

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND SOFT POWER IN ALGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

الدبلوماسية العمومية والقوة الناعمة في السياسة الخارجية للجزائر

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Abstract:

When it comes to describing, explaining, analyzing and assessing the role and contribution of public diplomacy and soft power to Algeria's foreign policy, it is necessary to refer to the historical, political, economic and cultural contexts of the country in order to gain a better understanding of their evolution. In fact, the basic values and principles that continue to guide Algerian foreign policy have their roots in the revolution against French colonial, which had a worldwide impact. Thus, the notion of public diplomacy is relatively familiar to political and diplomatic actors in Algeria, however soft power concept remains confined to the academic sphere despite its importance nowadays. In sum, the Algerian revolution is and should be one of the main assets to be considered alongside geo-strategic position, culture, diplomacy, tourism, sports; mainly football and human and natural resources as assets.

Key Words: Public; **Diplomacy**; **Soft**; **Power**; **Algeria**; **Foreign**; **Policy**

ملخص

عند ما يتعلق الأمر بوصف وتفسير وتحليل وتقييم دور ومساهمة الدبلوماسية العمومية والقوة الناعمة في السياسة الخارجية للجزائر، يتحتم التطرق إلى السياق التاريخي، السياسي، الاقتصادي والثقافي للدولة لكي نتمكن من الحصول على فهم أحسن للتطور الذي حدث. وعليه، فإن القيم الأساسية والمبادئ التي لا تزال الدليل الذي يقود السياسة الخارجية الجزائرية، لديها جذورها وأصولها من الثورة ضد الاستعمار الفرنسي والتي كان لها صدى عالمي.

إذا كان مفهوم الدبلوماسية العمومية معروفا نسبيا لدى الفاعلين الدبلوماسيين فمصطلح القوة الناعمة بقي مقتصرًا على المنابر الأكاديمية رغم أهميته اليوم. على كل، فالثورة الجزائرية هي و ستبقى أحد المقومات الأساسية التي يتوجب اعتبارها كقوة ناعمة بالإضافة إلى الوضعية الجيو-سياسية، الثقافة، الدبلوماسية، السياحة، الرياضة و خاصة كرة القدم، و كذلك الطاقات البشرية والموارد الطبيعية،

الكلمات المفتاحية: الدبلوماسية؛ القوة؛ الناعمة؛ الجزائر؛ السياسة الخارجية؛

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Introduction

When it comes to describing, explaining, analyzing and assessing the role and contribution of public diplomacy and soft power to Algeria's foreign policy, it is necessary to refer to the historical, political, economic and cultural contexts of the country in order to gain a better understanding of their evolution. In fact, the basic values and principles that continue to guide Algerian foreign policy have their roots in the revolution against French colonial rule that began in 1830. A series of acts of insurrection, resistance, opposition, uprising and riots boiled over in 1954 into popular revolution. The revolution having been concluded by a cease-fire on 19 March 1962, Algeria's independence was proclaimed on 5 July 1962. Algerians paid a high price in the blood of 1.5 million martyrs and left several million of citizens in psychological trauma. But, importantly, it has enabled the Algerian people to reclaim their dignity, independence and pride after 132 years of colonization and deprivation of freedom.

It is important to recall that the Algerian revolution had a worldwide impact, sympathizers from all over the world expressing emotional, ideological and political admiration and support for its freedom fighters. To cite but a few examples, history still remembers when, in 1956, John Fitzgerald Kennedy and Zbigniew Brzezinski, then students, brandished an Algerian flag on the streets of Vienna in clear support of the revolution. One year later, an influential member of the Kennedy family publicly and unequivocally announced his support for the independence of Algeria, an announcement which infuriated and angered France that considered this to be direct interference in its internal affairs (Malek 1995). The international support and solidarity that the Algerian revolution attracted gave inspiration to revolutionaries in Spain and Portugal, who were fighting dictators; and

political movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America, that were struggling for independence from European colonial powers. Later, it was the Portuguese president himself who signed in Algiers the independence accord of former Portuguese colonies Angola, Mozambique and Cap Verde. Today integrity, respect for inviolability of frontiers and maintaining a good neighborhood are key principles of Algerian foreign policy and are at the core of Algeria's political and diplomatic actions. Secrecy and discretion have been the main characteristics of Algerian diplomacy in the past and linger today (Malek 1995). Algeria strives to develop a society based mainly on social justice, free access to education and democratic exercise of political power. Internationally, Algeria has demonstrated full and unequivocal support for liberation movements, defending the right of self-determination for countries still fighting for independence and freedom. The country has launched a program of global decolonization diplomacy led by supporters of liberation movements who are eager to offer political and military support. South Africa, Zimbabwe, Sao Tomé and Principe were some of the countries that benefitted from Algerian civilian and military logistics. In sum, Algiers became a revolutionary 'Mecca' for African leaders (Malek, 1995).

Public diplomacy and soft power in Algeria's foreign policy

Public diplomacy concept in the Algerian context

It is worth noting that the notion of public diplomacy is relatively familiar to political and diplomatic actors in Algeria, unlike the notion of soft power that remains confined to the academic sphere. Algerian public diplomacy has been reconfigured, without consideration of the notion of soft power, after dramatic changes to the Algerian political system when it progressed from a single-party to a pluralistic system. The constitution of 1989 marked an important shift in national politics as it initiated the spread of new democratic values, allowed the creation of political parties, and gave rise to a media explosion, associations and social movements. There have been changes in the nature of politics, and civil society, that has been silent and voiceless for so long, has now emerged into the open (Charef 1995).

The power of attraction, soft power, should be an important complement to economic and military power in Algeria. After all, Algerian diplomatic action is based on the premise that the country's image and reputation abroad are related to its performance. Public diplomacy should involve partnering publics abroad but should also include "a strong participatory governance character" at home, that gives legitimacy and credibility (Chitty 2007, 2011, p. 255). Algeria strives to gain citizens' legitimacy and credibility through democratic elections, political participation and media pluralism (Charef 1998).

However, the main dimensions of news management, strategic communications and relationship-building, that are the basis of an effective public diplomacy, are still not fully met. In fact, the communication deficit inherited from the aforementioned secrecy and discretion culture, an 'obsession with security', a 'revolution rules' mentality and a single party system, are still prevalent despite over 20 years of democratic experience. Omertà (code of silence) and a culture of discretion exist intellectually and practically and these may take a while to fade away (Charef 1998).

Soft power concept in the Algerian context

Public diplomacy is an important tool in the use of smart power (Melissen 2005). Smart power is a judicious combining of elements of soft and hard power (Nye 2011). Smart public diplomacy requires an understanding of the roles of credibility, self-criticism and civil society in generating soft power. The main aspects of soft power as attractive power of culture, ideas and values continue to be undervalued (Chitty and Dong 2014). Algeria, as already mentioned, has still to learn how to use soft power in attracting followers or agreement around norms and institutions that will have the effect of producing desired attitudes or policies.

Algeria continues to follow the norms of traditional discrete diplomacy rather than engage in soft power-based public diplomacy. Its soft power that rests on its culture, values, youth and policies has been partially overlooked in its public diplomacy. Algeria seeks to build a positive international image through its contribution to the resolution of the Malian conflict and its attempt to make a similar contribution in Libya. Algeria is also currently heavily involved in the struggle against global terrorism, as will be described in the course of this chapter, in order to win the hearts and minds of people around the world. The pertinent example of this is Algeria's contribution to the resolution of the Malian conflict and its attempt to make a similar contribution in Libya. As smart power combines hard and soft power resources, this may be considered a smart power strategy.

Algeria's foreign policy principles

Main principles and values

Official documents (Algeria's constitution of 28 November 1996) states that foreign policy reflects the reality of its internal situation. Its particularities and specificities, rooted in the historical and ideological heritage of the revolution, are mainly based on the following principles:

- full and unequivocal support of liberation movements in the world;
- clear support of self-determination process for countries still under occupation;
- support for the principle of non-intervention in countries' sovereignty and internal affairs;
- advocacy and adherence to diplomatic tools for conflict resolution;
- respect of the inviolability of frontiers inherited from colonization.

Structures and institutions involved in the foreign policy conception The Algerian constitution (November 1996) formally stipulates that the president has full authority in conceiving, making and implementing foreign policy, based on contributions from different structures and institutions such as the military, Constitutional Council, National Assembly (parliament), National Council (senate) and Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The latter is the executive instrument of foreign policy through its normative attributions; activities and reports based on analysis of the political situation; conception and coordination of different actions; and preparation of conventions and treaties. Embassies, consulates, cultural centre and special presidential envoys take part in decision-making processes. Besides, other public and political institutions such as the National Institute of Global Strategic Studies are solicited for contributions and advice. They may also suggest analysis of different strategies on international relations, security and defense topics. The Committee of International Human Rights is solicited to provide information and data on human rights that consolidate and enrich the process of deliberation and decision on some issues.

The president's constitutional role in foreign policy decision-making

As stated in the Algerian constitution, the president has the constitutional right to appoint the Minister of Foreign Affairs, ambassadors and other representatives as well as special envoys. He also has the decisive and ultimate role in determining foreign policy guidelines and actions. However, in practice internal and external factors have very often challenged this role. Some internal factors are related to the president's personality; in terms of charisma, authority, competence, education, historical legitimacy and the nature of the political system in place, whereas external factors are linked to the international political situation, social tensions, economic crises, security issues and military conflicts.

First foreign policy crisis of independent Algeria

Inspired by the revolution in the first years of independence, Algerian authorities initiated ambitious development programs to build up a democratic society based on social justice, economic growth and free access to education and health. However, personal feuds, regional identity questions and leadership crises led to conflicting and divergent political positions. The 'enigmatic death' of the first foreign minister of independent Algeria was one of the consequences. This was followed by a series of latent crises and conflicts that led to the 'pacifist toppling' of President Ahmed Ben Bella on 19 June 1965 by a revolutionary council chaired by Colonel Houari Boumediene.

Boumediene having imposed military supremacy over political leadership, Algeria fell under a military presidency in 1965. Therefore, hard power (strong fist) as an

approach has been at the heart of the regime and is even its essence. The notion of soft power played no role in the recent historical context, especially for those in power who strongly believed in the military approaches. After all, they had successfully used force, violence and military action to gain Algeria's independence from France. Negotiations with French authorities were supported by Algerian military coercion and supremacy on the ground that forced France ultimately to accept direct talks and agree to a cease-fire and independence for Algeria.

Algeria's nation and revolution branding

Algerian revolution as a soft power asset

Following its achievement of independence, Algeria saw itself as being entitled to offer support to political movements in other countries in their decolonization process (Shepard 2006). The success of the Algerian revolution itself generated a soft power and emphasised the attractiveness of winning freedom and independence. In fact, Algeria advocated a worldwide branding and promotional campaign to demonstrate to the world that military action is the only alternative left to people under occupation to recover their independence. This action was productive and was arguably perceived positively as many African countries recovered their independence from colonial powers in the 1960s (Balibar 1997).

New world economic order

Internationally, Algeria's main diplomatic actions consisted of advocating self-determination rights for countries under colonization and supporting the Non- Aligned Movement (NAM). As such, the country succeeded in organizing, in September 1973 in Algiers, the fourth conference of heads of states and governments of the NAM. It was an opportunity for participants to draw up a draft declaration on the New World Economic Order (NWEO) that was being called for in global economic negotiations.

Algeria's president benefitted from that conference by promoting his image among world leaders (Balta and Rulleau 1978). The political and economic principles of NWEO were to enable third world countries to recover sovereignty and authority over their natural resources, end despoiling of these resources by developed countries and compel developing countries to negotiate fairly on global economic issues. It was Boumediene himself who, in April 1974, claimed before an extraordinary session of the United Nations a complete reformation of international relations and a fair sharing of planetary resources for world prosperity.

Unfortunately, Algerian demands were met by fierce opposition from developed countries that persisted in maintaining their supremacy and control of economic resources. Nevertheless, the process of nationalization and re- appropriation by the third world countries of their resources began to take shape. Thus the United Nations organization embarked on a long negotiation process through the Group of 77 and other international agencies to launch global economic talks based on equity and fairness rules (Bouzidi 1999).

Political and economic 'romanticism'

Nationally, Algeria launched a process of re- appropriation of its politics, culture, education and nationalization of its economy and industry. It advocated a socialist ideology with the intention of recovering national identity through development by delivering education, health, social and economic opportunities to citizens. The Algerian National Liberation Front proceeded to unite society under a one- party

system. Also, ambitious economic, social and education development programs were launched in attempts to ensure the country 'took off' economically. In the end, the political and economic development programs faced a wide range of challenges that disabled their implementation. The lack of a genuine and real democratic and pluralistic political system, illiteracy and mismanagement discouraged many partisans of what was called "the political and economic romanticism" (Bouzidi 1999).

Sovereignty and decolonization diplomacy

Under Houari Boumediene's authority, Algeria upheld sovereignty and strongly advocated non- interference, resisting foreign influence by launching a series of revolutions in culture industry and agriculture. The main aim of the revolutions was to build a new country with a new "Algerian Man" (Ibrahimi 1973), and also a well-performing industrial sector and self-sufficiency in agriculture. In the mid- 1970s Algeria actively participated within the UNESCO commission calling for a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) to balance the one- way flow of information from north to south (Mac Bride 1980). The USA, Great Britain and Singapore withdrew from UNESCO as a result; that was the "burial" of the project for lack of political will and financial support (Masmoudi 1973).

During Boumediene's reign, Algeria saw itself as a fervent supporter of world revolution in opposition to US imperialistic and western capitalistic powers (Malley 1973). The country was publicly opposed to US "intervention in many parts of the world advocating the widely shared international legal and political norms of self-determination of peoples" (Malley 1973).

Algeria's emphasis on sovereignty and its opposition to foreign intervention are core principles of its foreign diplomacy

Algeria's mediator and facilitator role

Historical and diplomatic weight has enabled Algeria to be a facilitator and a reliable moderator. Algeria's active diplomatic initiatives have been used in support of Malian cohesion and integration since 1991. Algeria managed to broker cease-fire agreements in 2006 and also during the two troublesome years before the final June 2015 agreement was concluded. As a natural mediator, Algeria presents no threat or interference to the sovereignty of Mali; furthermore, it contributes to creating better political conditions for a successful reconciliation between different Malian factions through a rapprochement of points of view and positions.

Algeria has been leading an international mediation group in the Malian crisis, alongside delegations from the United Nations, the African Union, the European Union, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and some neighboring countries. It secured a role as facilitator and moderator, then welcomed different factions onto its soil and hosted talks in secret. Afterwards, it has been able to contribute to public negotiations because of its neutral and positive approach of remaining equidistant to conflicting parties. Also, Algeria managed to resume political, sociological, anthropological and cultural links between different Tuareg tribes and populations.

Algeria as a net exporter of peace, security and stability Algerian mediation came at the express and insistent demand of Malian president Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta (Lamamra 2015). Based fundamentally on non- interference and non- intervention principles, Algeria's foreign policy has entitled it to gain trust and confidence from all Malian parties. Having a modest experience in dealing with international conflicts through international mediation, Algeria has played positive

roles in many crises and conflicts in the world. In 1975, during the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) summit, it managed to supervise a peace agreement between Iran and Iraq. In 1980, Algeria succeeded in resolving diplomatically the US- Iran hostage crisis after 445 days of captivity of the US citizens in Tehran. In 2000, Algerian president Bouteflika, in the presence of US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, sponsored the agreement that brokered a long-lasting peace between Ethiopia and Eritrea. In the Malian conflict, Algeria has supervised several public rounds of negotiation in the presence of a diplomatic team led by the polyglot foreign minister Ramtane Lamamra.

It is under its authority that Algerian diplomacy develops multiple approaches; political, economic and cultural diplomacy accompanied by economic investment in Mali. I had the opportunity to attend some of the 'Algiers negotiation rounds' and objectively I have noticed the mediation skills and potentialities of diplomats from Algeria, as the main supervisory group, and also of diplomats from the United Nations, the African Union, the European Union, the USA, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and other neighboring countries. In sum, Algeria has spent a considerable time building up its soft power capabilities, which has finally entitled it to become a "net exporter of peace, security and reconciliation in the world" (Lamamra 2015).

Algeria's soft power potentialities

Educational students exchange scheme

Educational exchange programs function as one of the mechanisms of the broader phenomenon of soft power (Atkinson 2010). One of the most effective mechanisms for the dissemination of democratic ideas is international educational exchange. Student exchange programs are seen as possible transnational channels of norms and ideas. As such, since the 1970s Algeria has offered thousands of scholarships to its own students to study in the developed world; the USA, the United Kingdom, Europe and the Arab countries. Equally, it hosted educational exchange programs and offered scholarships to students from African countries and the Arab world with the ultimate goal of providing Algeria's strategic engagement in a battle of ideas and values in fighting imperialism, illiteracy and underdevelopment.

Houari Boumediene launched ambitious educational programs by offering study opportunities to millions of Algerians to learn and to regain their dignity and freedom. Further, thousands of them, generally drawn from poor social classes, as a result of Boumediene's genuinely democratic and free educational system, were offered scholarships to study in the USA, the United Kingdom and the continent of Europe. Unfortunately, only a handful of them were given possibilities to advance economically and socially.

The rest were either kept marginalized or did not return. Today, those who did not return are leaders in international companies operating in several countries around the world.

Also, similarly, little was done in terms of contacts, lobbying and cooperation in respect of former foreign students who were enrolled at Algerian universities. Back home, many of them have, in fact, successfully occupied senior positions in their respective countries; especially in Africa as presidents, ministers, ambassadors, professors, engineers, doctors and so on.

Humanitarian and emergency aid

When it comes to humanitarian and emergency aid, Algeria tends to rush quickly to supply food and logistics, notably to Africa. Niger, Mali, Mauritania, Western Sahara and Chad are very often the recipient countries of this aid. Similarly, the country offers shelter to refugees from Mali and Western Sahara. Also, during the 2015 earthquake that hit Nepal, Algeria sent emergency aid plus a group of expert firemen to Kathmandu to provide help and support.

Football as a popular soft power asset

Football is earning worldwide popularity. FIFA, the international football federation association, is even larger, with over 205 members, than the 194- member United Nations. In Algeria, the “footballization” of society is a social reality that is hard to ignore (Zaghلامي 2010). Football is not only the most popular sport but it has become an opium; sports arenas have become not only spaces to express political views and opinions but also to escape from everyday hardships and difficulties. For these reasons, authorities in Algeria have been putting all their weight, including political weight, behind the national squad, as they hope to gain political dividends in the form of public support and loyalty (Zaghلامي 2010).

Since its first participation in the football World Cup in 1982, Algeria has placed football high on its soft power agenda. Still in popular memory and imagination is the victory of the Algerian squad against Germany, 2– 1, in the Spanish city of Gijón. In 1986, only four years after Algeria joined the tournament, I was a student at Surrey University in the United Kingdom. I was surprised to find out that some English boys still remembered details such as the names of members of the Algerian team that beat the Germans. To me it was a clear indication that football can exert soft power on the hearts and minds of people throughout the world. Other participation of Algerian squads in the World Cup – in Mexico (1986), South Africa (2010) and Brazil (2014) – are perceived as having been excellent opportunities for Algeria to build up soft power.

Cultural and tourism potentialities

Culture action and tourism promotion are still lagging behind; both Algerian culture and Algeria as a tourist destination are mostly neglected (the latter more than the former) and have not exercised enough attraction despite some sporadic actions and promotional measures. Thus Algeria as a tourist destination remains strangely unknown in comparison with neighboring Morocco and Tunisia. However, in the cultural field Algeria has organized some international activities; it has held an Arab and Islamic culture session as well as other European and African cultural festivals. It also organized an Algerian cultural year in France and provides religious scholars as preachers for the Mosque of Paris and its affiliated mosques throughout France.

Culture is not considered in Algeria as being an important asset of soft power and influence. With a limited budget allocation, its deployment is therefore quite constrained and limited to some cosmetic and temporary actions and events. But what is more noticeable is that the Algerian audience is a heavy consumer of foreign cultural products and television sitcoms, mainly Turkish ones. So, instead of encouraging and promoting rich local popular and national culture, authorities tend to neglect to a great extent the cultural potentialities that exist in various segments, fields and regions of this vast country (Zaghلامي 2010).

Soft power of media pluralism and diversity

Although the Algerian media landscape is pluralistic, with 145 newspapers and 30 private television channels, its soft power and influence remain hypothetical, as these media still lack independence, credibility and professionalism. Thus political interference and commercial and financial constraints are the hidden obstacles to media diversity and pluralism. Instead of espousing public service values, some local media have excelled at manufacturing propaganda through manipulation and distortion of truth. Only a coterie of newspapers strives to secure high standards of impartiality and independence.

Terrorism and security diplomacy

The fight against terrorism is one of the main international actions that Algeria has pursued since the 1990s. Having faced it alone for a decade, the country is committed to a large-scale struggle against terrorism. As an active member of the global forum to fight terrorism, in concerted approach with USA, Canada and other countries, Algeria advocated both military and diplomatic solutions. On the one hand, it is using hard power assets to wipe out the terrorism phenomenon. It steadfastly opposes payment of ransoms and has criminalized such practices. However, according to media reports (Middle East Monitor), Paris paid in October 2020, a ransom to release a French hostage who was kidnapped by a terrorist group in Northern Mali, amid France's denial of the allegations. Algerian Prime Minister had expressed the country's great concern over the continued transfer of large sums of money to terrorist groups in exchange for the release of hostages. The deal was carried out between the leader of the Jama'at Nasr Al-Islam wal Muslimin (JNIM), Iyad Ag Ghali, and the French authorities, after which 207 terrorists were released, in addition to paying the terrorist organization a sum between (\$7.3-\$36.3 million). In spite of this French 'bad game', Algeria continues its fight against religious extremisms and other forms of radicalization by inviting scholars and experts to debate and suggest solutions. Also, Algeria is the host of the African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism, which undertakes research and develops proposals on the terrorism prevention.

Soft power versus hard power

Combining the use of soft power and hard power is a difficult exercise in today's conflict ridden international environment. Algeria, as a country that suffered years of diplomatic isolation in the 1990s and fought fiercely against terrorism, is now promoting freedom, peace and security as its present soft power values. Although the country does not excel in soft power cultivation, it strives to reduce alarm about its hard power policy of excessive military spending on building up its arsenal (Adimi 2012).

Actually, it is an awkward exercise to adopt a soft power approach in a hostile and unfriendly international environment (Adimi 2013). Though decision-makers, politicians and diplomats alike, advocate soft power policies, they do so without realizing what such policies would really mean in terms of impact on their actions. In the end, if soft power requires considerable human tact, expertise and exercise of intellect, it is clearly observed that in Algeria, for historical, emotional and even political reasons, decision-makers who inherited freedom won through military revolution still favor hard power and the use of the 'strong fist' to deal with sensitive security issues instead of advocating the diplomatic approach, despite Algeria's successful mediation in the Malian crisis. Revolutionary culture and socialist ideology are still vivid in the minds of those who suffered colonization and humiliation under the French. The same is true for others in Algerian society who share similar feelings and sentiments. Thus it may take years to see the country

shifting gradually to a soft and more flexible solution that is based solely on the virtues of public communication, negotiation and deliberation.

The ill-exploited assets of 'Soft Power' in Algeria Everyone agrees that Algeria has an important asset that some persons awkwardly pride themselves on characterizing it as capital ; its military arsenal which is certainly an asset entering the category of "Hard Power" while openly, it is the subject of criticism, on behalf of "brother countries and" friends ". The other countries reproach our country for adopting a frantic race for armaments and we abusively talk about 'the balance of terror' or 'terror of the balance', fortunately without nuclear deterrence as was the case between the United States and the former USSR at the height of the Cold War. While at the international level, the figures published by the Swedish institute ; SIPRI, specify that in 2019, the sale of the 25 largest companies increased by 8.5%, of which the five main arms companies were all based in the United States : Lockheed Martin, Boeing, Northrop Grumman, Raytheon and General Dynamics. With a jackpot of 166 billion dollars in arms sales per year, they are present in a total of 49 countries, through subsidiaries and research centers. As for the European companies, Thales and Airbus, they operate in 24 countries, closely followed by Boeing (21 countries) and Lockheed Martin (19 countries). The UK, Australia, US, Canada and Germany host the largest number of these foreign entities. However, apart from the arms industry hubs of North America and Western Europe, the largest number of foreign company entities are located in Australia (38), Saudi Arabia (24) , India (13), Singapore (11), United Arab Emirates (11) and Brazil (10).

Revolution in the military affairs' Algeria which has no representation of these foreign entities, is striving to develop its own military industry for a possible positioning on the international market. Of course, the price of maintaining this industry is important, in addition to the acquisition of military equipment and materials. But in the face of internal and external threats, our peace, security and stability are priceless. It is obvious that our army is in this obligation given its regional commitments, its geo-strategic position, also not to 'sell off' the questions of principle of independence but especially as we say 'proudly' to 'not bend over' 'spine'. It is inspired by the theory of 'Revolution in the military affairs' ; which consists of incorporating recent information and communication technologies into its strategy ; by equipping itself with a series of missiles of different types and uses, a batch of 5th generation combat aircraft and "drones". The ultimate goal is to master the operational terrain with limited human presence (Zaghلامي, 2020).

Soft Power or the art of Persuasion and Deterrence So, having a large military arsenal is a very good thing ', but showing it off is very often counterproductive, even apprehensive. No need to cite examples, which is why it is best to be modest and discreet. On the other hand, in order to circumvent and contain 'any provocation, many countries adopt the strategy of soft power or literally called ' soft power'. This concept, associated with the work of Harvard University political scientist Joseph Nye, is defined as "the ability to attract people to our side without coercion." . The main aspects of soft power as an attractive force are diplomacy, the media, freedom of press and opinion, culture, ideas and values. Nye's concept, which primarily focuses on the United States, has been adopted or adapted by countries around the world. Each country adopts its own grid of values and assets to apply its soft power strategy. For example, the United States launched in the 80s, 'American dream' or 'American way of life' as an attractive and persuasive slogan in their campaign of conviction, today the Chinese are replying with 'China Dream' 'ChinaTown', 'Confucius Cultural Centers' and 'Belt and Road Initiative' are proof that Beijing is preparing to take its revenge on history. Russia too, since the advent of Vladimir Putin, has succeeded in

positioning itself as a force and a military power inescapable. Examples are legion in this category around the world.

Digital Diplomacy and Zoom Diplomacy

Today things are "at a standstill" despite the strengths linked for example to football as an element of popular soft power, cultural and tourist potential. Cultural work and tourism promotion are still lagging behind ; our culture and Algeria as a largely neglected tourist destination. Culture is not seen as a major asset of soft power, and film and theater productions can be counted at your fingertips. As an alternative, the Algerian public descends on foreign cultural products, especially Turkish ones. Also, the media scene is certainly pluralistic, but it is far from being plural in its content, its analyzes and its impact. The cases of "failure" are numerous, our decision-makers must realize that when it comes to soft power or "soft diplomacy" we are lagging far behind. Despite a "flattering" speech, the country has a "limited" presence in terms of virtual spaces and "diplomacy" zoom. The latter, in these times of crisis, must be seen as an essential tool for a new political and diplomatic redeployment at national, regional and international level. Otherwise, we will continue to adopt a bureaucratic, Static and populist approach.

Conclusion

Globalization, technological digitization, public diplomacy and soft power concepts have gained global prominence. However, it is hard to promote soft power approaches when others are determined to pursue their national interests by being ready to launch military offensives. But Algeria, as has been shown in this chapter, learnt from its revolution, and again in the 1990s when she fought alone against violence and terrorism. So the country tries to combine the appropriate use of both soft and hard power.

In the Malian crisis, the country has been building up soft power potentialities and assets to convince different belligerents to ratify a peace agreement. In its fighting of terrorism, the country seems determined to wipe out all sources of fanaticism, radicalism and violence. On this issue, Algeria has been investing in the international arena to convince other countries of the need for the criminalization of ransom. It also supports efforts to develop distinct definitions for terrorism and resistance that differentiate between the two.

While international actors rely increasingly on soft power tools to achieve peaceful and productive relations in the context of world politics, economics and culture, many countries tend to amplify their voices through the greater use of hard power. So how should a state react to and deal with such a paradoxical situation? The answer may arise out of common sense; current struggles against transnational terrorism should be struggles to win people's hearts and minds. After all, over-reliance on hard power alone is not the path to success, and public diplomacy should be used as a tool in the smart power arsenal (Nye 2011). Equally smart public diplomacy requires a better understanding of the roles of credibility, self-criticism and civil society in generating soft power. The smart power concept is the rational approach to place together hard and soft power resources in order to achieve desired outcomes on the world stage. Ultimately, smart power is the ability to use the right combination of both soft and hard power depending on the national and international context.

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