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## The state of local development in Algeria after independence

### واقع التنمية المحلية في الجزائر غداة الاستقلال

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### Abstract:

Local development is one of the major challenges faced by independent Algeria. Firstly, this is due to the colonial legacy that left behind a deteriorated economic and social situation. Secondly, it is due to the aspirations of the newly established Algerian state and its desire to achieve sustainable development both nationally and locally. Local development is considered a cornerstone of comprehensive development and is essential for achieving justice and equity in the distribution of benefits and wealth among generations. It involves a process of integrating government efforts with those of local communities by utilizing the financial, human, and natural resources available in those localities to meet and fulfill the needs and requirements of the public. This aims to achieve the highest levels of welfare for these communities. Therefore, the young Algerian state prioritized local development to achieve regional balance. However, due to the absence of concepts related to local development such as (specificity of areas, quality of programs, and actors), disparities were created between regions.

**Keywords:** Development - Plan - Future Prospects - Local Communities - Administrative Division

### الملخص:

تعد التنمية المحلية إحدى أهم التحديات الكبرى التي عرفتها الجزائر المستقلة، وأولا نتيجة الإرث الاستعماري الذي خلف واقعا اقتصاديا واجتماعيا متدهورا، وثانيا نتيجة رهانات الدولة الجزائرية الناشئة ورغبتها في تحقيق التنمية المستدامة على المستوى الوطني، وعلى مستوى المحلي، حيث تعتبر التنمية المحلية ركن من أركان التنمية الشاملة وهي مطلب أساسي لتحقيق العدالة والإنصاف في توزيع المكاسب والخيرات بين الأجيال، فهي عبارة عن عملية يتم من خلالها الدمج بين الجهود الحكومية والجهود الجماعات المحلية من خلال استغلال الموارد المالية والبشرية والطبيعية المتاحة على المستوى تلك المحليات بغية التواصل إلى تلبية وتحقيق الاحتياجات والمتطلبات الجماهيرية من أجل الوصول إلى أعلى مستويات من الرفاهية لتلك المجتمعات، لهذا أعطت الدولة الجزائرية الفتية أولوية للتنمية المحلية من أجل تحقيق التوازن الإقليمي، لكن نتيجة غياب المفاهيم المرتبطة بالتنمية المحلية مثل (خصوصية المجالات، نوعية البرامج والفاعلين)، خلق تفاوت بين الأقاليم.

الكلمات المفتاحية: التنمية - المخطط - الأفق المستقبلية - الجماعات المحلية - التقسيم الإداري

## INTRODUCTION

Local development is one of the major challenges faced by independent Algeria. Firstly, this is due to the colonial legacy that left behind a deteriorated economic and social situation. Secondly, it is due to the aspirations of the newly established Algerian state and its desire to achieve sustainable development<sup>1</sup> both nationally and locally. Local development<sup>2</sup> is considered a cornerstone of comprehensive development and is essential for achieving justice and equity in the distribution of benefits and wealth among generations. It involves a process of integrating government efforts with those of local communities by utilizing the financial, human, and natural resources available in those localities to meet and fulfill the needs and requirements of the public. This aims to achieve the highest levels of welfare for these communities. Therefore, the young Algerian state prioritized local development to achieve regional balance. However, due to the absence of concepts related to local development such as (specificity of areas, quality of programs, and actors), disparities were created between regions. Hence, the problematic is as follows: What are the main challenges and prospects for local development in Algeria after independence?

It's impossible to discuss development<sup>3</sup> amidst the economic and social deterioration Algeria experienced after independence. Economically, it was marked by the absence of an industrial base and weak infrastructure. France applied a policy of "non-industrialization of the colony" to Algeria, believing that opening a

factory in Algeria would mean closing one in France, thereby threatening the French economy. Additionally, there was a focus on commercial agriculture over subsistence farming in the agricultural sector. There was a neglect of subsistence farming, along with a severe shortage of advanced agricultural tools. Moreover, there was a glaring lack of skilled personnel in various fields (industry, agriculture, commerce, health, public facilities), and a lack of necessary funds to build a strong economy. This has burdened the Algerian state with debt, making it economically dependent on foreign powers<sup>4</sup>.

The colonial apparatus left behind a catastrophic social situation, manifested in: scientific and cultural backwardness due to the policy of ignorance imposed by France, which resulted in a literacy rate exceeding 90% among illiterates, mostly women. Additionally, myths and superstitions spread by colonialism to maintain its presence in Algeria, along with a humanitarian crisis represented by one and a half million martyrs, three million people in concentration camps and forced residences, and displaced persons from neighboring countries. In addition, the destruction of eight thousand villages and the destruction of all production factors (actions by the secret army organization OAS), the flight of the European minority taking with them assets estimated at 110 billion French francs, scarcity of important figure, and complete cessation of production in some industries led to an increase in unemployment to approximately 200,000 unemployed immediately after independence, accounting for 32% of the active population in 1966. The imbalance between economic growth

and population growth also resulted in social problems such as housing, health, education, unemployment, diseases, poverty, and various forms of destitution<sup>5</sup>.

### **1. The relationship between development and good governance**

Establishing the foundations of good governance is essential for achieving sustainable development. Therefore, it is necessary to establish the principles of good governance by defining its standards based on :

- Establishing a state of justice and law.
- Strengthening genuine democracy.
- Accountability achieved through building a strong judicial authority.
- Democratic oversight by elected councils (parliament).
- Transparency in state affairs.
- Accountability achieved through building a strong judicial authority.
- Freedom of expression and freedom of opinion upheld by the media through freedom of access, investigation, and reporting.<sup>6</sup>

it is necessary to formulate strategies that outline the features of good governance, including the following:

- Institutional dimension: Ensuring the establishment of the foundations of good governance for state and societal affairs, providing both transparency and accountability necessitates the establishment of institutional structures that align with the phase of democratic transition, which in turn is linked to the aforementioned variables.

- Economic dimension and performance enhancement: The importance of the economic dimension must not be overlooked, as it represents one of the most crucial pillars and mechanisms of governance as a step towards democratic transition. Interest is no longer confined to determining economic growth levels, but has expanded to include the necessity of improving economic performance levels to address various crises through structural reforms.

- The relationship between the state and civil society institutions as a pillar of good governance:

The nature of the relationship between the state and civil society institutions reflects one of the most important pillars of good governance, as ensuring the effectiveness of these institutions in confronting the state is considered a fundamental requirement for development. The social sphere independent of the state, which emphasizes the existence of a public sphere for voluntary activities by groups, allows for a balance between the two sides of the power equation, with civil society institutions subject to the law, ensuring their independence from any ideological biases on one hand and enhancing accountability on the other.

- The role of international actors in supporting transparency and accountability: The current development strategies highlight the significant role of actors in shaping and defining the developmental trajectory. Naturally, this role is particularly evident in third-world countries, where these actors support certain approaches that generally promote the principles and mechanisms of good governance in these nations. This support is provided through economic aid from foreign governments and some international agencies. For example, international aid is often directed towards fostering pluralism as one of the institutional dimensions of political development, supporting the independence of grassroots

organizations, and ensuring the flow of information to guarantee greater transparency and accountability<sup>7</sup>.

## **2. Foundations of good governance and Algerian specificity**

If we apply the standards and strategies of good governance to the situation in Algeria following independence, we find significant differences. Algeria chose socialism as the path for building its independent state. The Tripoli Conference, later referred to as the "Tripoli Charter" (held between May 27 and June 6, 1962), outlined the general policies and the political, economic, and social directions for the independent Algerian state<sup>8</sup>. If we apply the standards and strategies of good governance to the situation in Algeria following independence, we find significant differences. Algeria chose socialism as the path for building its independent state. The Tripoli Conference, later referred to as the "Tripoli Charter" (held between May 27 and June 6, 1962), outlined the general policies and the political, economic, and social directions for the independent Algerian state. It was based on "not excluding any element of human activity in the development process<sup>9</sup>", meaning that all human and material resources must be provided and optimally utilized to achieve development. According to the conference's perspective, this can only be achieved by managing Algerian affairs according to the socialist orientation, seen as the only approach that can ensure meeting the needs of the society<sup>10</sup>. In this regard, "Lakhdar Bentobal" one of the leaders of the revolution, was asked by a important figure about the future of the socialist system in the country. His succinct reply was: "We do not say that Algeria will be socialist, but it will be

social"<sup>11</sup>.

As stated in the Tripoli Charter, the single-party system was endorsed under revolutionary legitimacy, emphasizing the transformation of the National Liberation Front (FLN) into the sole governing vanguard party and rejecting any room for political and intellectual pluralism<sup>12</sup>. The general objectives of the FLN were to build a free, democratic, and social Algerian republic that would not contradict Islamic principles. The party was tasked with setting the broad outlines of national policy and proposing state activities through the contribution of its militants<sup>13</sup>.

The Tripoli Charter addressed the economic and social tasks of the Popular Democratic Revolution, outlining its features in terms of:

### **A- The economic sphere**

The Tripoli Program stated that the Popular Democratic Revolution is primarily an agricultural revolution which is within the framework of agricultural reform, modernizing agriculture, preserving land, qualifying the workforce, establishing a transportation network linking cities to rural areas and farms, and expanding domestic markets.

As for other sectors of economic activity such as transportation, finance, foreign trade, energy, and manufacturing, all of them should be subject to nationalization either in the short or long term. This is because "progress in agricultural economy and mobilization of the masses for national development can only be achieved through a technological and economic base resulting from progress achieved in the industrial sector." Industrial development can only

occur through the creation of basic industries that serve advanced agriculture, and Algeria possesses the necessary resources to establish heavy industry. This would reduce bourgeoisie exploitation of the industrial base and encourage individual initiative in this field.

### **B- The social sphere**

Realizing all social aspirations of the people, advocating for improving the living standards of the population, eliminating unemployment, providing free education and healthcare, training national figures in education and medical fields, appreciation of woman and considering them as a fundamental pillar of society, calling for breaking the constraints hindering women's development, eliminating all retrogressive ideas and beliefs, and working towards women's involvement in political affairs (granting women party responsibilities)<sup>14</sup>.

### **C- The field of international relations and the political sphere**

The program focused on establishing Algeria's (the modern state) relationship with the world, considering it among its priorities and concerns. This policy was based on combating colonialism, imperialism, and human exploitation, which could only be achieved through supporting independence movements, establishing relations with socialist countries, forming alliances with newly independent states, striving to establish Arab unity, and mobilizing all material and moral resources to achieve peace in the world within the framework of international cooperation.

Farhat Abbas strongly opposed the socialist system adopted by Algeria, whether during Ben Bella's era or Boumediene's,

considering it a Stalinist utopian socialist system<sup>15</sup>. He questioned why Ben Bella and Boumediene chose this social model. In his opinion, the answer is simple: because each of them was thirsty for individual power under the guarantee of the communist system, much like Fidel Castro and Bryginov, seen as unremovable monarchs<sup>16</sup>. He said, "I advised Ben Bella to reconsider this path for the sake of Algeria's interests, but he did not listen to reason".<sup>17</sup>

Farhat Abbas opposed the socialist system that abolished a social class and allowed the emergence of an opportunistic bourgeois class that undermined the national economy in the name of the socialist system. This system allowed them to manage state institutions, financial and economic sectors, treating them as their private property, looting funds, and hindering economic development in Algeria. Farhat Abbas commented on this by saying: "The National Liberation Front is a symbol of all social classes. It was unable to carry the revolution on its shoulders except by including this undesirable class—the landowners, farmers, traders, and members of the liberal professions who financed the revolution. Most of them paid with their lives for supporting the National Liberation Army"<sup>18</sup>, This group was accused after independence of bourgeois tendencies and allegiance to the occupation. They were marginalized, and the way was opened for the emergence of an opportunistic class that amassed wealth by looting public funds under the guise of managing socialist institutions.

Amid the differences and orientations that characterized the Algerian political scene in the wake of independence, there are other perspectives that address the situation from a pragmatic angle. Here, we refer to

the opinion of Mahathir Mohamad<sup>19</sup> (Prime Minister of Malaysia), who emphasized the necessity of directing efforts and energies towards the real issues in societies and nations, such as poverty, unemployment, hunger, and ignorance. He argued that preoccupying oneself with ideology and attempting to dominate society by imposing cultural and intellectual agendas would only lead to more tension and conflict. According to him, with hunger and poverty, you cannot ask people to build awareness and spread culture. He added that Muslims have spent considerable time and effort fighting the major energy-producing countries by engaging in historical battles such as the conflict between Sunnis and Shiites and other ancient battles.<sup>20</sup>

Based on the above, if we consider the requirements of good governance and the political and developmental direction of independent Algeria, we find some imbalances due to loyalty being directed toward individuals rather than the nation<sup>21</sup>. This negatively impacts the comprehensive development of the country. There is an interdependent relationship between development and good governance, where it is necessary to provide and optimally utilize all human and material resources to achieve sustainable development. This can only be achieved by eliminating administrative and political corruption and mitigating its consequences.

### **3. Local development dynamics in Algeria after independence**

In Algeria, the awareness of the importance of local development began early after independence, highlighting the role of its programs and projects in meeting the specific local needs of each region. This began with the early establishment of local

units with the initiation of the first triennial plan (1967-1969), focusing primarily on industry and activities related to hydrocarbons. Alongside this, 8 special programs were introduced to address deficiencies, initially targeting 8 northern provinces. This evolved into 18 programs after the administrative division in 1974. Following the increase in the number of provinces from 15 to 31, the new provinces branched off from the initial eight that benefited from special programs. There was a growing sense of the importance of local development and increased attention to it with the introduction of the first quadrennial plan (1970-1974). Ministries relinquished management of special programs to the provinces as local communities took charge. Under the second quadrennial plan (1974-1977), the focus on local work deepened, leading to the establishment of a new type of investment programs that were more local and regional in nature and less centralized in preparation and management, under the name Municipal Development Plans (PCD), alongside Sectoral Decentralized Programs (PSD). These initiatives significantly contributed to meeting local population needs, achieving regional and local balance, and stabilizing populations and activities.<sup>22</sup>

Furthermore, Algeria undertook radical economic reforms after independence to revitalize its economy and erase the legacy of French colonial rule, this is evident in<sup>23</sup>:

#### **A- Industry:**

- Establishment of a ministry tasked with monitoring and managing industrial institutions and promoting their development.
- Adoption of a manufacturing policy as the

basis for achieving economic growth and making the means of production publicly owned, by establishing a robust industrial base (heavy industry: iron and steel complex in Annaba, and mechanical vehicles industry in Rouïba, Constantine, and Sidi Bel Abbès), and developing the petrochemical industry, which attracted 54% of the workforce by 1995.

- Limiting the control of foreign companies over national resources by purchasing their shares and participating in them.

- Undertaking a series of nationalizations, including the nationalization of hydrocarbons on February 24, 1975, and mines on May 6, 1966. This helped Algeria to assert its independent decisions regarding the process of structural economic reform without external pressures, due to the rise in hydrocarbon prices, especially during the period between 1973 and 1981.

- The beginning of the nationalization of mills and food industries in April 1964.

## **B- Agriculture**

- The nationalization of settlers' lands exceeded 2.44 million hectares since October 1962, converting them into self-managed cooperatives under a decree in March 1963.
- Reclamation of agricultural lands and establishment of socialist villages, where Ben Bella says: "The real project of the agricultural revolution began during our nationalization of colonial lands."
- Establishment of agricultural production offices (National Office of Grains).
- Agricultural cooperatives.
- Agricultural investments 1987
- Private investments.

## **C- Commerce**

- Foreign Trade: Where exchanges involve 60 countries worldwide, including important ones like France, the United States of America, and the Soviet Union. Algeria relies on petroleum, gas, and some agricultural products such as dates and olive for its exports. Imports consist of various manufactured goods, equipment, and semi-manufactured materials intended for assembly in Algeria.

- Domestic Trade: It focuses on organizing domestic markets to meet the needs of the population and national economy. It regulates internal trade according to laws, structures, and frames the private sector, and monitors domestic trade (suppressing fraud).

As for the manifestations of social transformations after independence, they were based on:

## **A- Employment**

Due to development plans, this sector experienced continuous growth due to economic improvements, especially in the service sector. Public employment alone saw over 1.5 million jobs, followed by the industrial sector.

## **B- Education**

The Algerian state has prioritized this sector by taking the following steps:

- Allocating the largest budget in the government to the Ministry of Education, exceeding 40 billion dinars.

- Five-year development plans aimed at supporting economic growth include projects such as building 500 secondary schools, 1000 middle schools, 2000 school



canteen, 500,000 university pedagogical seat, and 50,000 vocational training seats<sup>24</sup>.

Now all Algerian children have access to school without any class distinction, thanks to the plan and program implemented in education. This aims at three specific objectives: democratizing education, prioritizing sciences and technologies (aiming to make citizens productive and successful simultaneously), and Arabizing education (substituting Arabic as the natural language for science, culture, and administration)<sup>25</sup>.

#### **D- Health**

Before 1965, the health sector was characterized by inadequate equipment and staffing shortages, with only 1319 doctors available in the country, including just 285 Algerians. This equated to one doctor per 8092 people. There were also 264 pharmacists, one for every 52,323 people, and approximately 151 dentists. In terms of basic infrastructure, there was a significant deficit, with nearly 39,000 hospital beds before 1967. During this period, health policy was characterized by limited options due to inadequate resources. However, the situation improved as a result of state policies. The number of hospitals increased from 149 in 1962 to 372 in 2002, and the number of doctors grew from 1,278 in 1963 to over 35,368 in 2002. Moreover, the number of health centers providing free medical assistance in cities and municipalities multiplied.<sup>26</sup>

#### **E- Standard of Living**

There is no doubt about the living conditions inherited by Algeria after independence, characterized by poverty and malnutrition. However, there was notable

improvement, especially in the 1980s, through the policies implemented by the former President Chadli Bendjedid, under the slogan "For a Better Life." During this time, per capita gross income reached \$3,100 (2005), with an average life expectancy of 70 years.

### **4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

#### **F- Women and children**

The Algerian state has sought to promote women and focus on motherhood by integrating women into the workforce and political participation. Algeria has also aimed to join international treaties to protect women and children.<sup>27</sup>

#### **4. The principles of local development pursued by Algeria after independence**

Local development is considered a means to achieve regional balance and reduce local and economic disparities through programs and projects outlined by the state. These initiatives reflect the government's policies and directions in the field of local development.<sup>28</sup> Among the foundations of development that can be identified are the following points:<sup>29</sup>

- Achieving long-term sustainable development and meeting basic needs for each region.
- Ensuring regional balance by creating local capital mobility and enhancing its competitiveness.
- Promoting economic development through supporting and expanding investments for the benefit of youth.
- Working towards improving individual income.

- Promoting women's empowerment by integrating them politically, economically, socially, and culturally.

- Ensuring the right to education, with free education guaranteed For every Algerian child who reaches 6 years old.

- Ensuring the right to healthcare, with free treatment provided.

### 5. Imbalances in local development

The strategy of comprehensive development and the requirements of good governance have created imbalances at the Algerian level, which can be summarized as follows:

- Lack of efficient and competitive economic institutions.

- Ineffectiveness of regulatory institutions.

- Nature of banking institutions in Algeria hindering capital mobility in the absence of a financial market.

- Pervasive corruption in administrative institutions, bureaucratic hurdles, centralized decision-making and management.

- Evident indicators of embezzlement and bribery, along with the misappropriation of public funds in suspicious deals, leading to wastage of public money and failure to achieve desired development programs.

- Growth indicators outside the hydrocarbons sector remaining below aspirations<sup>30</sup>.

### 3. CONCLUSION

Under Presidents Ahmed Ben Bella and Houari Boumediene, the Algerian state aimed to achieve comprehensive development and local development by implementing numerous plans. They successfully removed a significant part of the colonial legacy. However, the dependency on individual leadership rather than national interests created conditions that hindered progress. In the absence of good governance, achieving sustainable development became nearly impossible.

Therefore, it is necessary to address this issue, and the Algerian state should outline a national vision for local development in the short, medium, and long terms. This should involve a genuine activation of the principles of good governance, while respecting the specificity of the Algerian individual and environment, and considering national needs. Consequently, we can move from achieving development to establishing the foundations of sustainable development, empowering the community to achieve continuous self-development that ensures increasing improvement in the quality of life for all individuals. This can be achieved by optimizing the use of available economic resources and distributing them fairly among community members which can only be achieved by relying on local development that enables each region of Algeria to achieve its specific developmental needs and requirements.

<sup>6</sup> Sara Dabbaghi, Good Governance and Economic Development in Algeria (1999-2007), supervised by Dr. Ali Awad Shararah, Master's thesis in Political Science, Beit Al-Hikmah Institute, Al al-Bayt University, Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, 2008-2009, p. 31.

<sup>7</sup> The same reference, page 32.

<sup>8</sup> C.A.N.: Microfiche No.: C054 + C055: Project of the program for achieving the democratic and popular revolution. See: Abdelhamid Zouzou, Historical References of the Modern Algerian State (Institutions and Charters), Dar Huma, Algeria, 2009, p. 46.

<sup>9</sup> Jedou Fouad, "Sustainable Development between the Requirements of Good Governance and the Specificity of Algeria," Conference on Political Transformations and Development Issues in Algeria: Realities and Challenges, Mohamed Khider University of Biskra. Also see: Omar Ferhati, "Requirements of Good Governance," Lecture delivered at the University of Biskra on the occasion of the International Conference on Good Governance, 2004.

<sup>10</sup> Mohamed El-Arabi El-Zubairi, The Algerian Revolution in its First Year, National Institution of Books: Algeria, 1984, p. 248.

<sup>11</sup> Rabah Loucini, Studies on the Ideology and History of the Algerian Revolution, Kawkab Al-Alam Publishing and Distribution, 2nd edition, Algeria, 2012, p. 99.

<sup>12</sup> Al-Amin Cheriet, Political Pluralism in the Experience of the National Movement 1919-1962, University press, Algeria, 1998, p. 88.

<sup>13</sup> The same reference, page 88.

<sup>14</sup> Tripoli Program (27 May - 6 June 1962), excerpted from the book "Basic Texts of the National Liberation Front (1954-1962)", Ministry of Information and Culture: Algeria, 1979.

<sup>15</sup> Utopian socialism is an idealistic theory advocating for the construction of a happy human society based on collective ownership, equality in distribution of goods, and compulsory labor for all members of the community. The term itself derives from socialism's promise of equality, justice, and sufficiency for all members of society, representing an ideal state of happiness and peace for humanity. The term "utopian" also refers to its distance from reality and its proximity to the realm of imagination on one hand, and the perceived impracticality of

<sup>1</sup> Sustainable development, according to the report of the International Commission on Environment and Development for the year 1987, known as the Brundtland Report, means "meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." see: Gerhard Hafner, Financial Globalization, Finance & Development, International Monetary Fund, March 2002, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> There are several definitions of local development, but as a procedural definition, we can refer to Mahy Eddine Jaber's definition, who defined local development as "a modern concept of social and economic work style in specific regions aimed at bringing about a civilizational change in the way of thinking, working, and living by raising awareness of the local environment. This awareness should be based on participation in thinking, preparation, and implementation by the local community at all practical and administrative levels." See: Sami Mohammad Jaber et al., "The Science of New Societies," Dar Al-Ma'arif University, Alexandria, 2000, p. 15. Also see: Jamal Zidan, The Role of Local Development in Algeria: Between Legal Texts and Realities, 1st ed., Algeria, Dar Al-Umma for Printing, Publishing, and Distribution, 2014, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> The United Nations defines development as "a set of means and methods used to unify the efforts of individuals with public authorities to improve the standard of living economically, socially, and culturally in national and local communities, and to integrate these communities positively into national life and contribute to the progress of the country. See: Mohamed Yasser Al-Khawaja, Sociology for Development of Concepts and Sectors, 1st edition, Dar and Library Al-Israa for Publishing and Distribution, 2009, p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> Hedda Boulaq, The Reality of Civil Society during the Colonial Period and after Independence, a dissertation submitted for the Master's degree in Public Policies and Comparative Governments, Faculty of Law and Political Science, Department of Political Science, University of El-Hadj Lakhdar, Batna, academic year 2010-2011, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Ferhat Abbas, The Night of Colonialism, translated by Abu Bakr Rahal, Mohammedia Press, Morocco, 2002, p. 130.

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<sup>25</sup> Ahmed Taleb Ibrahim, *From Decolonization to Cultural Revolution (1962-1972)*, translated by Hanifi bin Issa, National Publishing and Distribution Company, (n.d.), pp. 80-82.

<sup>26</sup> Abd al-Ali Dabla, *The Modern Algerian State (Economy, Society, Politics)*, Dar Al-Fajr, Cairo, 2004, pp. 119-120.

<sup>27</sup> The same reference, pp. 12-13.

<sup>28</sup> Zohair Seifi, the previously cited reference, pp. 307-329.

<sup>29</sup> Abd al-Latif Ibn Ashnaho, the previously cited reference, p. 509. See also: Abdelhamid Zouzou, the previously cited reference, p. 58.

<sup>30</sup> Saleh Saud, *The Problematic of Development*, lecture delivered at the University of Biskra (unpublished), February 2008.

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achieving this goal among utopian socialist thinkers on the other. See: *Encyclopedia of Politics, Arab Studies and Publishing Institution*, 3rd edition, 1990, p. 198.

<sup>16</sup> Ferhat Abbas, *Confiscated Independence 1962-1978*, ed. Flammarion, 1992, p. 130

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, p. 90.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, pp. 131-132.

<sup>19</sup> Mohammed Sadiq Ismail, *The Malaysian Experience: Mahathir Mohammed... and the Economic Awakening*, Cairo: Al-Arabi for Publishing and Distribution, 2014, p. 117. See also: *Encyclopedia of Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, Prime Minister of Malaysia, Part One*, Cairo, Egyptian Publishing House, Lebanese Publishing House, Malaysian Publishing House Dar Al-Fikr Kuala Lumpur, 1st edition, 2004.

<sup>20</sup> The activities of the Kuala Lumpur Forum for Thought and Civilization, held in the Malaysian capital Kuala Lumpur from November 10-13, 2014, were chaired by former Malaysian Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir Mohamad. The forum featured a session titled "Lessons from the Malaysian Experience and Understanding the Causes of Dysfunction in the Arab Experience." The forum was attended by a group of Arab thinkers and intellectuals, with the theme "The Civil State: An Islamic Vision."

<sup>21</sup> Ali al-Sawi, *Entry in the Political Meeting of the Administration, Renaissance of the East Library*, Cairo University, 1995, p. 80.

<sup>22</sup> Zuhair Sefi, *The Economic Revitalization Support Program and its Role in Local Development in Algeria (Case of the Wilaya of El Borge Bouaririj)*, *Journal of Geographic Research*, University of Kufa, 2014, pp. 307-329. Also see: Djillali Liabes, *The Enterprise between Political Economy and Industrial Society*, Edition Codesrai, 1989, p. 238.

<sup>23</sup> Abdellatif Ibn Ashoho, *The Algerian Experience in Development and Planning (1962-1980)*, University Press, Algeria, 1982, p. 21. Also see: Rabah Lounes et al, *Contemporary History of Algeria, Part Two*, House of Knowledge, Algeria, 2010, p. 60. Also see: Bouyacoub Ahmed, *Public Enterprise and the Market Economy (1988-1993)*, CREAD, No. 39, 1997, pp. 23-24.

<sup>24</sup> Ahmed Drare, *Primary Education in Algeria During the First Ten Years of Independence Restoration*, *Al-Asalah Magazine*, vol 3, Issue 8, Publications of Religious Affairs and Endowments, Algeria, May-June 1972, p. 226.