1935), Minutes of the Conference of the Association of Algerian Muslim Scholars, Islamic Algerian Printing Press, Constantine, Algeria.
2. Al-Jaza'iri, Mohammad ibn 'Abd al-Qadir, (1964), The Visitor's Delight in the History of Algeria and Prince 'Abd al-Qadir, Dar al-Yaqazah, Beirut, Lebanon.
3. Al-Zubayri, Mohammad al-'Arabi, (1984), The Algerian Revolution in its First Year, Dar al-Ba'th for Printing and Publishing, Algeria.
4. Al-Zoubayri, Mohammad al-'Arabi, et al. (2007), A Reference Book on the Liberation Revolution 1954-1962, Publications of the National Centre for Research on the National Movement and the Revolution of 1 November 1954, Ministry of Mujahideen, Algeria.
5. Al-Minouï , Ahmad, (n.d.), The Flea War; Guerrilla Warfare from Cuba to Vietnam and from the Lebanese War to Gaza, Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi, Damascus-Cairo.
6. Bakhouch, Al-Sadik, (2009), The Political Thought of the Algerian Liberation Revolution: An Approach to the Study of the Background, Granada Publishing and Distribution, Algeria.
7. Berkati, Anisa, (1995), Historical and Literary Lectures and Studies on Algeria, Publications of the National Veterans' Forum, Algeria.
8. Balah, Bachir, (2006), History of Contemporary Algeria, volume 01, Dar Al-Marifa, Algeria.
9. Ben Hamouda, Boualam, (2012), The Algerian Revolution: The Revolution of 1 November 1954, Its Fundamental Features, Dar Al-Na'man for Printing and Publishing, Algeria.
10. Hamana, Al-Boukhari, (2012), The Philosophy of the Algerian Revolution, 1st edition, Ibn Al-Nadim Publishing and Distribution, Oran, Algeria, Dar Al-Rawafid Al-Thaqafiya - Publishers, Beirut, Lebanon.
11. Saad Allah, Abu Al-Qasim, (2007), History of Algerian Culture, 1954-1962, Volume 10, Dar Al-Basa'ir for Publishing and Distribution, Algeria.
12. Abbas, Mohammed, Characteristics of the National Ideology, Al-Sha'b newspaper, 17-04-1989.
13. Quanan, Jamal, (2011), Texts and Documents in the History of Modern Algeria (1500-1830), Special Edition, Ministry of Mujahideen, Algeria.
14. Kananche, Mohammed, (1982), The Independence Movement in Algeria, The National Company for Publishing and Distribution, Algeria.
15. Megallati, Abdullah, (2008), Algerian-Maghreb relations during the Algerian War of Liberation (1954-1962), Doctoral thesis, Mentouri University, Constantine, Algeria.
16. Mansouri, Asmahen, (2016-2017), The movements of the fronts during the war of liberation 1954-1962, Master's thesis, University of Mohammed Khider, Biskra.
17. Nait Belkacem, Mouloud Qasim, (2007), Initial Reactions Inside and Outside to the Dawn of November, Dar Al-Umma, Algeria.

Third: Articles

1. Lounisi, Rabah, "The Internal Conflicts of the Algerian Revolution in the Algerian Historical Discourse", available at: <https://doi.org/10.4000/insAniyAT6492>.
2. Aouimer, Mouloud, "The Algerian Revolution in the Writings of Dr Abu Al-Qasim Sa'd Allah", available at: <https://oulama.d2>.
3. Amkran, Abdel Hafidh, The Soummam Conference of 20 August 1956: Preparation, Organisation and Content, Journal of 1 November, No. 68, Algeria, 1984.