

Elites in Algeria: Between Historical Formation, Political Challenges, and Societal Stakes

النخب في الجزائر بين التشكل التاريخي والتحديات السياسية والرهانات المجتمعية

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Abstract: This study aims to investigate how the Algerian elites were formed with their various tributaries in Algeria, and how they contributed to building the Algerian state and determining the nature of the political system and social systems. The same study also seeks to try to know and track the mechanisms of their work with the state and their relationship with society. This can only be understood by reviewing the journey of the elite in Algeria, and how the educational system, the national movement, and religious values played a role in shaping their ideas, which made them face essential challenges and bets in order to achieve political and social requirements.

Keywords: Keywords: elites, national movement, society, state, challenges and stakes.

ملخص:

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى البحث في كيفية تشكل النخب الجزائرية بمختلف روافدها في الجزائر، وكيف ساهمت في بناء الدولة الجزائرية وفي تحديد طبيعة النظام السياسي والنظم الاجتماعية، كما تسعى نفس الدراسة إلى محاولة معرفة وتتبع آليات عملها مع الدولة وعلاقتها بالمجتمع، ولا يمكن فهم ذلك إلا من خلال استعراض مشوار النخبة في الجزائر، وكيف لعبت المنظومة التربوية والحركة الوطنية والقيم الدينية في بلورة أفكارها مما جعلها أمام تحديات ورهانات جوهرية في سبيل تحقيق المتطلبات السياسية والاجتماعية.

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Introduction

The Algerian elite has undergone numerous transformations and manifestations in the political and cultural arenas since its emergence. It has played societal roles that have granted it a prominent position in the post-independence era. As a limited group that monopolizes key economic, social, and cultural positions, the elite plays a pivotal role within the political framework, possessing some degree of authority in decision-making and influencing their formulation. However, there is also a subordinate elite that lacks the same capacity to make decisions.

The topic of elites in Algeria, particularly their historical formation, has been shaped by volatile political realities, challenging economic conditions, and significant societal challenges. It has garnered considerable attention among researchers in sociology and political science, given the tools and mechanisms elites possess to contribute to the formation and stability of society. Elites are intricately linked to the broader context of any state, playing diverse roles within its various systems.

In Algeria, the process of elite formation and development began with the emergence of the national movement, which will be a focal point in this research. This movement arose during the colonial era, with its initial mission centered on political, military, and religious roles, particularly in raising awareness about preserving national identity (language and religion, i.e., Arabic and Islam). Post-independence, the role of elites shifted to contributing to state-building and undertaking social, economic, and cultural responsibilities.

These roles were influenced by two primary contexts: the historical specificity marked by traditional mental residues that resulted in developmental and structural backwardness, and the impact

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of colonial legacies, which introduced challenges in building a state reliant on elites.

In the Algerian experience, the elite developed a distinctive mode of thought across political, cultural, economic, and religious domains, aiming to address Algeria's political situation and enhance its societal values. By diagnosing societal ailments and proposing solutions, the elite laid the foundation for building state institutions.

This raises a critical question: Has the Algerian elite genuinely played a pioneering and effective role in shaping the political landscape and contributing to Algeria's economic and cultural development? Or has its role remained confined to subordination to political authority? Evidence suggests that the elite's actions often did not transcend dependency and clientelism, particularly during the difficult period of the 1990s. During this era, the elite's practices, whether in their ideas or their realization as social and cultural projects, were marked by negativity and inefficiency.

1. Conceptual Perspectives on Elites:

Guy Rocher defines the concept of elites based on numerous analyses by scholars who have sought to delineate its meaning as follows:

"Elites comprise individuals and groups who, through the power they possess or the influence they exert, contribute to shaping the history of their community, whether by making decisions, expressing ideas, emotions, and feelings, or adopting these as their symbols."

While Rocher's definition might seem somewhat general and insufficient for encompassing all contexts in which elites have been understood, this paper aims to focus on a key type of elite found in societies: the intellectual elite. This group represents the vanguard of any society due to its ideological capital. However, scholars often differ on the interplay between ideology and the intellectual.

In Algeria, situated within the Maghreb region, the prevailing elite can be characterized as one united by a shared ideological

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framework that seeks to disseminate and articulate. This elite demonstrates the ability to communicate ideas and critique them without significant constraints.

This leads us to discuss writers, thinkers, creatives, scholars, and political reformers as representatives of the elite in Algeria. The pressing question here is whether this elite plays a fundamental role in establishing and laying the groundwork for decision-making that benefits society. To answer this, we must examine the perspective of the ruling elite toward the intellectual elite and whether their visions align or diverge. Answering this question requires tracing the historical relationship between the elite in Algeria and the ruling authority.

Linguistically: The Arabic word *nukhba* (elite) derives from the verb *intakhaba*, meaning to select or choose. Election (*intikhab*) means selection, and *nukhbat al-qawm* refers to their best or most distinguished individuals. The term *safwa* conveys the essence of selection or refinement, as in choosing or extracting the best.

Terminologically, English dictionaries define elites as "the most powerful group of people in a society, enjoying distinguished status and recognition." Italian scholars Gaetano Mosca and Vilfredo Pareto describe them as "a relatively organized minority that governs the unorganized majority, wielding power through superior capabilities and cultural capital. This group enjoys economic, political, and social privileges, either inherited or acquired, and includes functional and professional groups holding high status in society."

Harold Lasswell defined elites as "those who enjoy the largest share of any given value." Robert Dahl saw them as "a group of individuals forming a minority whose preferences dominate when disagreements arise over fundamental societal issues." Kamal Al-Munoufi described them as "a group of individuals who possess the sources and tools of political power within society, enabling them to shape public policy and make key decisions." (Ben Nabi, 1992, p. 141).

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These definitions illustrate the diversity and variance in elements emphasized in each definition. While it is easy to present multiple theoretical definitions of a concept, reconciling or synthesizing them is possible despite differences. However, applying these definitions to practical realities poses challenges, particularly concerning elites. The complexity increases when we attempt to embody these definitions in reality.

Bottomore highlights the categories of social groups that rise to elite status: intellectuals, industrial managers, and senior government officials. He describes them as heirs to the roles of previous ruling classes and as crucial agents in creating new societal forms.

What is the real significance of elites in driving change?

To what extent are elites the product of major societal transformations, or do they represent the interests of more powerful forces?

Attributing significant social influence to elites stems primarily from the acceptance of general elite theories. Identifying elites, however, presents challenges, particularly regarding intellectuals, who are among the most complex groups to define. Assessing their social impact is exceedingly difficult.

Thinkers are broadly considered a small group directly contributing to creating, transmitting, and critiquing ideas. This group includes writers, artists, scientists, philosophers, religious thinkers, social theorists, and political commentators.

It is challenging to draw precise boundaries around this group, as its lower levels overlap with the middle class, including educators and journalists.

However, their defining trait is their direct engagement with a society's culture, making their role sufficiently clear (Al-Suwaidi, n.d., p. 62).

2. History of Elites in Algeria:

This section does not aim to provide a chronological account of the trajectory of Algerian elites or study their origins, transformations, and outcomes. Instead, it seeks to highlight the key stages of formation and the evolution of the roles played by Algeria's ideological and intellectual elites, starting from the rise of the national movement through the revolution to the stage of building or rebuilding the state.

2.1 The First Stage: Formation of the National Movement

At this stage, we can distinguish three main factions:

1. **Revolutionary Nationalists:** such as the *Star of North Africa* and the *People's Party*.
2. **Reformists:** represented by the *Association of Algerian Muslim Scholars*.
3. **Assimilationists:** including the *Friends of the Manifesto and Liberty* and the *Communist Party*.

These factions, shaped by their respective intellectual foundations, whether closely aligned or significantly divergent, served as the cradle for Algeria's ideological and intellectual elites. They played a critical role in formulating ideological discourses about societal projects and strategies for their implementation.

This ideological framework was built upon two distinct projects:

- **The Independence Project**, represented by the revolutionary nationalists, engaged in political struggle to liberate Algeria from French colonial rule.
- **The Reformist Project**, advocated by the reformists, sought to reshape the identity of the Algerian Muslim individual by

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prioritizing social resistance through religious and educational reform over immediate confrontation.

In contrast, **the Assimilationist Project** was led by elites primarily shaped by the French educational system. This group demanded equal citizenship rights or sought to establish a communist society, with little regard for preserving Algeria's civilizational heritage.

It is notable that, despite differences in goals, methods, or both, the relationships among the intellectually distinct and ideologically competing elites alternated between tolerance in some instances and mutual support in others. This dynamic was largely driven by the nature of colonialism and the oppression it exercised, which directed most of their efforts against it (Delio, 2000).

2.2 The Second Stage: The Algerian Revolution

The liberation revolution, driven by the existential stakes that emerged with its outbreak, was initiated directly by the revolutionary nationalist elite. Consequently, various segments of society, particularly the ideological and intellectual elites, rallied behind the societal project outlined in the *Declaration of November 1, 1954*. This declaration served as a common ground, especially after the collapse of the assimilationist project, which the events following World War II had proven to be an illusion.

Although this period was far from ideal, the establishment of a unified body to lead the revolution marked the embryonic stage of state formation and outlined the framework for a future governance system. The effective management of events judging by the outcomes allowed for the structuring of the ideological and intellectual elites to contribute to crafting the societal project and developing strategies for its implementation.

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However, efforts to correct mistakes or revise decisions sidelined issues such as military and political conflicts, as well as internal competition within the fundamentals of collective charismatic leadership. These issues surfaced prominently immediately after independence.

2.3 The Third Stage: The Post-Independence Era

Following the political choice that emerged from the crisis of the summer of 1962, embodied in the single-party system with a nationalist-socialist orientation, its proponents sought to integrate various ideological and intellectual elites under its umbrella. This approach resulted in several outcomes:

Positive Outcomes:

- Maintaining national unity and extinguishing the flames of civil war.
- Mobilizing efforts for nation-building.

Negative Outcomes:

- The domestication of the elite, which opened the door to opportunism.
- The squandering of intellectual capacities and skills that were either sidelined or voluntarily withdrew.
- Leaving critical issues unresolved, most notably the incomplete societal project, which shifted in interpretation over time between socialist, reformist, or liberal approaches.

In light of the current crisis, it is evident that its historical roots lie in the failure to decisively resolve these fundamental choices. This was compounded by restraining the ideological and intellectual elites from playing their role independently, instead subjecting them to

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dilution and manipulation within short-term strategies (Al-Samaloti, 1989, p. 218).

4. The Role of Elites and Their Mechanisms of Production in Algerian Society:

It is clear, from the historical follow-up on the development of societies, that elites perform the following roles and tasks:

- Formulating basic concepts and perceptions and answering existential questions.
- Establishing and creating organizations.
- Inventing and developing representational tools.
- Creating and developing necessary wealth.
- Shaping and refining individual personalities.
- Establishing, protecting, and developing value systems.
- Setting boundaries, regulations, and determining penalties.
- Drawing objectives.
- Defining relationships.
- Directing life in general.
- Developing society through social change (R. Boudon & all, 1999, P. 108).

So far, we have tried through this introductory overview to focus on the role of elites in shaping and coloring their societies without posing the question of value, i.e., whether they lead society positively or negatively. On the one hand, without highlighting the role of society in producing these elites and through which mechanisms this happens. What is the relationship between these mechanisms and the types of elites they produce?

In addressing this, we will resort to some generalizations and simplifications as much as the context allows:

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In societies with high vitality, the mechanisms for producing elites may vary, and multiple classifications for these methods can be identified. Looking at history in general, we can distinguish the following methods:

- Reflective genius ("Greek philosophers").
- Revelation: "Divine religions, religious elites in all their branches and divisions throughout history."
- Charisma: "All leaderships that attract love and respect."
- Tribalism: "Inherited ruling elites and those in conflict within various cultures and civilizations, such as the ruling families of China, Japan, and Arab societies" (Abdullah Sharit, D.S.).

4.1 Educational and Pedagogical Institutions:

All these mechanisms, among others, can produce elites in a positive direction as well as in a negative one from a values perspective. For example, Pareto, after confirming the hierarchical essence of all societies, which he believes is unquestionable, emphasizes that this hierarchy is an empty form into which anything and everything can be inserted. The meaning or implication of this hierarchy depends on the characteristics or traits that we seek within it. There can be an aristocracy of saints, as well as an aristocracy of bandits, an aristocracy of scholars, or an aristocracy of thieves... If we consider this set of characteristics that help the rise and dominance of a certain class in society, we would simply call it "the elite."

The most dangerous consequence of this view and concept, which outwardly suggests a neutrality in form and a lack of concern for the value of the content, is the phenomenon of domination and mutual exclusion between elites. Within any group, exchanges between the elite and the base are not equal, which is self-evident, given the following principle: "Since symbolic wealth is concentrated within the elite, it is the elite that organizes the transmission of the

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necessary values in the life of the group with specific claims." In this regard, there may not be significant differences in the concept of the elite between Arab and Western thought in terms of its reference to a group or class that varies according to the fields it is associated with and the activities it engages in. However, the difference lies in the methods and ways these elites perform their work, their affiliations, loyalties, perspectives, and starting points. These conceptual principles, or even some of the derived methods, which some Arab elites attempt to borrow and apply, often clash with local convictions, leading to rejection, resistance, and relegation to the shadows, thus contributing to the isolation of the elite itself. This is the same reason that leads us to another form of mechanism for producing elites, namely:

Self-production or internal production:

This refers to the creation of elites within the framework of their societies' subjectivity, naturally arising through any of the previous mechanisms within the prevailing value system, regardless of its critical stance towards it.

Despite the variety of elites that can emerge from this category, their success rate is often low due to the shared references that guarantee high ease of connection, communication, effectiveness, interaction, and a high degree of responsiveness to the realities of the situation, with an evaluation of any potential deviations and influences from the surrounding environment. This category can be divided into:

- Natural Internal Production
- Artificial Internal Production

External Production:

This refers to elites that emerge spontaneously in a society based on an external value or intellectual system. It is also divided into two

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types: either it is self-generated through imitation or externally imposed through one of the enforcement methods. Elites in this category face difficulties in communication and connection, experience a lack of a sense of belonging, and lose the ability to participate effectively. This leads, in the end, to a complex of superiority and contempt for others, all of which deprive them of the capacity to influence and be influenced (Ghareed, D.S.).

6. The Elite and Society in Algeria

Historically, it is undeniable that Algerian society, with its ethnically diverse yet remarkably homogeneous composition (99% Muslim, 99% Maliki, 99% Ash'ari), has rarely been a source of internal ethnic disputes or conflicts. Algerian society has demonstrated a unique dynamism in producing elites across various fields at the local level and has also shown the ability to attract elite members. It has produced a class of scholars whose contributions extended beyond Algeria, becoming the driving force behind the Renaissance in many Arab countries, from Hijaz and ending in Egypt and Libya.

During the liberation revolution, Algeria produced distinguished and exceptional elites across all modern fields, drawing global attention. Examples of these elites include:

(The Association of Muslim Scholars, Leaders of the National Movement, National Political Parties, Organizational Leaders of the Revolution, Spiritual Leaders of the Revolution, Media and Diplomatic Figures of the Revolution, Pioneers of Educational Movements, among many others).

These groups deserved thorough study by specialists in Algerian universities to highlight their characteristics from all aspects. However, their analysis has remained superficial, confined to a few limited studies or emotional references.

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Finally, the "eighth elite" produced by Algerian society comprises those who excelled in the colonizer's culture, adopted it, and advocated for it, a group associated with the assimilationist movement. This elite deserves full recognition and evaluation as a form of social effort, even if it is viewed from an objective perspective as being misguided in its direction.

In the Post-Independence Era, after gaining independence, Algeria continued to produce elites across various fields, with prominent examples including:

- Pioneering political activists in various political parties, both public and clandestine, representing diverse ideological orientations.
- The intellectual elite, shaped by the national educational system at all levels, in both Arabic and French languages.
- Leaders of the labor and trade union movements.
- Technocratic elites from diverse professional backgrounds (Addil'Houri, 1989).

8. New Requirements and Challenges for Algerian Elites:

The contemporary challenges facing various elites can be summarized as follows:

- Intellectual production and creativity represent the greatest wealth over which nations compete.
- The intensity of competition has reached the level of piracy.
- A desire for direct dominance.
- The monopolization of knowledge and technology under various pretexts.

It is evident that these challenges entail several essential requirements, the most important of which are:

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In this paper, I attempt to build upon a thesis proposed by Malek Bennabi, who devoted his intellectual effort to addressing the issue of civilizational revival in the Islamic world, with Algeria as his practical example. His thesis is encapsulated in a clear and concise statement he made:

"The country (Algeria) no longer contains two elites but rather two overlapping societies: one representing the country in its traditional and historical essence, and the other attempting to create its history from scratch."

The issue of elites in any society or political system is a critical matter, depending on the roles they are assigned based on the historical phases the society is experiencing. In Algeria's case, the problem of development, both in its conceptual and practical dimensions, revolves around the issue of elites in formulating and shaping strategies.

From a historical perspective, the issue of elite structures in Algeria is chronic, afflicting the nation since the emergence of elites during the rise of the national movement in the 1920s. This problem became more pronounced after independence in a more dramatic form, sometimes taking bloody turns. The period of the Algerian Revolution serves as a realistic testimony and theoretical foundation for what we are discussing. It represented a phase of agreement, albeit not complete or universal, where the system at the time managed to create a balance that allowed the unification and investment of elite capabilities around a single project, embodied in the *Declaration of November 1, 1954*.

This places our elites before new requirements they must adapt to if they wish to maintain an active presence and contribute meaningfully to the current civilizational discourse. They must do so without dissolving into irrelevance, retreating from the scene, or resorting to self-destructive antagonism through hostility and enmity.

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Additionally, this situation compels all national elites, with their diverse perspectives, to seek areas of common ground that foster fruitful and creative cooperation. This is preferable to focusing on distinctions, which, for the most part, have become historically irrelevant (Al-Naqeeb, 2002, p. 9).

The issue to be formulated and discussed in this paper revolves around the following question:

How can a governing system enable the roles of elites to facilitate dialogue between intellectual perspectives in Algeria? In other words, how can a unified platform for thought and action be created to harness intellectual energies and practical initiatives in the Algerian elite landscape instead of squandering them?

However, it is crucial to draw lessons from history. The aim is not to domesticate talents, flatten ideas, or impose artificial conformity, as happened in the past. Diversity and plurality of visions are commendable, as long as elites genuinely reflect society and its aspirations, rooted in its civilizational framework.

Therefore, it carries a unified vision of life, expressed through a societal project that is open rather than closed off to history, yet not dismissive of it. This allows for the discussion of a development strategy that aligns with its principles and goals while remaining balanced in addressing its requirements and challenges.

Accordingly, this issue requires analysis and discussion through the following elements:

- Elites and good governance: A preliminary definition: This section examines the concepts of elites and good governance, as well as the vital relationship that links them.

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- A Brief Overview of the History of Elites in Contemporary Algeria, focusing on the emergence of the national movement, which encompasses nearly all the current elite groups.
- The Problem of Overlap and the Solutions Attempted, which explores the approaches adopted by successive governing systems in Algeria regarding the elites, along with the outcomes that led to the failure of these solutions. The period of the Algerian Liberation Revolution is taken as a starting point for discussion. (Sayed Abu Deif, 2006, p. 165).

9. Algerian Elites: The Problem of Overlap and the Solutions Attempted

Malek Bennabi's insightful observation refers to a historical phase when the ideological discourse and the societal project were considered settled and represented a real problem. After independence, the ideological discourse, framed by the single party with a national socialist orientation, dominated. The strategy for structuring the elites was based on "people's democracy" or the one-party system: "The institutions of the one-party system and the rules to resolve conflicts are, above all, based on the principle of democracy, meaning unity of opinion, majority decision-making, and individual execution. The second principle is accountability within the party, and the third principle is the party's oversight over the state."

In terms of content, the ideological discourse was hybrid, combining various elements. As Bennabi stated, *"Algeria cannot separate national culture, socialist culture, and the values of progressive Islamic culture."*

This orientation, which was born after a prolonged process, continued until the situation exploded with the events of October 1988. This period saw the emergence of what is known as the "crisis of populist ideology," characterized by an attempt to combine

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religious and secular elements, merging the preservation of authenticity and attachment to heritage on the one hand with admiration and a desire for global integration and engagement with modernity on the other.

The result was that the ideological intellectual elites managed, in a way, to delay the eruption of a societal crisis for decades. However, this only worsened the situation, which finally exploded in the summer of 1992.

The approach predominantly used was instrumental in nature, aimed at achieving the personal interests of those in power and managing public crises. This resulted in a superficial exchange between the two elites: the secular, French-speaking elite and the Islamic, Arabized elite. The cultural arena became an unofficial battleground, where the strings were pulled from above, wasting both energy and time. Politically, the one-party system was responsible for sterilizing efforts and attempts, leaving only a narrow space for expressing aspirations and criticisms. (Al-‘Ayashi, 1999, p. 35)

These characteristics collectively define what is meant by *overlap*, where two elites with contradictory projects coexist, unable to tolerate or engage in dialogue with each other. The channels of communication between them were closed, and the gap between their perspectives from their foundational assumptions to their goals was exploited to justify social conditions or to pass temporary political and economic projects.

These solutions were not sufficient to harness the potential and capabilities of the ideological intellectual elites or to formalize a societal project that would unite all social groups. In the language of Malek Bennabi, this is the preference for focusing on the world of individuals rather than the world of ideas. (Chomélie-Jandrokour Fwazih, 2005).

10. The State and Its Role in Structuring the Elite Scene in Algeria

If the role of the ideological intellectual elite is to distribute loyalty among social groups and organizations and to defend public interests, then the history of the emergence of this elite in Algeria, as a carrier of the political liberation project, should evolve into a project of civilizational liberation in all its dimensions. This should be reflected in a comprehensive developmental strategy. Such a transformation will only be achieved through a subjective process and a deep critique of the premises, goals, and roles that led to its domestication or marginalization. (Bro, 1998, p. 418)

This coincides with the availability of good governance, which can make these demands achievable by providing the initial conditions for eliminating the remnants of governing styles and political strategies that were used to achieve short-term objectives without clear long-term goals or projects that clash in their assumptions and perspectives on life and the real needs of Algerian society.

Leadership in any political system is the driving force behind managing its affairs. It is considered "*a mechanism of interaction that connects leaders and followers in a dynamic, reciprocal, and simultaneously unequal relationship.*" We can distinguish between two types of leadership: settlement leadership and restructuring leadership. Settlement leadership is a routine function of leadership, dealing with governance and managing institutions and individuals through coordination, resource management, and planning. Restructuring leadership, however, is the type that concerns us, as it aims to transform the very frameworks through which the representation relationship is understood, focusing on the role of major historical figures.

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The Old Legislators, Reformers, Modern Revolutionaries, Liberators, and Founders of Nations naturally fall within the practice of ambitious leadership. We can distinguish two typical forms of restructuring leadership:

1. **The first form is more personalized.** This emerges in societies or organizations experiencing a deep crisis of values, particularly in the area of identity. We find this situation especially when accompanied by harsh changes, such as *a modernization crisis in traditional societies, economic dilemmas, and a legitimacy crisis facing the political system.*
2. **The second form is ideological leadership,** which involves a distinctive relationship with significant intellectual investment aimed at facilitating the understanding and interpretation of social environments. This is achieved by proposing certain conceptual frameworks for perceiving the world, evaluating reference values, and accomplishing specific tasks. (*Abdullah Sharit, op. cit., p. 132*).

It is clear that the leadership model in Algeria aligns with the restructuring model, where it was more personalized during the revolutionary phase. However, after independence, the shift to ideological leadership did not occur. Instead, the ideological intellectual elites were either domesticated or marginalized within the framework of the one-party system, or in a mere facade of pluralism, or completely excluded. Therefore, if we revisit the formulation of good governance in key points, we can discern the core of its relationship with the ideological intellectual elites. Good governance is:

- **A political coordination process** that encompasses the political system as a whole, aiming to achieve collectively defined goals within a society marked by structural and value-based diversity, as *society is a differentiated entity*. It works to formulate goals horizontally.

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Thus, the practical priorities of good governance in Algeria should include:

- Defining operational rules horizontally.
- Creating spaces for dialogue and communication among the various factions of the ideological intellectual elite.
- Rehabilitating the role of elites in thinking and initiating, rather than positioning themselves or retreating into isolation.

From a theoretical standpoint, the connection between the ideological model of the state and the intellectual ideological elite lies in the concept of ideology as *"a force in the production of reality through coherent and logical representations. These representations must positively respond to the explicit or latent aspirations of the governed. However, they can also contribute to adjusting these aspirations and generate new demands that obscure older perceptions."*

From this, we conclude the decisive role that the political system and the intellectual ideological elites must play to be both representative and effective. This criterion allows for the purification of contradictory and unrealistic propositions. Therefore, the first steps involve structuring and organizing the elite scene in Algeria. (*Same reference, p. 135*).

In conclusion, we raise a series of questions related to the duality of society and the duality of the elite, such as: *Is there a space for a historical settlement that guarantees the organic unity and harmony of Algerian society?* This can only be achieved under democracy to carry out a societal project. So, *is it time for the silent majority and the silent minority, the elite, to unite and have their project heard?* The answer to both questions is yes, if good governance is in place.

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