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The Role of Exchange Programs in Mutual Understanding between Algeria and USA

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Dedication

I thank the almighty God for giving me strength and health to pursue and achieve this work. I dedicate this dissertation to my parents to whom I owe all my existence and I thank them for their help, support, and, patience, to my sisters, brothers and friends, also to the cultural services section in the US embassy Algiers for providing me with information to conduct this research. to all my teachers from the primary school to the university level mainly my supervisor Miss Amina Bouaziz, and all those who helped me either directly or indirectly in my life.

Salem ZEMALI

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this to my parents who gave me love, moral support, and lessons on discipline from an earlier age and helped pay for building my career, to my friends who stood by my side and guided me to make a final output and to the future researchers who can use this study as a guide or reference.

Housseem DJEDOUANI

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Abstract

Throughout history, the USA has used both hard and soft power to achieve the goals Americans aimed at in their foreign policy, exchange programs are known for their efficient and effective outcome as soft power in the US foreign policy. This study aims at investigating the effectiveness of exchange programs in mutual understanding between Algeria and the USA. The objectives of the investigation include shedding more light on many issues related to the exchange programs in the US foreign policy and their objectives, the diplomatic relations between Algeria and the USA, and the close examination of the exchange programs offered by the US embassy to Algerians focusing mainly on their types, requirements, objectives, and their roles in mutual understanding through a questionnaire for participants. Unfortunately, the study results highlighted the negative attitudes towards finding ways and opportunities for participants to play their role, US exchange programs played a vital role in mutual understanding but only the US embassy is making great efforts in such role by encouraging alumni to share their experiences and skills, in addition to the lack of opportunities to share their knowledge about the American society prevented many of them from thinking about playing their vital role in mutual understanding between Algeria and USA. The US embassy is doing its best but it is recommended that Algerian authorities encourage the participation of Algerians in US exchange programs by facilitating the bureaucratic procedures of getting the Institutional Support and Reference Form (ISRF) and promoting the programs so that the best candidates will be selected to ensure they effectively contribute in mutual understanding.

Résumé

Tout au long de l'histoire, les États-Unis ont utilisé à la fois le hard power et le soft power pour atteindre les objectifs que les Américains visaient dans leur politique étrangère, les programmes d'échange sont connus pour leur résultat efficace en tant que soft power dans la politique étrangère américaine. Cette étude vise à étudier l'efficacité des programmes d'échange dans la compréhension mutuelle entre l'Algérie et les États-Unis. Les objectifs d'étude consistent notamment à faire la lumière sur de nombreuses questions liées aux programmes d'échanges dans la politique étrangère des États-Unis et leurs objectifs, les relations diplomatiques entre l'Algérie et les États-Unis, et l'examen attentif des programmes d'échanges offerts par l'ambassade des États-Unis aux Algériens en se concentrant principalement sur leurs types, exigences, objectifs et leurs rôles dans la compréhension mutuelle à travers un questionnaire destiné aux participants. Malheureusement, parmi les résultats de l'étude ont souligné les attitudes négatives envers la recherche de moyens et d'opportunités pour les participants de jouer leur rôle, les programmes d'échange américains ont joué un rôle vital dans la compréhension mutuelle, mais seule l'ambassade des États-Unis fait de grands efforts dans ce rôle en encourageant les participants à partager leurs expériences et compétences, outre le manque d'opportunités de partager leurs connaissances sur la société Américaine, ont empêché nombre d'entre eux de penser à jouer leur rôle essentiel dans la compréhension mutuelle entre l'Algérie et les USA. Mais aussi il est recommandé aux autorités Algériennes d'encourager la participation des Algériens aux programmes d'échange Américains en facilitant les procédures bureaucratiques d'obtention du Formulaire d'appui institutionnel et de référence (ISRF) et en promouvant les programmes afin que les meilleurs candidats soient sélectionnés. pour s'assurer qu'ils contribuent efficacement à la compréhension mutuelle.

ملخص

على مر التاريخ، استخدمت الولايات المتحدة كلا من القوة الخشنة والقوة الناعمة لتحقيق الأهداف التي يصبو إليها الأمريكيون في سياستهم الخارجية، وتعرف برامج التبادل بنتائجها الفعالة كقوة ناعمة في السياسة الخارجية للولايات المتحدة. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى التحقق من فعالية برامج التبادل في التفاهم المتبادل بين الجزائر والولايات المتحدة الأمريكية. تشمل أهداف الدراسة إلقاء مزيد من الضوء على العديد من القضايا المتعلقة ببرامج التبادل في السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية وأهدافها، والعلاقات الدبلوماسية بين الجزائر والولايات المتحدة، والفحص الدقيق لبرامج التبادل التي تقدمها السفارة الأمريكية للجزائريين مع التركيز. بشكل أساسي حول أنواعها ومتطلباتها وأهدافها وأدوارها في التفاهم المتبادل من خلال استبيان للمشاركين. لسوء الحظ، أبرزت نتائج الدراسة المواقف السلبية تجاه إيجاد طرق وفرص للمشاركين للعب دورهم، لعبت برامج التبادل الأمريكية دورًا حيويًا في التفاهم المتبادل ولكن السفارة الأمريكية فقط هي التي تبذل جهودًا كبيرة في هذا الدور من خلال تشجيع الخريجين على مشاركة الخبرات والمهارات، بالإضافة إلى قلة الفرص لتبادل معارفهم حول المجتمع الأمريكي، منعت الكثير منهم من التفكير في لعب دورهم الحيوي في التفاهم المتبادل بين الجزائر والولايات المتحدة. تبذل السفارة الأمريكية قصارى جهدها ولكن يوصى بأن تشجع السلطات الجزائرية مشاركة الجزائريين في برامج التبادل الأمريكية من خلال تسهيل الإجراءات البيروقراطية للحصول على الدعم المؤسسي والاستمارة المرجعية (ISRF) والترويج للبرامج حتى يتم اختيار أفضل المرشحين. للتأكد من أنهم يساهمون بشكل فعال في التفاهم المتبادل.

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

9/11: September 11, 2001

AFRICOM: United States Africa Command

AIDS: Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

AU: African Union

CEO: Chief Executive Officer

CFSP: Common Foreign and Security Policy

CIA: Central Intelligence Agency

CSP: Center for Security Policy

CV: Curriculum Vitae

DIA: Defense Intelligence Agency

DoD: Department of Defense

EC: European Community

EC: European Community

EFL: English as a Foreign Language

EU: European Union

FBI: Federal Bureau of Investigation

FFSSP: Fulbright Foreign Student Scholarship Program

FLTA: Fulbright Foreign Language Teaching Assistant

GATT: General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

GMAT: Graduate Management Admission Test

GRE: Graduate Record Exam

GUEP: Global Undergraduate Exchange Program

HHFP: Hubert Humphrey Fellowship Program

HIV: Human Immunodeficiency Virus

IAEA: International Atomic Energy Agency

IBT: Internet-Based Test

ICC: International Criminal Court

IELTS: International English Language Testing System

IMF: International Monetary Fund

IPCC: Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

IREX: International Research and Exchanges Board

ISRF: Institutional Support and Reference Form

ISRF: Institutional Support and Reference Form

LMD: license master doctorate

M1/M2: Master 1 / Master 2

MBA: Masters of Business Administration

MENA: **the** Middle East and North Africa

NAFTA: North American Free Trade Agreement

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NDAA: National Defense Authorization Act

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

NIC: National Intelligence Council

NSA: National Security Adviser

NSC: National Security Council

NSS: National Security Strategy

OPEC: Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries

PRC: People's Republic of China

STEM: Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math

TEA: Fulbright Teaching Excellence and Achievement

TOEFL: Test of English as a Foreign Language

UN: United Nations

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNRWA: United Nations Relief and Works Agency

US: United States

USA: United States of America

USAID: US Agency for International Development

USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

WMD: Weapons of Mass Destruction

WTC: World Trade Center

WTO: World Trade Organization

WW I: World War 1

WW II: World War 2

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Introduction

The study and understanding of the United States and its foreign policy are no longer for the sake of mere love of knowledge and acquaintance. Rather, it has become a necessity imposed by the power of the United States over the world and the size of its influence on the course of events in it. This understanding requires an analysis of the political decision-making process, the mechanisms of American foreign policy-making, its orientations and its determinants in international relations, the nature of the role of social and governmental institutions and bodies in this process, and the role of the pressure groups lobbies to serve the interests.

There is a general agreement among historians that the foreign policy of the United States of America is based on both soft and hard powers. This balance between the peaceful and military policy is deeply affected by historical events including world wars, the rise of international communism, the rise of new world powers, and the threat of terrorism.

The U.S foreign policy continues to be one of the most important topics in the field of international relations. The officially stated goals of U.S foreign policy as explained in the agenda of the U.S Department of state are "to build and sustain a more democratic, secure, and prosperous world for the benefit of the American people and the international community" (U.S. Department of State, n.d.). Though these goals continued to be deeply affected by US foreign policy makers, the mechanisms and strategies to achieve them differed from one administration to another.

The American foreign policy like that of every country in the world is characterized by the use of both soft and hard powers either together or separately to achieve its political and strategic goals, it is built on the mixture of interests and ideas and closely related to strength and weakness the country witnessed through its history.

The United States is the world's superpower; it uses soft power like economic, humanitarian,

cultural, and educational assistance such as the Marshall Plan for European countries during the Cold War to limit the spread of communism in Europe, and for the same reasons the United States used hard power in fighting communists in Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, and later in Afghanistan and Iraq to fight terrorism mainly after the terrorist attack of 11 September 2001, which led the US foreign policy to depend on hard power more and to take measures in favor of military intervention and economic sanctions like in the case of Iran.

History and immigration influenced the US foreign policy, the first settlers of the new world wanted to keep themselves away from external affairs to build a nation different from the British Empire, later they found that this kind of isolation does not serve their interests and that their colonies cannot be protected from what is going on in the rest of the world especially in European and American continents. The basic concepts which shaped the US foreign policy include the protection of American interests and the respect of its military power. The American isolationism for 300 years stated that the US should not be involved in external affairs and keep itself focused on internal affairs, because of its area and population, the US is a world itself, its neutrality and isolationism was mainly prominent between 1776 and 1830, the Monroe Doctrine introduced isolationism which made the years following the civil war featured by the tendency towards nationalism but later it turned to the white man's burden, the idea claimed that it was the duty of Americans to civilize, educate, and develop the world.

Between 1914 and 1945 the American foreign policy turned to be based on internationalism, Wilson's Fourteen Points showed the intention to reshape the order of the world to limit the existence of the US military outside the American territories and depend on allied armies for external missions. the attack on Pearl Harbor led the US to declare war on Japan and played a central role in the founding of the United Nations.

During the cold war (1946-1992) the basic aim of the US foreign policy was to limit the spread of communism in Europe and the world. the 9/11 terrorist attacks paved the way for the US troops to engage abroad to fight terrorism and strike it anywhere in the world in preventive action even without a shred of clear evidence.

Ex-President Trump's slogan of 'America First' influenced by leading a coalition of strong and independent nations to promote security, prosperity, and peace both within America's borders and beyond but within borders first. The promise of a better future will come in part from reasserting American sovereignty and the right of all nations to determine their futures

This statement engages more persisting questions rather than providing answers about the mechanisms to be followed to promote security beyond U.S borders. Since his relocation to the oval office in Washington, the new President expressed his intentions to tame the country's tendency to wage large scale wars and the desire to disentangle the United States from costly overseas conflicts, Trump expressed this direction in the 2016 election campaign stating that "I will never send our military into battle unless necessary and I mean absolutely necessary, and will only do so if we have a plan for victory with a capital V". He added, "The world must know that we do not go abroad in search of enemies" (Belgium).

However, much uncertainty arises about the alternative strategy, which is being adopted by the United States in substitution of large-scale costly wars. The present dissertation seeks to shed light on the shift from traditional large-scale warfare towards an increasing tendency to mutual understanding and exchanged respect between the United States and the world countries through exchange programs.

This new strategy will be explored theoretically in the first two chapters and empirically taking the role of exchange programs in mutual understanding as a case study in the third chapter.

This study attempts to investigate the current objectives of the US exchange programs offered to Algerians by the US embassy in Algiers within the context of US foreign policy in general and focusing mainly on their role in mutual understanding. The research is specifically motivated by the fact that thousands of Algerians participate in such programs but they don't seem to be able to play their role neither in sharing what they have learned in the US nor in promoting mutual understanding between Algeria and the USA.

While enrolling in these very competitive programs Algerians enrich their knowledge about the US and the American way of life, develop their professional and educational skills, and are expected to play a vital role in mutual understanding.

Although the number of Algerian US exchange programs alumni is increasing every year, a recent study published in an American newspaper showed that most young Americans know a little about Algerian people.

This dissertation aims to shed light on the nature and stages of the US Foreign policy and the policy of exchange programs which was adopted by the United States throughout US history, this could not be investigated without studying the nature of the US foreign policy and factors which pushed the United States to rely on these programs for mutual understanding.

The present investigation aims at shedding more light on many issues related to the main topic of the role of exchange programs in mutual understanding, these issues include the place of exchange programs in the US foreign policy and their declared objectives, the diplomatic relations between Algeria and USA reflected through some major world events, and the close examination of the exchange programs offered by the US embassy to Algerians focusing mainly on their types, requirements, objectives, and their roles in mutual understanding between Algeria and USA.

The objectives of the study are directed by the following questions:

- 1- What is the position of exchange programs in US foreign policy?
- 2- What are the main historical features of the relation between Algeria and the USA?
- 3- What are the US exchange programs available for Algerians and what is their role in mutual understanding between Algeria and the USA?

The study was conducted online with the participation of 20 Algerian US exchange programs alumni from all over Algeria. To fulfill the purpose of the study, 20 questionnaires (one questionnaire, composed of 20 questions) were administered to alumni chosen randomly to gain insights about their attitudes towards their participation and benefit from their programs in general, the level of their motivation in sharing what they have experienced and learned in the USA, and their evaluation of the role of these programs in creating mutual understanding between the American and Algerian peoples. Mixed methods seemed to be the most convenient research method for this study; the questionnaires (Questions or the questionnaire) were coupled with a situation observation to provide a diagnosis of the problem leading the present investigation.

This work is composed of three chapters. The first two chapters are theoretical while the third chapter is a case study. The first chapter tackles the mechanisms and the theoretical structure of the U.S foreign policy including the major stages of the US foreign policy as well as the most influential institutions that shaped it. The second chapter focuses on the historical diplomatic relation between Algeria and the USA highlighting the nature and dynamics of such relations as well as their impact on recent years. The third chapter is a case study that focuses on the U.S exchange programs available for Algerians and their potential role in mutual understanding.

For more than two decades, majorities have consistently expressed the view that soft power policy, rather than military strength, is the best way to ensure peace. Today, most politicians say that good diplomacy is the better way to ensure peace, while just a minority prefer

military strength approach, One-third of Republicans say peace is best ensured with good diplomacy.

Chapter One: US Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is based on the principle of achieving interests through realizing the sources of power, and clarifying the goals that the ruling elites seek to achieve through their political behavior in the international environment, and therefore the foreign policy is related to the size of self-potential and the size of political ambition, in addition to the influence of the external environment factors such as forces, positions, variables, and interests, so Foreign policy means the authoritarian actions of governments which are committed to taking either to maintain the desirable aspects of the international environment or to change undesirable aspects (Rosenau 06).

Foreign policy expresses the totality of the state's attitudes towards states including the roles of any state and its positions and opinions in global politics, what is happening in terms of events and developments in the world, and how it looks at its present and future with several conflicting events in regional and international interactions, in which it is difficult for any country to distance itself from many issues and positions.

Perhaps defining the concept of the foreign policy of a country like the United States of America is very difficult, due to its relatively large geographical area, as well as in terms of the political and social variables that accompanied its emergence.

From its independence from the United Kingdom in 1783 until the present day, the difficulty in defining the general framework of US foreign policy is due to the size of its influence and effectiveness on the international scene, as well as its position among international powers.

Accordingly, to reach a comprehensive perception regarding US foreign policy, a historical view must be obtained and the multiple factors that accompanied the emergence of the United States should be considered before observing the most important behaviors through which historians can draw basic points in American foreign policy

The relationship between foreign policy and domestic policy varies some politicians think that

politics the external affairs of a particular country whatever its nature is a reflection of the policies resulting from the interaction between the internal environment variables and the traditional view that says there is a complete separation between the two policies to a degree considering that “foreign policy begins where domestic policy ends”

(Kissinger 261)

1.1. Historical Overview

In 1775, the United States was under British colonialism with a royal tyrannical character, concentrated in the southern coasts of North America, which prompted those states to rise and revolt against this colonialism, until they declared their independence on the fourth of July 1776 under the leadership of George Washington. Eight years later, with the help of France, Spain, and the Netherlands, British forces were defeated and a treaty was concluded in which Britain recognized the independence of the northern states in 1783, and the first American constitution was written in 1787 and became effective in 1789, George Washington was elected the first president of the United States.

After the independence of the United States of America and its recognition of the major powers, this country needed to adopt specific foreign policies, especially towards the issues raised in its surrounding countries, so the United States has adopted a set of general directions through several stages and kept pace with its development, and each of these stages has been the phases distinguished its emerging foreign policy and were divided into four stages:

1.2. The Isolation Stage

The foreign policy of the United States of America was characterized by isolation from independence until the outbreak of WWI. since the Declaration of Independence and throughout its history old America dreamed of a global empire, so it began to look at the United States of America as a nation determined to build a modern state ruled by the first

modern written constitution formulated by the wisdom of its founding fathers they did not intend to consider the United States as part of Europe and an extension of its civilization, but it aimed to establish a new political method that can be a source of inspiration and impose its control and expansion on the American continent.

In its policy of isolation, the USA drew a line for itself to build its strength, it is sufficient to arrange the new world in the western hemisphere and control it, but this policy did not succeed until after the Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed in 1962, which sanctioned serious non-interference in outside America.

The United States has limited itself with protecting its vital space, which does not exceed its borders, and sent a warning to the European powers that the United States will act only to make sure that any spot in this western hemisphere is safe and secure.

It is right to believe that the United States of America was following a policy of isolationism. For Americans, isolationism is a perceptible fact, but for the period it was preventing them from completing taking an effective role in the policy of the world, and even from taking the initiative sometimes in the service of their interests which exposed the future of the US power to risks. Isolationism was an expression that Americans appreciated and chose to achieve domestic stability and prosperity but lately, they realized that there is more harm than good behind it (Papp 223).

The United States has limited itself with protecting its vital space, which does not exceed its borders, and sent a warning to the European powers that the United States will act only to make sure that any spot in this western hemisphere is safe and secure. After the civil war, the USA became a great power that no longer needed European power to support it, and thus the success that has been achieved in general allowed America to impose the Monroe Principle to prevent European countries from interfering in American affairs in the inner side, the principal of the policy works to impose its control and influence on the countries of Latin

America, which were liberated from the Spanish and Portuguese rulers, the United States of America adopted the Monroe Doctrine when it asserted itself by force while imposing its expansion and control over the American continent.

After independence, American leaders were aware of the necessity of building a strong state capable of protecting its independence and protecting it from external dangers, and American politicians believed that this could only be done through social, cultural, and economic construction directed at internally, and distancing oneself from all external issues and problems (Nordlinger 29).

Monroe Doctrine was very important for the existence and history of Latin America, it was also an important measure that affected the speed and sequence of world events, the world diplomatic map would have been completely different without Monroe Doctrine, just as the map of South America would be completely different as well. Without the Monroe Doctrine, Latin America would likely have been the main dominated territory in addition to Africa to serve the colonial needs of a range of European countries, not just Spain. Other European countries among including Germany, France, and Great Britain would have gained a major foothold in Latin America, introducing not only new lines to the map but also new languages and cultures. In sum, what the Monroe Doctrine accomplished in large measure was to allow the seed of Spanish culture to develop in South America without many other foreign influences (Renehan 91).

This explains the slow process of the United States to engage politically with European countries, which are experiencing conflicts and problems between them in that era for fear of their effects being transmitted to America.

The isolationist trend of the United States appeared with the arrival of President George Washington to power to build internal strength and preserve independence, and this was further reinforced with the arrival of the second president of the United States, James

Monroe, with his slogan "America for the Americans." The policy of American isolation was a successful strategy and a wise policy to create a balance in dealing with the two powers Russia and Britain and gain their neutrality in American issues which served the interest of the United States in setting out to establish its position in the two continents. It was one of the developments that affected the balance of the major countries of the world. During this period, the United States was able to build internal stability and a decent economic base, which will be one of the basic pillars of the trend towards openness to the outside world.

1.3. The Openness Stage

1.3.1. World Wars

At first, the United States viewed the First World War as a European war with no interest for America, and this ensured the advantage of dealing equally with all parties, especially from the economic point of view, which formed a stable American base alongside internal stability in exchange for the fragility of the European economic base, and this exactly what motivated American politicians to move towards openness to the outside between the two wars.

In 1916, American President Wilson wanted the American interference to resolve European disputes to be under the slogan of 'peace without victory', and this was considered the first indication of the United States' intention to open up to the outside.

The United States entered the war in 1917; this change in American policy was a major changing point in the American role in international relations.

Despite the dominance of the isolationist trend on the policy of the United States of America towards the international environment for a long time, signs of a shift in US foreign policy, based on its exit from its isolation appeared.

The United States considered the First World War an unnecessary European war. Its neutrality towards the war ensured it had the advantage of economic dealing with all the

parties, however, after his election at the end of 1916, Wilson mediated for peace without victory.

When WWI broke out in Europe in August 1914, the USA remained neutral. The country was deeply divided about the war, as many of its citizens had recently arrived from Europe and were strongly in favor of one side or the other. When German U-boats started to sink American ships, however, public opinion began to turn against Germany. In February 1917, Germany decided to attack all foreign shipping to try to reduce supplies to Britain. It also tried to divert US attention from Europe by encouraging its neighbor, Mexico, to invade. This action outraged the US government, and as more US ships were sunk, President Wilson declared war on Germany. This was now a world war.

In early 1918, the war looked to be turning in favor of Germany and its allies. Russia had withdrawn from the war, enabling Germany to concentrate its efforts on the Western Front, and US troops had yet to arrive in France in great numbers, Germany was far from strong. The Allied blockade of German ports meant that the country was short of vital supplies. The railway network was collapsing through lack of maintenance and food was short. Strikes and even mutinies became common. Elsewhere, Ottoman Turkey and Bulgaria collapsed in the face of Allied attacks, while the Italians scored a decisive victory against Austria-Hungary. By early November, Germany stood alone. On 7 November, a German delegation crossed the front line to discuss peace terms with the Allies. The war was almost over. (Adams 64)

After the end of World War I and the rise of the United States as a world power, President Wilson announced the famous Fourteen Principles, which dealt with the topics of human rights, freedom, democracy, free trade, and the idea of establishing an international organization. In this way, the United States left its isolation that lasted from the independence until the end of the First World War, achieving political magnitude through its role in ending

the war and economic size by minimizing the negative effects of the economic crisis that ravaged the world after the war.

For many years the US foreign policy faced different challenges that brought America to a new age out from the situation of isolationism, US foreign policy gradually moved to new procedures to deal with international relations. Leaving the policy of isolationism was a matter of fact after getting involved in the first and the second World Wars, as well as in the Vietnam and Cold Wars, the USA changed its preferences concerning international relations and reexamined its position in the political map of the world. These new trends in foreign policy created new issues and challenges in defining the role of the US foreign policy and its diplomatic and military weight. Due to the policy of containment and the unjustified failure in Vietnam, the US felt the necessity of reexamining its priorities.

After World War I, Americans had returned to their traditional policy of isolation. They were more concerned with events at home than abroad. They felt safe behind the oceans separating them from Europe and Asia. They raised tariffs, restricted immigration, and even insisted that their wartime allies, France and Britain, pay back the war debts owed to Americans. (Gordon 07)

World War I and the Great Depression had profound effects on Europe, just as they did on the U.S. Within two decades, Europe was again at war. The League of Nations, charged with preventing another war, was too weak to resist these dictatorships which emerged in Europe. The idea of collective security that peaceful nations would stand together to stop aggressors failed when countries like the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. failed to become members of the League. Germany and Japan left the League in the 1930s. The League did nothing to prevent Hitler from rebuilding the German army, Italy from attacking Ethiopia, Germany from bombing cities in Spain, or Japan from invading Manchuria and China.

In 1939, Hitler made new territorial demands in Poland. Fearing Hitler intended to

dominate Europe, Britain, and France refused German claims. Hitler responded by signing a nonaggression pact with Stalin, in which the two secretly agreed to invade and divide Poland. When Germany invaded Poland in September 1939, Britain and France declared war on Germany, World War II had started. Most Americans, however, remained opposed to U.S. military action in either Europe or Asia (Fredriksen 54).

On the morning of December 7, 1941, two waves of Japanese airplanes attacked the U.S. Pacific fleet stationed in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. The Japanese attack sank or severely damaged 18 U.S. ships. On the airfields, more than 260 airplanes were damaged or destroyed, while the attack killed or injured almost 6,000 Americans. Four days later, Germany and Italy, allies of Japan, declared war on the U.S. Americans were now engaged in a war on two fronts the Atlantic and Pacific (History.com Editors).

On August 6, an atomic bomb was exploded in the Japanese city of Hiroshima. Three days later, a second bomb was exploded over Nagasaki. About 230,000 people were killed in both explosions combined. Critics argued that Truman could have exploded bombs on unoccupied islands in the Pacific as demonstrations, instead of on heavily populated cities. Japan surrendered shortly after the second explosion, once American leaders agreed to allow the Japanese Emperor to remain on his throne. (Weslsh 6)

1.3.2. The Cold War (1946-1992)

The conflicting interests and the emergence of the two countries (the United States and the Soviet Union) as the only superpowers competing to lead the world caused the emergence of what was termed the stage of the Cold War that lasted until the collapse of the Soviet Union in the nineties of the last century, during that period the United States opened up to the world in a large way, as it accompanied This openness is the existence of a set of manifold interests of US foreign policy, on top of which is containing the communist tide and the pursuit of global hegemony.

The basic aim of the US foreign policy during the cold war was to limit the spread of communism in Europe, and hopefully the world. The Soviet domination over Eastern Europe and the spread of communism has been seen as a major threat for the capitalist western world and its ideology.

Marshall succeeded to convince the American congress to provide financial support for some countries which have been devastated and economically destroyed because of the war, which make them in danger of the spread of communism.

Marshall Plan empowered the US foreign policy; it saved the economy of many countries between 1948 and 1951, but the fear of communism led to the foundation of the NATO Treaty. In Asia, the United States played a central role in fighting communism mainly in Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. (Hybel 20)

1.3.3. The 9/11 Terrorist Attacks

The catastrophic unpredicted terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 made American foreign policy makers alarmed and aware that the need to reshape their foreign policy initiatives for a global fight against terrorism as soon as possible, legitimate self-defending policy urged the United States to define its foreign policy priorities aiming at promoting peace and democracy in the world in addition to acting before any possible treatment to prevent any unexpected future attacks. Accordingly, the George W. Bush administration declared war on terrorist groups anywhere in the world.

Defeating terrorism in some countries and establishing democratic regimes reinforced the United States' conviction to engage in other regions for the same reasons. Defeating the Taliban regime reinforced the United States' conviction to engage in another war against Iraq. The latter, as it was argued, was a must to make a regime change because of its possession of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) and its assistance to Al-Qaeda networks. Key officials in the Bush administration, the most enthusiastic ones, were convinced of the necessity to

wage this war claiming the pretext of the responsibility of the Iraqi regime over the 9/11 attacks and its connection to global terrorism. (Bayati 221)

1.4. Major US Foreign Policy Makers

The decision-making process in US foreign policy includes a large number of participating parties and active institutions with diversity like these parties and those institutions in each case. In certain cases, the institutions involved in decision-making consist of Congress, state legislatures, and courts, in other cases they are formed from the president, the Department of State, the Department of Defense, the competent executive bodies, the Congress, and even foreign countries, and in some other cases, the decision-making parties are limited to the three higher parts of government, the Congress, the courts, and the president.

The federal government is divided into three branches, the legislative branch that makes laws, The Senate and the House of Representatives, the executive branch which implements and enforces laws and includes the President, Vice president, Cabinet and most federal Agencies, the judicial branch which interprets and evaluates laws and is composed of the Supreme Court and other Federal Courts.

The following section discusses foreign policy mechanisms within the executive and legislative branches with a focus on the prerogatives of each entity in terms of the deployment of US troops into overseas hostile situations.

1.4.1. The Executive Branch

The power of the Executive Branch is embodied in the President of the United States, who also acts as head of state and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. The President is in charge of the application and enforcement of the laws written by Congress and, to that end, appoints the heads of the federal agencies, including the Cabinet. The Vice President is also part of the Executive Branch, ready to assume the Presidency should the need arise.

1.4.1.1. The President

The American political system holds civilian power over the military. According to the American Constitution, the US President is the Commander In Chief (CIC) of military forces. He has the power to negotiate and sign treaties, appoints ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States with the advice and consent of the Senate (Cameron 37).

Gradually, controversy arose within the American political arena about the President's power to deploy U.S. armed forces into hostile situations overseas without a declaration of war or another form of approval from Congress.

To address this concern, the War Powers Act (1973) was enacted allowing the US President to commit the deployment of troops for overseas operations for a maximum period of 60 days without Congressional approval. US Presidents have constantly considered the War Powers Act as an unconstitutional infringement upon the power of the executive branch. (Jolande 27).

Many American Presidents deeply affected the objectives of US foreign policy through presidential doctrines; in many cases, these doctrines do not have the force of law. Each of the presidential doctrines articulated a specific purpose that ranged both in terms of geographical influence and duration.

The American president has a prominent role in foreign policy making, as he is considered the first diplomat in-country, and he is the one who concludes international conventions and treaties. Thus, the personality of the American head of state plays a crucial role in making decisions, as a major power, this requires the head of state to be highly experienced and knowledgeable in politics.

1.4.1.2. The Vice President

The position of the US Vice President is the second-highest government position in

the United States, and its holder can become president in cases specified by the US Constitution, including the death and resignation of the president. The Vice-President is elected indirectly by the Electoral College for a term of four years during the presidential elections held every four years in November.

The First Vice President of the United States was John Addams (Federal), who held office from 1789 to 1797 with President George Washington. The US Constitution does not officially grant any executive role to the vice president, and he performs the tasks assigned to him by the president, but there are American vice presidents who have played key roles in the US foreign policy.

The US President Joe was the vice president during Obama's presidency; he had a close relationship with President Barack Obama allowed him to provide advice on many foreign policy issues and topics that were not available to anyone else in the administration. (Cameron 42).

The second article of the constitution states that in the event of the dismissal, death, or resignation of the president or his inability to assume his duties, these tasks shall be entrusted to his deputy. In 1967, the 25th Amendment to the Constitution stated that in the event of the dismissal, death, or resignation of the President, the Vice President shall become President.

Given the possibility of assuming the presidency of the country, the US vice president must meet the same specifications required of the president, that is, to be an American citizen born in the United States, not less than 35 years of age, and to have resided in America for at least 14 years.

The 25th Amendment of the Constitution also allows the vice president to temporarily replace the president in the event of temporary obstacles. In June 2002 and July 2007, Dick Cheney replaced the president for hours of Presidential powers while President Bush was undergoing surgery.

The vice president and president are elected simultaneously, but the vice president is not always elected. If the vice president becomes president, he must appoint a vice president. This is what happened in 1973 when Gerald Ford was appointed as Vice President to President Richard Nixon, who also resigned from his post later, to be the first time that two officials came to power in the United States without either of them being elected (Ford as Vice President, then President of the Country).

When John F. Kennedy was assassinated in November 1963, Vice President Lyndon Johnson assumed the presidency and did not appoint a vice president until January 1965. The Twenty-Fifth Amendment was made to correct this imbalance. The position of vice president is often considered a corridor to the presidency, as 14 vice presidents were able to reach the presidency, including nine after the president's resignation or death.

1.4.1.3. The Department of State

The Department of State is the executive body that implements US foreign policy and manages US foreign relations at the diplomatic level. At the head of the ministry are the foreign affairs minister and the undersecretary, but it includes a large number of specialized experts, as well as a policy planning body. In the wake of the Cold War, the State Department continued its long-standing mission of formulating, implementing, and interpreting foreign policy. There is still agreement among department staff, particularly at US embassies abroad, that this role can largely be fulfilled through the traditional diplomatic functions of representation, negotiation, and reporting rather than directing, the department began to focus on a broader range of foreign policy challenges in the aftermath of the Cold War, as it became concerned with building democracy, promoting and sustaining peace, promoting economic growth and sustainable development, and addressing problems and promoting mutual understanding through exchange programs.

The US State Department is shaping a free world according to Western and American values

and is more secure and prosperous by making, representing, and implementing the president's foreign policy. The Secretary of State is the president's advisor for foreign policy affairs and is responsible for representing the United States abroad.

To carry out foreign policy, the State Department is doing the following. Interagency coordination and appreciation of the resource allocation process when managing external relations, representing the United States abroad, and interpreting its policies to foreign governments and international organizations through United States embassies and consulates abroad and skills and diplomatic messages, coordinating and supporting international activities carried out by US agencies and hosting official visits. (Baker 7)

It also performs other diplomatic functions, such as negotiating and reaching agreements and treaties, protecting and assisting American citizens living abroad or traveling outside the United States, assisting American workers and businessmen in the international market, coordinating and supporting international activities carried out by the United States, and informing the public about the American foreign policy and its relations with other countries, and the process of feedback to the administration, as foreign service employees analyze and write reports on the economic, political and social trends in the host country, as they respond to the needs of American citizens abroad.

1.4.1.4. The National Security Council (NSC)

Created by the National Security Act of 1947 passed during the Truman Administration, The National Security Council is an interdepartmental body that offers advice to the president on matters related to security and coordinates foreign and defense policy between the departments and agencies of the executive branch. Moreover, the Security Act vowed to restrict the American armed forces, created the office of Secretary of Defense and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The NSC's new Statutory members and advisers presently include the President, Vice President, Secretaries of State, Defense, and Energy, the

Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Director of National Intelligence.

The American National Security Act of 1947 formed an important pillar in the reformulation and organization of foreign policy, defense, and intelligence tools in the history of the modern American political system after World War II, and this law remains, despite the minor amendments that occurred, the legal and practical reference for the overall activity of the United States in the field of National Security. Following this law, the National Security Council was established to be the body that coordinates cooperation between different government departments and agencies concerning national security, and studies its problems, and provide advice to the president in these areas in the form of plans and policies for him to take his decisions on them.

The Council consists, according to its statute, of the President of the Republic, the Vice President, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Defense, and the Director of the Civil and Defense Mobilization Office. Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Adviser on Foreign Economic Policy, Deputy Secretary of State, Chief of Staff of the White House, and Secretary of the White House Staff. The effectiveness of the council is determined by the framework drawn up by the president. Therefore, the council has been used and organized differently according to different US presidents.

In 1949, the position of Executive Secretary of National Security was established, which in the fifties of the last century became an assistant to the president for national security affairs, and in the seventies of the last century became a national security advisor, and the administrative staff of the advisor's office shifted from a few assistants whose number did not exceed 5.

The role of the National Security Adviser continued to evolve, especially with Henry Kissinger as Secretary of State in the Nixon administration, and then in the Carter administration. Nixon was deeply suspicious of the State Department at that time, so he

wanted Kissinger to manage foreign policy from within the White House without consideration for the rest of the members of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Over the years the administrations have changed, adjustments have been made to the Council's working methods and the quality of people participating in its meetings. The president's personality, degree of experience in foreign affairs and defense, as well as his style of administration were decisive factors in how he used this tool, which was created to assist President Truman, who was inexperienced in foreign affairs and defense, to make critical decisions based on the advice that prominent members of his government. This trend was expressing the desire of Congress to prevent the repetition of mistakes witnessed during the Second World War.

1.4.2. The Legislative Branch

In order to pass legislation and send it to the President for his or her signature, both the House and the Senate must pass the same bill by majority vote. If the President vetoes a bill, they may override his veto by passing the bill again in each chamber with at least two-thirds of each body voting in favor.

1.4.2.1. The Congress

Congress is given several powers to engage in foreign policy, but also to check the president's actions in conducting foreign policy, especially in the event of war. Perhaps the most important powers are in the War Power Clause which was given to Congress in the Constitution and Foreign Commerce Clause. This clause provides Congress with the power to regulate commerce overseas. Five wars have been declared under the Constitution: the War of 1812, the Mexican-American War, the Spanish-American War, World War I, and World War II.

U.S. presidents have not sought formal declarations of war often. Instead, they maintain that they have the Constitutional authority, as commander in chief to use the military for “police actions.” According to historian Thomas Woods, this has been interpreted to mean that the president may act with an essentially free hand in foreign affairs, or at the very least that he may send men into battle without consulting Congress. ” Some people have argued this could pass as offensive actions, although historically police actions fell mostly under the purview of protecting embassies, U.S. citizens overseas, and shipping.

The Korean War was the first modern example of the U.S. going to war without a formal declaration. This has been repeated in every armed conflict since that time. However, beginning with Vietnam, Congress has given other forms of authorizations to declare war. Some debate continues about whether the actions are appropriate. The tendency of the Executive Branch to engage in the origination of such a push, it's marketing, and even propagandizing or related activities to generate such support is also highly debated.

The strength of Congress in the decision-making process in foreign policy is constitutionally obvious, but it suffers from many restrictions that affect the effectiveness of its role in making foreign policy, and among these restrictions, it suffers from the dispersion of forces and weak party loyalty, in addition to the weakness of parties in general. The increase in the number of committees and sub-committees, which hinders the ability to reach quick decisions, the overlap between internal and external issues, the increase in political participation, Congress's acquiescence to pressure groups led to its weakening. (Dobson and Marsh 07)

1.5. Soft Power in the US Foreign Policy

The concept of power has several different meanings as a result of the different opinions and definitions suggested by thinkers and researchers, as well as the different theories that explain the concept of power. However, most of the definitions that deal with the

concept of power revolve around the idea that “power is the ability to influence the behavior of others,” it means is a behavioral relationship between two parties, one of them influences the behavior of the other with a desire to achieve his goals within a specific period and in a specific field (Parmar and Cox 12).

Not long ago, politicians began to circulate two new terms (soft power and hard power). And their use increased more after the political movement and changes in the Arab region, as in Libya, Tunisia, Egypt, and some Gulf countries, and in Syria, and after the occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq.

The term soft power has ancient historical roots, as Chinese philosophers are the first to advocate the use of soft power to strengthen political power but the concept of soft power at present was linked to the ability to attract and convince without force, or the use of force as a means of persuasion not threat. Soft power is a recent political term, defined by ancient philosophers and politicians with many expressions, including influence, persuasion, culture, and model (Parmar and Cox 14).

The use of soft power in the American foreign policy was not a product of the moment, but it was used in different eras, starting with the Cold War and what the American strategy played towards the Soviet Union through the use of soft power based on the media and tools of public diplomacy, as well as the higher ranks that occupied it in the field of education, communication, technology, acceptance of immigrants and employment, all this helped it to influence others and maximize its potential at the international level and be able to achieve its goals without depending on power.

After the end of the Cold War, the United States began a new stage of managing the international system, and after the second term of President Bush Jr., who wanted his country to change its policies that contributed to alienating many supporters instead of attracting them, as stated by most decision-makers. So the United States turned to work hard on how to have a

new vision for employing soft power to compensate for the losses in the previous stage, as well as the failures that afflicted its policies during the second term of Bush Jr. Therefore, US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice emphasized communication and launched a new slogan called global idealism, which was aiming at actively engaging others, listening to them and without neglecting the ideal goals of the US foreign policy.

1.6. The Future of the US Foreign Policy

Despite the criticism directed at Trump's policy, in terms of foreign policy, he was able to achieve important results and progress in many fields that have remained static and without solutions for years. Trump was not fortunate to prove his policy to achieve other goals, leaving the new president, John Biden, the opportunity to exploit these successes and invest them in his term in office.

Obama's speeches about international cooperation and the search for peace had a positive international impact that he won, in the first nine months of his term, the Nobel Peace Prize. The speed of winning this award left many politicians astonished, they thought that it is too early to assess his contribution to international cooperation and achieving peace.

Indeed, eight years after that, it became clear that the reality of international relations was greater than the aspirations of Obama and his party, and that reliance on peaceful solutions and international cooperation did not lead to changing the situation and the reality of international conflicts, but on the contrary, gave opportunities for other parties to strengthen their positions. (Bentley and Holland 11)

The failure of Obama's policy was evident in several fields; For example, in the Iraq and Afghanistan cases, Obama had promised to withdraw American forces as a step to contribute to resolving conflicts in these areas. Indeed, Obama reduced the American military forces, but he could not withdraw all of them and quickly increased their number to preserve the security of the region and the interests of the United States, this policy did not enable him

to solve the conflict. At the same time, Obama was unable to close the American prison camp at Guantanamo, despite his promises to do so.

On the issue of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, Obama defended in his speeches the two-state solution and was urging Israel to stop building settlements, but on the ground, the Obama administration was unable to provide realistic solutions to achieve these goals, so these speeches and intentions remain mere slogans.

The same thing in the Syrian case, Obama had threatened the Bashar al-Assad regime with military intervention because he used chemical weapons, but Obama did not do so due to his inability to reach an agreement with Russia on this issue, leaving that conflict in Syria without an American significant role in the negotiations.

Regarding Iran, and uncharacteristically, Obama approached the Ayatollahs' regime and signed an agreement with Iran on its nuclear program, but the agreement was formal because it did not guarantee that Iran would get rid of its entire nuclear plan, in return the agreement created trouble. In the region, after denouncing both Israel and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, they considered that the agreement created a threat to the security and stability of the region. (Ronald 211)

On the other hand, Obama did not pay any attention to the threats of North Korea's nuclear program and considered that there would be no negotiations until the Korean regime gets rid of its nuclear weapons and its program so that he was satisfied with the policy of sanctions that did not give any results.

Trump, in turn, relied on diplomatic solutions rather than the use of force and military interventions. But unlike Obama, Trump depended more on bilateral relations.

Donald Trump's period was marked by defending the best interests of the United States of America violently and provocatively, excluding the traditional routine where the slogan "America first" carries with it an attempt to restore consideration to the states as an

international superpower facing the international economic and security challenges and the rising influence of China and Russia. (Powaski 54)

Trump based his foreign policy on correcting the mistakes or concessions of President Barack Obama, which was the reason for weakening the position of the United States of America in many domains. Trump's speeches and decisions initially left defenders of foreign policy based on soft power diplomacy and international cooperation behind, this gave the impression that the period would be dominated by confrontation, military interventions, and conflicts, but it became clear later that the matter was related to a new, direct and more realistic management style. Sometimes it depends on pressure, and at other times it depends on flexibility.

The goal of Trump's policy was to accelerate the foreign policy of the United States more than to transform or change it. Trump's policy came to speed up the pace and course of the negotiations that were going on before his arrival to the White House. And as a start to change the course, Trump relied on the policy of withdrawing from some international agreements, retreating from some political and commercial positions, to return negotiations to zero.

Because of this policy, the United States left many international agreements that it had always defended, such as the International Convention on Climate Change, the United Nations Human Rights Council, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization UNESCO, the Pacific Trans-Pacific Economic Partnership Treaty, the Convention on the Banning of the Use of Missiles Ballistics with Russia, the suspension of funding for the Palestinian refugee relief agency "UNRWA", the agreement with the Cuban government of "Havana" and the Iranian nuclear program and finally the exit from the World Health Organization after the Covid 19 virus crisis. (Jacobo 51)

The general orientation of US foreign policy has not changed during the Trump era,

but what has changed is the form or method used. The general orientation of the American foreign policy exceeds the will of the president and the ruling party, and this approach is aimed mainly at placing the interests of the United States of America above the interests of other countries, even if they are allied countries focusing on the interest of America first.

Although Trump's foreign policy and positions appeared to be a change in that strategy, the truth is that what happened was a change in the form only, by relying on the personality of the president and his way of managing matters, Trump's approach was based on two different or contradictory styles in terms of form. He used the method of threat, and on the other hand, he adopted the method of flexibility. Some specialists explained this contradiction and as President Trump's lack of sufficient experience in managing foreign affairs, as he had not held any position before in the US administration, but the matter is not, It is related to experience or know-how, Trump used to deal with the issues with the mentality of the company director looking for solutions and taking advantage of opportunities, so he did not hesitate to use all available methods of changing his positions, but in the end, he did not violate the established boundaries and the general direction of the US foreign policy and he was behaving within the limits of what is permitted. (Mills and Rosefelde).

As for the new president, Joe Biden, it is clear from his speeches that he will work on the same policy as Obama, focusing on international cooperation, the search for stable and collective solutions to disputes and international conflicts, and strengthening the role of the United States in the international system. But this time it will not be easy because Biden will find himself facing great challenges, on the one hand, Biden will find himself facing the decisions made by the Trump administrations that it is difficult to change because they are great achievements of US foreign policy, and on the other hand these agreements will limit the new administration's freedom of action.

In addition to these data, other factors are no less important, as it is known that the

American foreign policy has drawn lines that do not change by changing the president, especially since the American foreign policy making is involved in a group of fixed forces and factors, another factor that is no less important in determining the foreign policy of the United States. The position and ability of the other party in the conflict or negotiations, as well as the role of the interconnected actors. For example, stopping or destroying the nuclear programs of North Korea and Iran does not depend on the will of the United States of America, but is related primarily to the will of the regimes of these two countries. Neither military intervention, international sanctions, negotiations, the Republican Party administration, nor the Democratic Party has achieved the results that the United States of America wants to achieve. If everyone believes that Biden is a man of peace, his history shows otherwise, Biden was behind many decisions that pushed the United States to military interventions, for example, Biden approved a set of important decisions when he was chair of the policy committee Foreign Affairs in the Senate, such as the decision of the NATO intervention in the former Yugoslavia, the intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq, in the US war on international terrorism, which supported the establishment of detention facilities in Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib in Iraq, Biden's decisions in Foreign policy will be more extreme than Trump, as he has directly contributed to complicating many international conflicts. This means that Biden is not a politician who is always looking for peaceful solutions through negotiations. (David 21).

The new president of the United States of America will be facing difficult foreign affairs, as his exploitation of Trump's successes and decisions at the level of foreign policy will put him in front of internal and external criticism, especially since the voices that supported him to reach the White House were among the most important motives of opposing the foreign policy, the foreign policy at the end of President Barack Obama's term, and this itself is a failure for Biden because he has to pursue a new policy that achieves new gains,

especially since the Obama period was also criticized. After all, it was dominated by the character of silence and lack of power in decisions and. The negotiations and the lack of a solution or settlement, and according to some critics, they allowed the other parties to impose their position.

In sum, Biden will benefit from the gains reached by Trump, the American foreign policy, as Trump has raised the positions of the United States to the highest levels that American policy can reach, this means that Biden's policy will work, on the one hand, to preserve the gains, and on the other hand, to reduce the failure in some positions to reach compromises or, in the worst cases, to return to what was before Trump took office.

The United States of America, according to the elements of the hard and soft power that it possesses, enjoys a high military and diplomatic position in the world, and an advanced position with the active forces in the international system, its foreign policy affect the whole international relations and in some cases, it dictates the policy which applies to its capabilities to reach its interests and achieve its goals as required, and this is reflected in its diplomatic behavior. The external system deals with units in the international system. The influence power that characterizes the American foreign political behavior stems from the global role that the United States of America plays extensively in international politics and even the domestic policies of many countries of the world. As the only superpower in the world, the United States of America has possessed since the dissolution of the Soviet Union the ability to reshape other societies and managing international relations with the international system in a way that aligns with its national interests, it may not be an exaggeration to say that the fate of many countries in the world depends on how the United States of America deals with the issue it encounters in the international system. Despite the increasing importance of the United States of America at the global level, most of the studies that dealt with American foreign policy have not been busy with the current interaction between American foreign

political behavior and the ideas that establish its rationale in the international system, not to mention that they tend to describe the continuity of character. American foreign policies in the international system, even if successive administrations differed depending on many circumstances and power in the United States of America. It is not possible to understand the nature of this global dynamic that the United States of America has in the international system without access to the main currents that govern its vision for itself, and define the settings of its external role on the international scene, as American foreign policy is greatly affected by the intellectual realist and liberal schools, Since World War II and until today, decision-makers in the United States of America have set out to look at the world through the eyes of two schools: realism and liberalism. These two schools have often formed the mechanisms of thinking and planning for American strategic actions in the international system.

The eternal dilemma in American foreign policy, which lies in the struggle between an idealistic tendency that depicts the United States of America as having a role in saving the whole world, and a realistic tendency that sees the world with its existing balances and its inherent complexities. This is due, according to observers, to the fact that the optimism of Americans often leads them to idealism. When they are exposed to trouble after they lead strong campaigns for the sake of reforming the world, they return to realism to restore things to normal. This is what can be seen in the contrast of the foreign political behavior of the United States. American foreign policy which seems to be a permanent process of stable perceptions can change between one administration and another. International educational and cultural exchange programs play a vital role in mutual understanding between people from different countries, they are one of the most important means that successive American administrations try to use as means of achieving foreign policy goals acceptably, Students from 185 countries have been studying in America since 1946, Every year scholarships from American universities enable more than 2,200 international students to study in America since

2000.

During the year 2005, the number of foreign students in the United States reached more than 565000 students, in addition to 89634 international scientists (professors and researchers) in 2005. The United States seeks to establish new relations for educational exchange with countries that are playing an increasingly important role in international relations.

The post 9/11 world has contributed to the increase in global and American interest in particular in what is going on in the Arab and Islamic world and the increasing American interest is reflected in several forms, most notably the demand of thousands of American citizens to learn the Arabic language, and the increase in studies programs in many Islamic universities and institutes. The US government is working hard to support student exchange programs with Arab and Islamic countries, intending to provide them with an opportunity to get acquainted with life closely through studying and staying for a long period in the United States. Among the important American efforts to establish a link between the United States and the peoples of the Arab and Islamic world are programs that allow the US government to bring Arab and Muslim students to receive university education in America, to create new friends for the United States after these students return to their countries with new ideas and experiences. The number of students from the Middle East and North Africa in the United States reached 31,248 in 2005.

Chapter Two: The Relations between Algeria and the USA

When the United States got its independence, Algeria was under the rule of the Ottoman Empire but Algiers was given the right to establish its independent foreign relations. Algeria recognized the United States in 1795 but the bases for permanent diplomatic relations were not established until after Algeria got its independence from France in 1962.

The United States recognized Algeria on July 3, 1962, when President John Kennedy issued a congratulatory message to the Algerian people upon their independence from France. The relations between Algeria and America have deep historical roots, The United States fought one of its first foreign wars against Algiers during James Madison's administration to protect its ships from Barbary piracy. Algeria recognized the United States in 1795 at that time Algeria was colonized by the Ottoman Empire,

After the French invaded and colonized Algeria, Americans largely lost interest in the region during the Second World War tens of thousands of American soldiers passed through Algiers and Oran to fight in Italy. After the war, When France became a member of NATO, the alliance accepted to treat Algeria as a part of France and not as a colony like Tunisia and Morocco the Truman and Eisenhower administrations accepted the French argument that due to the settlement of almost a million Europeans in it, Algeria should be considered a permanent part France. In 1954, a violent popular movement revolted against France, it lasted seven years and resulting in the death of more than 1.5 million Algerians, Senator John F. Kennedy was the first American political figure to break with France and endorse Algerian independence during its long war for freedom. On July 3, 1957, Kennedy publicly called for the United States to support Algerian independence and oppose the French war to keep it.

The permanent diplomatic relations between Algeria and the United States were not established until after Algeria obtained its independence from France in 1962.

The re-election of US President Barack Obama, gave a new vitality to the Algerian-American

relations, which witnessed improvement in recent years, as multiple factors met and enhanced opportunities for expanding bilateral cooperation, especially in the security and economic fields

The structural changes that the international system witnessed after the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union prompted decision-makers in the United States of America to reevaluate and rearrange the system of their national interests and priorities, as the increasing marginalization of the African continent and the Maghreb region in the system of international interactions has allowed some decision-making circles in the American administration to be committed to spreading American values and principles, by presenting a new American vision towards Africa.

It is evident that before 1989, the Cold War considerations dominated the concerns of American decision-makers to the extent that they overshadowed other goals and interests. as for the international and regional situations, the demise of the cold war climate and the emergence of the United States as a superpower trying to extend its power over the new international order led to the reorientation of American policy towards Africa and the Maghreb, and serious steps have emerged towards increasing interest in this region by the successive presidents of the American administration, and perhaps the most obvious one is the formation of the AFRICOM military base by the United States of America in Africa, its goal according to Americans, is to maintain peace in the continent, from here. All indications began to indicate the strategic position of the African continent in the US policy agenda, which increased even more after the events of September 11, 2001. (“About the Command”)

2.1. Algerian-American Relations

Algerian-American relations are the international relations between the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria and the United States of America. In July 2001, Ex-President Abdelaziz Bouteflika became the first Algerian President to visit the White House since 1985.

This visit was followed by a second meeting in November 2001, and Ex-President Bouteflika's participation in the G8 summit in June 2004 in its thirtieth edition, indicates the growing relationship between the United States and Algeria.

2.1.1. Historical Background

The period of the beginning of the American-Algerian relations coincided with the rule of the Ottoman Dey, Muhammad bin Othman, during which Algeria was known for its political stability, Contrary to what was in Algeria; the United States of America knew different situations, represented in the war of independence which went through several stages, including sending diplomats to European countries to find financial and diplomatic support.

In addition to making several revolutions, the latter culminated in the independence of the United States in 1776. The USA entered a new stage represented in opening up to the outside and politicizing international relations. The United States of America had trade, which was mainly represented in rice, wood, and fish; it must be protected since this trade suffers from the danger in the Mediterranean Sea.

2.1.2. The Treaty of Peace and Amity 1795

Before the United States of America declaration of independence from Britain, American ships used to pass through the Mediterranean carrying the flags of Britain, but after independence Britain withdrew its licenses, so the ships of the United States became exposed to the danger of piracy that was dominant in the Mediterranean at the time, especially by the countries of the Maghreb, including Algeria, which was committed not to interfere with the ships of the countries with which it signed a peace treaty and they pay it an annual tax, at that time the Americans tried to find a solution to their trade and their ships, the first step was taken by Congress was that the treaties with European countries should include a condition ensuring the protection of American ships against pirates.

Mohamed Ben Othman (Dey of Algiers from 1766 to 1791) declared that all ships belonging to countries that refuse to pay the customary fees for free navigation in the Mediterranean basin will be captured and will not be released until the navigations fees are fully paid, starting in 1785; many American ships were captured by Algerians.

1785 and 1793. Algiers captured more than 15 American ships,

The American congress became increasingly worried and decided to try peaceful negotiation with Algeria first. In 1785, Jefferson, sent Captain John Lamb to Algiers to negotiate a treaty of friendship. Lamb, was nominated for the mission because he had experience in dealing with North Africans and had been active in the North African trade, In 1785 a treaty was signed between Algeria and Spain allowing Algerian ships to pass Gibraltar, Americans became worried about this treaty because it may complicate their mission, and weeks after it was signed, two American ships were captured.

The two sides entered into negotiations to free the prisoners, but they failed due to the lack of agreement on the amount to be paid. After that, Jefferson sought to form an alliance against Algeria that included Denmark, Italy, Netherlands, Spain, as well as Russia. However, all his efforts failed because each country wants to maintain special friendly relations with Algeria.

It took over ten years and four successive negotiations to reach an agreement and obtain the release of all American captives. The Treaty of Peace and Amity signed in 1795 ensured the safe passage of American ships, but only in exchange for an annual payment of naval stores, i.e., tribute, with the value of \$3,340,000 had to be paid to obtain the release of the accumulated captives. These provisions stuck in the craw of the Congress, but there was no alternative.

2.1.3. Barbary Wars, 1801-1805 and 1815-1816

The Barbary States were a collection of North African states, many of which practiced state-supported piracy to exact tribute from weaker Atlantic powers. Morocco was an independent kingdom, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli owed a loose allegiance to the Ottoman Empire. The United States fought two separate wars with Tripoli (1801-1805) and Algiers (1815-1816), although at other times it preferred to pay tribute to obtain the release of captives held in the Barbary States.

The practice of state-supported piracy and ransoming of captives was not wholly unusual for its time. Many European states commissioned privateers to attack each other's shipping and also participated in the transatlantic slave trade. The two major European powers, Great Britain and France found it expedient to encourage the Barbary States' policy and pay tribute to them, as it allowed their merchant shipping an increased share of the Mediterranean trade, and Barbary leaders chose not to challenge the superior British or French navies. (The Federalist Society).

Before independence, American colonists had enjoyed the protection of the British Navy. However, once the United States declared independence, British diplomats were quick to inform the Barbary States that U.S. ships were open to attack. In 1785, Dey Muhammad of Algiers declared war on the United States and captured several American ships. The financially troubled Confederation Government of the United States was unable to raise a navy or the tribute that would protect U.S. ships.

In contrast to the dispute with Algiers, U.S. negotiations with Morocco went well. Moroccan Sultan Sidi Muhammad had seized a U.S. merchant ship in 1784 after the United States had ignored diplomatic overtures. However, Muhammad ultimately followed a policy of peaceful trade, and the United States successfully concluded a treaty with Morocco in 1786. However, Congress was still unable to raise enough funds to satisfy the Dey of Algiers.

In an attempt to address the challenge posed by the Dey of Algiers, Thomas Jefferson, then U.S. Minister to France, attempted to build a coalition of weaker naval powers to defeat Algiers but was unsuccessful. However, the Kingdom of Portugal was also at war with Algiers and blocked Algerian ships from sailing past the Straits of Gibraltar. As a result, U.S. merchant ships in the Atlantic Ocean remained safe for a time and temporarily relieved the U.S. Government from the challenges posed by the Barbary States.

In 1793 a brief Portuguese-Algerian truce exposed American merchant ships to capture, forcing the United States, which had thus far only managed to conclude a treaty with Morocco, to engage in negotiations with the other Barbary States. In 1795, The U.S. Government dispatched diplomats Joel Barlow, Joseph Donaldson, and Richard O'Brien to North Africa and successfully concluded treaties with the states of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. Under the terms of these treaties, the United States agreed to pay tribute to these states. The treaty with Algiers freed 83 American sailors. (“The United States Navy - Barbary Pirates to The War of 1812)

The adoption of the Constitution in 1789 gave the U.S. Government the power to levy taxes and to raise and maintain armed forces, powers which had been lacking under the Articles of Confederation. In 1794, in response to Algerian seizures of American ships, Congress authorized construction of the first 6 ships of the U.S. Navy. In 1801, the Pasha of Tripoli, Yusuf Qaramanli, citing late payments of tribute demanded additional tribute and declared war on the United States. The United States successfully defeated Qaramanli's forces with a combined naval and land assault by the United States Marine Corps. The U.S. treaty with Tripoli concluded in 1805 included a ransom for American prisoners in Tripoli, but no provisions for tribute. (“History of Mediterranean Piracy: Barbary Corsairs - Part1)

In 1812, the new Dey of Algiers, Hajji Ali, rejected the American tribute negotiated in the 1795 treaty as insufficient and declared war on the United States. Algerian corsairs

captured an American ship several weeks later. Following an agreement between the Dey and British diplomats, the Algerian declaration was timed to coincide with the start of the War of 1812 between Britain and the United States. The war with Britain prevented the U.S. Government from either confronting Algerian forces or ransoming U.S. captives in Algiers. Once the Treaty of Ghent ended the war with Britain, President James Madison was able to request that Congress declare war on Algiers, which it did on March 3, 1815. The U.S. Navy, greatly increased in size after the War of 1812, was able to send an entire squadron, led by Commodore Stephen Decatur, to the Mediterranean.

When the U.S. naval expedition arrived in Algiers, a new ruler, Dey Omar, was in power. Omar wished to restore order after several years of political instability and was acutely aware that he could no longer count on British support against the Americans. Decatur had already defeated two Algerian warships and captured hundreds of prisoners of war, and was in a favorable position for negotiation. Dey Omar reluctantly accepted the treaty proposed by Decatur that called for an exchange of U.S. and Algerian prisoners and an end to the practices of tribute and ransom. Having defeated the most powerful of the Barbary States, Decatur sailed to Tunis and Tripoli and obtained similar treaties. In Tripoli, Decatur also secured from Pasha Qaramanli the release of all European captives. The U.S. Senate ratified Decatur's Algerian treaty on December 5, 1815. Dey Omar repudiated the treaty, but another U.S. squadron arrived after a combined Anglo-Dutch bombardment of Algiers, and U.S. commissioner William Shaler dictated terms of a new treaty which contained essentially the same provisions as the old one. Shaler concluded his negotiations on December 23, 1815, but the Senate, owing to an accidental oversight, did not ratify the treaty until February 11, 1822. (Hikma History 03:15–05:21)

The Barbary States, although they did not capture any more U.S. ships, began to resume raids in the Mediterranean, and despite punitive British bombardments did not end

their practices until the French conquest of Algeria in 1830.

The summary of the Algerian-American relations dates back to the beginning of the emergence of the United States after declaring its independence from Britain, and it ranged between peace and war, and was sometimes friendly, despite the presence of harassment from other countries that are not in the interest of this rapprochement, especially Britain. This stage culminated in the conclusion of three treaties between the two countries, in which the United States of America committed to paying an annual tax and gifts to Algeria in exchange for the Algerian sailors not being exposed to its merchant ships. It was suspended after the French colonization of Algeria in 1830.

2.1.4. During the French Colonization

Before 1830 US President George Washington advised the King of France to invade Algeria, which would be a fertile land for settlement, focusing on the dimensions and process to oblige Algerians to surrender.

The United States was implicitly supporting the French occupation of Algeria, Americans were motivated by interest, and throughout the French colonial period in Algeria, the United States considered Algeria to be subject to the absolute French authority, as it is no longer an independent entity, and this is evidenced by the cancellation of its previous treaties with Algeria. (Riedel)

2.1.5. American Support for Algerian Independence

President Kennedy adopted a clear policy of support for Algerian independence after his inauguration in 1961, and high-level meetings between American and Algerian officials intensified as Algeria moved toward independence. In October 1961, Assistant Secretary of State G. Mennen Williams met in Tunis with Saad Dahlab and M'Hammed Yazid, ministers of foreign affairs and information of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic.

On July 3, 1962, as Algerian independence was proclaimed, President Kennedy

declared that “this moment of national independence for the Algerian people is both a solemn occasion and one of great joy... It is with special pride that I extend the good wishes of the American people to the people of Algeria. In the coming days, we wish to strengthen and multiply the American bonds of friendship with the Government and people of Algeria. We look forward to working together with you in the cause of freedom, peace, and human welfare.”

The Algerian ideological orientation after independence occupied the minds of many American politicians, among them the Republican Senator Barry Goldwater, who warned his country shortly before independence about the communist tendency of Algeria.

The Algerian government was recognized by the United States on September 29, 1962, and William Porter was the first ambassador to Algeria appointed in December 1962, but in return, the Algerian ambassador did not start his mission the United States only until September 5, 1963 (Borstelmann and Wall 112).

Today we celebrate the 225th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Peace and Amity, which was one of the first treaties signed by the United States. The first article of the treaty stipulated that the Algerian and American peoples treat one another “with Civility, Honor, and Respect. The American–Algerian friendship – which has a rich past, an honorable present, and a bright future – is based on mutual respect, and is stronger today than it has ever been. Our excellent bilateral relations have had many highlights strengthening the bonds of friendship that bind our peoples together. Just to name a few: President Abraham Lincoln’s expression of admiration for the noble humanitarian principles of Emir Abd-el-Kader; John F. Kennedy’s support for Algerian independence; and the Algerian mediation to liberate the American hostages in Iran. Long live the Algerian-American friendship. (US Embassy Algiers, September 8th, 2020)

2.2. Tehran Hostage Negotiations

In November 1979, at the 35th-anniversary celebrations of the Algerian Revolution, National Security Adviser Brzezinski met with Prime Minister Bazargan of Iran to discuss the future of Iranian-American relations. Three days later, Embassy Tehran was occupied, thereby triggering the Tehran hostage crisis. In late 1980 and early 1981, Algeria, in an application of brilliant diplomacy, mediated the resolution of this crisis. Signature of the Algiers Accords on January 19, 1981, by Deputy Secretary of State Christopher and Foreign Minister Benyahia, led to the release of the hostages and their arrival in Algiers on January 20, 1981, hours after the inauguration of President Reagan. The Embassy received a group Certificate of Appreciation from Secretary of State Haig for its support of these negotiations; it is now on display in the Chancery gallery. (Wright 306)

2.3. The Gulf War

Algeria and the U.S. stayed in close touch during Algeria's unsuccessful efforts to find a peaceful solution to the Gulf crisis from August 1990 to January 1991. Public opinion was strongly pro-Iraqi, and demonstrations occurred periodically in front of the Chancery. The approach and opening of hostilities triggered a heavy press campaign against the U.S., and numerous rallies were held in Algiers, but the authorities kept them away from the Chancery. In the end, the war does not seem to have done lasting damage to the bilateral relationship.

The recent relations between Algeria and the United States of America are characterized by the achievement of qualitative progress of the distinguished ties between the two countries, the bilateral relations witnessed a continuous increase in the visits that have become regular by American officials to Algeria, the relations are developing and increasing at the bilateral level in political, economic, military and security fields, and are expanding to include the exchange of opinions on regional and international issues. (Cavatorta 15).

2.4. Recent Development in Bilateral Relations

The Algerian-American bilateral relations are witnessing mainly in politics, economy, military, and education, these bilateral relations have many objectives including the establishment of security and military partnership, the increase of economic and commercial exchange, and mutual understanding through educational and cultural exchanges between Algerians and Americans.

America is supporting the work of the Algerian civil society through exchange programs that provide training to journalists, businesspeople, female entrepreneurs and parliamentarians, legal professionals, and non-governmental organizations.

There are more than 5,000 alumni of U.S. government exchange programs in Algeria. Exchange programs support youth entrepreneurship and English language learning and teaching professionals, women's empowerment, media engagement, and cultural associations. In 2019, the US embassy in Algiers started a program aiming at protecting and preserving Algeria's cultural heritage.

The Embassy of the United States in Algeria offers Algerians many opportunities to participate in cultural exchange with their American peers through its diverse educational and cultural exchange programs. The U.S. Embassy in Algiers is making great efforts to foster mutual understanding between the people of the United States and Algeria. This mission, implemented by U.S. embassies around the world, is managed by the Department of State, the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs in partnership with other institutions

The geographical location of Algeria overlooking the Mediterranean Sea played a major role in its opening up to the outside. Its location is a link between countries and nations, with their diversity and differences, and has become a field for political, military, and commercial activities, and had an impact on international relations.

The 18th century is an important period in the history of Algeria, especially at the

political and diplomatic level, due to the transformations. The most important aspect of foreign relations, represented in the direction of peaceful relations with various European countries, as well as the United States in 1795.

The study of the history of diplomatic relations with Algeria is considered one of the most difficult studies, because of its complexity. concepts, terminology, and the historical material represented in archival documents are difficult to access because the archive is distributed to countries that have a relationship with Algeria, such as France, Spain, Portugal, Britain, and the United States.

Algerian-American relations are not new, as the first treaty of friendship was signed between the two countries in 1795 during the presidency of George Washington, and the political relations between the two countries have remained good since that time, which was evident in the historical process that characterized these relations even when Algeria preferred the socialist approach and chose it as its political system after independence, which was dictated by historical circumstances linked to the colonial reality and the wave of liberation movements that swept the third world countries during the last century. Americans still praise the diplomatic roles that Algeria played to solve crises peacefully, as happened with the release of the American hostages who were held in Tehran in 1979, as Algeria played a leading role for their release on January 20, 1981. the colonial circumstance that Algeria went through did not contribute to giving sufficient dimension to deepen bilateral cooperation relations, then the international developments imposed by the new international order after the fall of the eastern camp (the Soviet Union) Previously, it introduced new concepts in international relations with which Algeria is no longer immune to these changes, which prompted it to adopt a new vision that goes along with these developments by diversifying cooperation relations with various partners under the principle of devoting pragmatism to cooperation serving common interests. During long decades, the trend towards security

cooperation changed during the Republican era after the events of September 11, 2001, in the United States of America, which realized at the time that the phenomenon of terrorism transcended borders and that it was a global problem.

Algeria is at the heart of the American strategy. American writer and journalist Bob Woodward, famous for the Watergate scandal, points out in his book "The Attack Plan" that American decision-makers placed Algeria among the countries of strategic importance in combating terrorism after these events, and this view confirmed the various official American statements. In this direction, among them is what President George W. Bush said in the letters he sent to the Ex Algerian President, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, as praising the existing cooperation between the two countries in various fields such as combating terrorism, judicial training, and economic reforms. By saying that "Algeria is among our first partners in the fight against terrorism." (NATO)

2.5. Algeria's Importance for the USA

Algeria's strategic and security importance to Washington lies in the multiple and intersecting axes that Algeria leads at various regional levels, and its handling of the phenomenon in its security and political forms, as it moved from the stage of the national tragedy to the stage of peace and national reconciliation which made it a place of security thanks to its calm and balanced diplomatic experience, which extends from mediation in the Iraq-Iran war in the seventies to Mediation for the release of the American hostages in Tehran, all of which are experiences that many powers hope to exploit in their international crises, especially with the Iranian nuclear problem, the Iraqi crisis and the Palestinian issue that was announced its state in Algeria, as American decision-makers can bet on the part a well to play mediating roles between regional and international powers, as in the Mediterranean, Algeria is an important strategic partner with NATO, because of its maritime extensions on the Mediterranean and as a link between southern Europe and North Africa, and

as it is also a strategic gateway to the countries of the African Sahel that Washington is interested in. (ZOUBIR 9).

In 2006 the Algerian-American relations witnessed intense political dynamic and diplomatic security activities between the two countries, beginning with the visit of Robert Mueller, the head of the US Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and Charles F. The deputy commander of the American forces in Europe, and Donald Rumsfeld, the Secretary of State for Defense, and before all of them was the visit of a congressional delegation led by Peter Hoekstra, Chairman of the Standing Committee for Information, on a tour of security and intelligence coordination.

In this regard, it must be recalled that the US Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mrs. Condoleezza Rice, visited Algeria within in a Maghreb tour, which, although it came in the last days of the term of Republican President George W. Bush, it carried messages confirming the interest that Washington has in the region of the Maghreb to which Algeria belongs.

The relations between Algeria and the United States of America during the year 2011-2012 were characterized by achieving qualitative progress that led to the balance of the distinguished ties which unite the two countries. The dynamic of this progress was embodied in the bilateral relations, which are known to be witnessing a continuous increase in the visits that have become regular by American officials to Algeria.

Algeria's Ambassador to Washington, Mr. Abdallah Baali, affirmed that "relations are more solid and stronger at the bilateral level concerning political, economic, military and security issues, and have expanded to include consultations on regional and international issues."

The importance of strategic relations with Algeria was underlined by Mr. David Pearce, the US ambassador to Algeria, who stated that "Algeria's stability and prosperity are very important to the stability of the entire region," adding that the United States is

cooperating “with Algeria in combating terrorism and extremism, as well as in consolidating a culture of tolerance and moderation.”

He expressed his hope that the bilateral relations between the two countries will be a “democratic partnership that serves peace, prosperity, and stability of bilateral relations.” It should be noted that the volume of trade exchanges between the two countries amounts to \$20 billion annually, making Algeria the second partner of the United States of America in the Arab world.

2.6. Energy Diplomacy

The United States of America is the first oil consumer in the world. It realizes the importance of African oil in its energy policy based on diversifying sources of supply, especially to avoid future oil collisions in the Middle East, America realizes that shortly, the daily production of oil in the Gulf will be more than the daily oil production in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Perhaps the American realization of the importance of African oil, especially with the huge discoveries, made American companies invest heavily in the south of the Sahara with the support of the American administration, especially since oil production areas, are distinguished by their remoteness from the danger of political instability, compared to the Arab Gulf. (Lewi 140)

2.7. Libya and Western Sahara Issues

US President Donald Trump severely damaged Algerian-American relations, and the headline for the deterioration of Algerian-American relations was his sudden recognition of Morocco's sovereignty over Western Sahara, in exchange for the peace agreement with Israel.

Despite the Algerian and American sides' assertion that the relationship between the two countries is distinguished, Algeria remained outside Trump's interests, and it was surfacing from time to time complex intersections and sharp differences in views on security and regional issues, and the first unspoken conflict between the two countries emerged in the

Libyan file after Washington refused to support the succession of the Algerian Ramtane Lamamra to the Lebanese Ghassan Salameh, who resigned from his position as the UN envoy to Libya for health reasons. ("Washington Refuses...")

The Americans support the right of the Sahrawi people to self-governance then Trump recognized the Moroccan's of Western Sahara, a decision that will affect relations between the two countries if the new president Joe Biden decides to stick to it.

The apathy between Washington and Algiers also included cooperation between the two countries in the military field, as armament deals between the two countries were non-existent at a time when Algeria is ranked among the top five buyers of Russian weapons, as the proportion of equipment the country receives from Russia exceeds nearly 80%, while Morocco ranks as the first customer of American weapons in the North African region.

American investments in Algeria have not achieved the level expected by American investors due to the fierce competition they are facing with France, China, Russia, and even Turkey, which has entered the line in recent years. Official statistics reveal that the volume of American investments in Algeria has reached only 14 billion dollars since 2014.

As soon as the USA confirmed the victory of Democratic candidate Joe Biden, Algerian President Abdelmadjid Tebboune offered his "warm congratulations to the new president of America", and assured him in a congratulatory message of his readiness to work with him on "consolidating bilateral relations" and "raising the challenges facing the two countries." (Saada)

Tebboune addressed Biden, saying: "Choosing your person to assume this high position is a testimony of gratitude and appreciation for your tireless commitment to serving the American people and the unitary spirit that characterizes you, as well as the values of openness and tolerance of your political project that has won the support of your citizens. Your long and rich experience, your knowledge of international issues, and your adherence to

the virtues of diplomacy and dialogue give you great credit to activate the role of the United States in the international arena to build a more secure, just, and stable world.’

Today, after Biden's victory, the Algerian public opinion is wondering about the future of Algerian-American relations, which did not receive much attention, at a time when Algeria aimed its compass towards the Russian bear and the Chinese giant, which have become a source of great concern to America.

2.8. Cultural and Educational Exchanges

The Algerian-American bilateral relations are not limited to politics, economy, and military, American engagement in Algeria has three main objectives: establishing security and military partnership, increasing economic and commercial exchange, and creating educational and cultural ties between Algerians and Americans.

America has supported the work of Algeria’s civil society through exchange programs that provide training to journalists, businesspeople, female entrepreneurs and parliamentarians, legal professionals, and non-governmental organizations.

There are close to 5,000 alumni of U.S. government exchange programs throughout Algeria.

Exchange programs support youth entrepreneurship and English language learning and teaching, women’s empowerment, media engagement, and cross-cultural

dialogue. In 2019, Algeria and the United States signed a Memorandum of Understanding aimed at protecting and preserving Algeria’s cultural heritage.

Every year, the Embassy of the United States in Algeria offers Algerians the opportunity to engage in cultural exchange with their American peers through its diverse educational and cultural exchange programs. (“Education & Culture”).

The U.S. Embassy in Algiers strives to foster mutual understanding between the people of the United States and Algeria. This mission, implemented by U.S. embassies around the world, is overseen within the Department of State by the Bureau of Educational and

Cultural Affairs.

Educational and cultural exchange programs are offered both to students and professionals. They range from short-visit programs not exceeding one week to long-term postgraduate studies. These programs may be directly administered by the Embassy or are run by American cultural organizations.

Such exchange programs are designed to increase mutual understanding between the people of the two countries.

Participants develop leadership skills, self-confidence, and a greater understanding of American society. Studying and developing their professional skills while experiencing the culture, and living, participants in educational or cultural exchange programs gain knowledge about the U.S. and its language and culture, building new friendships, taking responsibility themselves, respecting differences, and tolerating the beliefs of others. And while exploring and learning about the lives of others, discover new aspects of themselves. Upon their return to Algeria, they can apply for small grants from the US embassy to share their experience with their colleagues. (“Education & Culture”)

2.9. Obstacles to Algerian-American Relations

There is no doubt that there are obstacles in the way of relations between America and Algeria, which constitutes a real challenge for the two countries. This is related to the issue of democracy and human rights, which the United States considers one of the important pillars of its foreign policy. The Algerian government has often expressed concerns and refusal of reports issued by American organizations and bodies on democracy, freedom of expression, and the human rights situation in Algeria, especially in the security crisis that it experienced during the past decade, and the violations of human rights that Algeria is witnessing after the overthrow of former President Abdelaziz Bouteflika, without forgetting the French influence in Algeria as one of the most important obstacles to the Algerian-American rapprochement,

considering that Africa and Algeria in particular for France are an area of influence and a former colony that cannot be abandoned in favor of American influence at all costs. France realizes the role that Algeria could play in the region if it allied itself with America, so it does not want to give up the gateway to Africa and its wealth, while the United States does not recognize the areas of influence inherited from the colonial era.

Before the French colonization of Algeria, the history of relations between the United States of America and Algeria was characterized by the predominance of the language of arms, especially in the period between 1807 and 1815, which witnessed a total failure in the two countries' diplomacy, and this was due to the international conditions pirates domination in the Mediterranean Sea, the resulting changes in the international arena through the Vienna Conference criminalized the act of piracy, which was an essential resource for the treasury of many countries, criminalization of piracy coincided with the European aggression against Algeria and the almost destruction of the Algerian fleet.

On the other hand, the USA was at the height of its military and economic development, which was evident in the outbreak of the war on Algeria in 1815, for the safety of its ships in the Mediterranean Sea, and perhaps the relations between the two countries have several backgrounds and factors, including the role of the Jews, who played a major role in peace and war, depending on their strategic interests in the region, in addition to the British role, which contributed to fueling the dispute between Algeria and America.

The relations between the two countries after 1816 witnessed a remarkable calm due to Algeria's international obligations under the Vienna Conference and the lack of disturbance of the American ships.

The aspects of relations between the two countries were in the diplomatic representation and the American position on the occupation and independence of Algeria. The United States of America had avoided entering into direct relations with Algeria due to

the good relationship that it had with Britain, but the reality and events which occurred around the Mediterranean Sea imposed new facts, mainly represented in Algeria's seizure of the two American ships in 1785, which forced the United States of America to enter into long and difficult negotiations to liberate its ships and for the sake of its trade, which It has known great popularity and development in the region.

The period after the Treaty of 1795 witnessed a kind of stability that did not last long due to the increasing movement of American merchant ships in the Mediterranean and America's non-commitment to paying dues to Algeria, which paved the way for tension in relations between the two countries in the period between 1807 and 1812 when Algeria declared war on America to implement what was stated in the treaty.

Many issues contributed to the consolidation of Algerian-American relations, which in turn reflected positively on the course of relations, and in return, some factors led to the deterioration of bilateral relations, which the United States of America considered a means of pressure.

It can be said that bilateral relations between Algeria and the USA have been affected by several factors; the first is the historical factor. The history of relations between the two countries is generally good despite some tensions; good history constitutes an encouraging factor for bilateral relations, the ideological factor greatly affected relations. As for the pragmatic or economic factor, it is a factor that has affected the structural change that has occurred in the international system in the world in general. The security factor is among the factors affecting international relations, as it appeared strongly after the events of September 11th and contributed to the strengthening of international relations in general and the relations understudy in particular.

Contemporary Algeria was able to receive a prominent international status due to the wisdom of its leaders and its experience in the liberation war and the crises that passed

through the nineties of the last century, all of which contributed to the recruitment of its foreign policy largely and successfully.

The Algerian-American relations or cooperation, as previously mentioned, touched many fields. There has been economic cooperation and exchange, with Algeria exporting 60 percent to the United States, the US imports 20% of it, due to the invasion of the Algerian market by China and the European Union countries

Algeria and the United States of America share a long history of friendly relations dating back to September 5, 1795, when the two countries signed their Treaty of Amity and Peace. Algeria was among the very first countries to recognize American independence and has since continuously worked to strengthen relations of peace and friendship with the United States.

The city of Elkader the state of Iowa in the USA was established as a tribute to Emir Abdelkader, an Algerian Emir and Muslim leader, is the perfect illustration of the excellent relations that have existed for centuries between Algeria and the United States. The values and history shared by the two countries occupy a special place in their peoples' collective memories. They also continuously have a strong commitment among people to raise Algerian American relations to a level that truly reflects their great potential and the strong aspirations of the peoples of both countries.

Chapter Three: US Exchange Programs

US Exchange programs are programs sponsored totally or partially by the US government and American non-governmental institutions as soft power to achieve the desired goals. Soft power is one of the most important means of US foreign policy; soft power is the ability to achieve the desired goals through attraction, magic, or persuasion instead of coercion. The soft power resources of any country are its culture, political and social values, and the diversity of its use, including cultural invasion through cultural and academic exchange programs, which is the most effective way to achieve the foreign policy goals of the United States of America, after decision-makers in America were convinced that military and technological superiority has become useless and that the invasion of minds is better than the invasion of lands (Jr 14).

It is through these programs that the objectives of foreign policy are achieved at the lowest costs so that the hearts, minds, and souls of peoples can be reached, especially the educated class and the elite that these programs attract because they are projects for decision-makers and leaders in their countries in the future, thus the United States of America will not only influence the foreign policy of countries but it will also dominate over the internal affairs of sovereign states without the need for military intervention, pressure or sanctions. Through scholarships, exchange agreements, training programs, seminars, and conferences, US foreign policy attracts a segment of society with academic credentials that will enable it to gain access to decision-making circles in the future.

Some say that America's great influence is due mostly to its military power, but this is not true at all. Logically, the United States will not invade every country that it does not like or rebel against its policy, but it has other power tools that it uses and achieves using them, by exporting American culture ideology, way of life, and American model, benefiting from the prevalence of the English language, whether in daily life communication or the language of

commerce and business. Today, hundreds of millions of people eat and dress in the American style, listen to American songs and watch American movies; they speak English as the language of technology and business, and more importantly the language of the civilized and elite class.

The United States derives a great deal of its soft power not only from its government, but from its civil society, and non-governmental organizations.

However, the impact of this soft power began to diminish since the administration of George Bush Jr. The policies pursued by America after the September 11 attacks, its reliance mainly on hard power, and its declaration of war on terrorism, undermined America's values and moral obligations, as these actions came in direct conflict with the traditional American values of freedom, human rights, and the rule of law.

America is exported fear and anger instead of hope and optimism. This is what the decision-makers in Washington have noticed and hastened to work on conquering minds based on soft power and exporting the American model to achieve mutual understanding between America and the peoples of the world through exchange programs in which huge amounts of money are annually spent.

3.1. US Exchange Programs for Algerians

There are more than 50 programs offered by the US government and American non-government institutions for Algerians, these programs are in form of scholarships and professional training fully sponsored, Algerians who want to participate in such programs do not pay any costs including traveling, housing, and living costs, US exchange programs for Algerians are considered great chances for Algerians and Americans to exchange their culture and create an atmosphere of mutual understanding, proficiency in the English language is required to take part in most of the programs, in addition to the commitment to share the acquired experience when returning to Algeria.

Due to the limits of the study, only five programs have been focused on because of their importance in mutual understanding since they last longer than the other programs.

3.2. Fulbright Foreign Language Teaching Assistant (FLTA)

The Fulbright Foreign Language Teaching Assistantship (FLTA) is a nine-month program for Algerian English teachers. Participants teach Arabic in American colleges, universities, or selected high schools, and they may take graduate-level English and American studies courses. The program provides teachers with the opportunity to develop their teaching skills, improve their English language competency, and have a better knowledge of American society and culture. In addition to academic benefits, this program also provides both Algerians and Americans with an opportunity to learn about each other's cultures and customs, thereby enhancing mutual understanding.

Candidates are selected from diverse backgrounds but are required to have formal academic training and professional experience in teaching. In addition to teaching the Arabic language, they may serve as resource persons in conversation groups, cultural representatives, attendants in language laboratories, guest speakers in civilization courses, and supervisors of language clubs.

3.2.1. Conditions of Eligibility

Algerian citizenship is required, applicants must be residing in Algeria throughout the nomination, selection, and placement processes, minimum of two years of teaching experience, Bachelor's degree (License of 4 years or License LMD + M1 program completed), a minimum score of 80 (internet-based TOEFL-IBT), Fluency in English and classical Arabic (speaking and writing).

3.2.2. Application and Selection Procedures

Applicants who meet the conditions of eligibility can apply online through the following web link: <https://apply.iie.org/flta2022>

The required documents are as follows including certified copies of the original academic documents (Transcripts + Diploma), documents that are not in English must be accompanied by a complete and certified English translation, Three letters of reference written by teachers under whom the applicants have studied or pursued research and one by someone who has supervised them in a professional environment. The letters of reference should be written in English; otherwise, they must be accompanied by a certified translation, applicants must provide letter(s) or certificate(s) from the school(s) where they teach, or have taught, to prove teaching experience, copy of passport, if available, CV, TOEFL Score report, and a personal information form.

Completed applications should be submitted no later than June 30.

3.2.3. Hubert H. Humphrey Fellowship Program

The Humphrey Program is a non-degree 10 months professional program for graduate-level study Algerians to spend 10 months in the United States to accomplish mid-level professional study in various fields. Fellows are selected based on their potential for leadership and a demonstrated commitment to public service. They are placed in groups by the professional field at selected universities offering specially designed programs of study and training.

Requirements to apply to include an undergraduate degree and a minimum of five years of full-time, professional experience, demonstrated leadership qualities and a record of public service in the community, English language proficiency.

Every year, The U.S. Embassy in Algeria announces the Hubert Humphrey Fellowship Program, this full-scholarship program is offered to mid-career professionals working at the policy-level who have a record of leadership, a commitment to public service, and the initiative to take full advantage of an independent study at a leading American university. The Hubert H. Humphrey Fellowship Program brings accomplished professionals from Algeria

and others countries to the United States at a midpoint in their careers for a non-degree study and related professional activities. The program seeks to foster an exchange of knowledge and mutual understanding between American citizens and professional counterparts from Algeria. Because the Humphrey Fellowship does not offer a degree, Humphrey Fellows design and implements individualized programs to acquire career-related knowledge, interact with colleagues and gain professional experience, including arrangements for a six-week professional internship.

In addition, Fellows may also attend special enrichment activities in the United States throughout their program. These activities are excellent opportunities to network with Humphrey Fellows from other countries and to interact with prominent Americans across a range of professional fields.

The Humphrey Fellowship covers international travel, travel within the United States as required, tuition and fees, books, a monthly maintenance stipend, and limited funds for professional development activities such as attendance at conferences, field trips, and professional affiliations. Successful applicants will be placed at participating universities in the United States starting June.

Fellowships are available in sustainable development, agricultural and rural development, economic development, finance and banking, natural resources, environmental, and climate policy, urban and regional planning, democratic institution-building, communications, journalism, law, and human rights, international religious freedom, public policy analysis, and public administration, trafficking in persons policy and prevention, technology policy and management, human resource management education, educational administration, planning and policy, higher education administration, the teaching of English as a foreign language, public health, public health policy and management, HIV/AIDS policy and prevention, substance abuse education, prevention, and treatment, contagious and

infection diseases.

3.2.4. Eligibility Requirements

To be eligible for the Humphrey Fellowship, applicants must be Algerian citizens who hold a Bachelor of Arts or Science degree, have at least five years of substantial professional experience in the respective field, have demonstrated leadership qualities and a record of public service in the community, Have English language ability as measured by TOEFL IBT (minimum score of 71 scores on TOEFL test), have limited or no prior experience in the United States, Commit to returning to Algeria after completing the program and have a clear vision on how Fellow, home institution, and Algeria will benefit from the Hubert Humphrey experience.

Candidates meeting any of the following descriptions will be rendered technically ineligible to participate in the Humphrey Program.

- Individuals with less than five years of full-time professional experience before their applications.
- University teachers with no management or policy responsibilities, except for teachers of English as a foreign language and specialists in substance abuse prevention and treatment.
- Individuals who have attended a graduate school in the United States for one academic year or more during the five years before the application.
- Individuals who have had more than six months of U.S. experience during the five years before their application.
- Individuals with dual U.S. citizenship or U.S. permanent resident status.

3.2.5. Application and Selection Procedures

Candidates who meet the requirements are encouraged to fill out an application via the online Slate application system, and upload the required documents:

- Online application through Slate system: <https://apply.iie.org/huberthumphrey>

- Copy of diploma along with its English certified version.
- Three letters of recommendation.
- TOEFL score report of a minimum of 71 (TOEFL IBT). Nominees should register to take the TOEFL no later than August 1.
- Copy of the university academic transcripts along with English-language certified version
- Minimum of 5 years of work experience (copy of work certificate along with its certified version);
- Resume Application/Selection Process More information can be found at <https://humphreyfellowship.org/>.

3.3. Fulbright Foreign Student Program

The Fulbright Foreign Student Program (FFSP) is a famous international exchange program sponsored by the U.S. government. The program aims to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and Algeria. The Fulbright Foreign Student Program enables graduate students to pursue master's degrees in the United States for 2 academic years.

Applicants should have a Bachelor's degree of 4 years of study in the classic system or a master's degree of 5 years study in the LMD system or equivalent with strong academic qualifications and leadership abilities and English language proficiency.

Every year the U.S. Embassy in Algiers announces the opening of the Fulbright Foreign Student Program competitive selection process of potential candidates for the two coming years. The Fulbright Program enables Algerian students to pursue a master's degree study in the United States of America. Participants will also have the unique opportunity to experience life in the United States and share Algeria's culture and traditions with Americans.

Participants are selected through merit and equal opportunity-based open competition in which leadership potential, academic excellence, and ability to adjust to life in the United

States are considered.

Fulbright scholarship provides funding for Algerian students' studies in the USA, individuals of other nationalities cannot apply in Algeria, Green Card holders are not eligible to apply, and Applicants must reside in Algeria throughout the application, selection, and placement process.

3.3.1. Eligibility Requirements:

Applicants must hold a Bachelor's degree from an accredited institution in Algeria or abroad (4 years program under the classical system or 5 years program under the License Master's Doctorate (LMD) system (License plus M1/M2 degrees), Applicants must also have a strong academic background. They must be proficient in English with a minimum Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) Internet-based test (iBT) score of 92 or an International English Language Testing System (IELTS) score of 6.5 overall (with no single band under 6). Preference is given to students who have little or no previous experience studying or living in the United States.

Students, who only have a three-year degree, will not be considered given that it is not easy to find a U.S. university that will accept three-year degrees as the equivalent of a U.S. bachelor's equivalent. Students who have a three-year bachelor's degree and an M1/M2 degree (in the LMD System), which will meet U.S. university requirements.

Students will have to apply online; online application forms are available on U.S. Embassy Algiers' website. In addition to the application, Applicants must submit translated academic transcripts and diplomas along with copies of the original documents. documents must be translated by a sworn translation office, TOEFL or IELTS scores should be no more than two years old and a Graduate Record Exam (GRE) General score is required. The Graduate Management Admission Test (GMAT) score is required for applicants applying for Masters of Business Administration (MBA) programs only, up-to-date curriculum vitae detailing all

prior education and work experience is required with three letters of reference. If letters of reference are in French or Arabic, an official translated version in English must be provided, a personal statement not exceeding 600 words in English and a research proposal in English related to the field of study must be submitted, incomplete applications or applications with missing all or any of the mentioned supporting documents will not be considered.

3.3.2. Application and Selection Procedures

Applicants are advised to write clearly, using professional and understandable language. to demonstrate why they have chosen their field of study and how they are qualified. They have to proofread all materials for grammatical errors and spelling mistakes. and avoid using sarcasm, jokes, or inappropriate humor. They are required to cite any outside sources used in their essays, as plagiarism will result in disqualification.

Selected candidates should be available for interviews in the US embassy in Algiers during the last week of June; candidates who wish to study medicine, veterinary science, and dental science are ineligible for a Fulbright grant.

Fulbright students are subject to the home-country physical presence requirement, which requires them to return to Algeria for a cumulative period of two years before being eligible for a visa that permits immigration to the United States. (Fulbright alumni may still apply for other visa categories, including visas for tourism or additional study in the United States, before fulfilling the two-year home residency requirement) more details about the physical presence requirement are available on the U.S. Department of State Consular Affairs website.

The Fulbright Foreign Student Application Deadline for the year 2021 was May 2.

3.4. Fulbright Teaching Excellence and Achievement (TEA) Program

The Fulbright Teaching Excellence and Achievement (TEA) program provides Algerian teachers with unique opportunities to develop expertise in their subject areas,

enhance their teaching skills, and increase their knowledge of the United States.

The Fulbright TEA is a six-week non-degree, non-credit academic program at a U.S. university. Every year 168 international participants including Algeria travel to the United States for one of two six-week professional development programs either in spring or in fall.

Fulbright TEA provides academic seminars on teaching methodologies and strategies, curriculum development, lesson planning, and instructional technology training. Intensive English language instruction will be offered to teachers who need additional practice. The program consists of general academic seminars focusing on new teaching methodologies, content-based instruction, project-based learning, infusing thematic topics into the curriculum, lesson planning, and instructional technology training for teachers. Intensive English language instruction will be offered to teachers who need additional practice. The program includes a practice of at least 40 hours with a U.S. partner teacher in a U.S. secondary school near the host university to actively engage participants in the U.S. classroom environment. Cultural enrichment, mentoring, and support will be provided to participants throughout the program.

After returning to their countries, teachers who complete the program will be eligible to compete for small grant awards for essential teaching materials, follow-on training for other teachers, collaborative projects between participating American schools and their home schools, and other activities that build on the exchange experience.

Teaching disciplines for the Fulbright TEA Program include English as a Foreign Language (EFL), social studies (social studies, civics, history, geography, etc.), mathematics, science, and special education teachers.

3.4.1. Eligibility and Requirements

Applicants must be current secondary school-level, full-time teachers in a school that serves a primarily local (not expatriate) population, they should have five or more years of classroom experience in Fulbright TEA teaching disciplines: English, EFL, Social Studies,

Mathematics, Science, or Special Education and more importantly they must be citizens of and residents in Algeria who have earned a bachelor's degree.

Applicants must submit a TOEFL or other English test score as part of their applications in which they have to obtain a minimum score of 450 on a paper-based TOEFL or equivalent English language examination.

They also need to demonstrate a commitment to continue teaching after completion of the

3.4.2. Application and Selection Procedures

Applicants must submit a complete application through the Online Application System <https://fulbright.irex.org/Account/Login> by April 10.

TEA program is for practicing teachers of Algerian students, Ministry of National Education officials, full-time principals or educational administrators, full-time teacher trainers, university faculty; private English language teachers are not eligible.

This program is divided into two cohorts: Cohort I: Late January – Mid-March (spring)

Cohort II: September – Late-October (fall).

3.4.3. Selection Timeline:

April 10: Deadline of Online Application

May 10: Interviews for nominated candidates.

May 21: Embassy submits nominees to IREX

Mid-August: Finalists confirm acceptance of award, sign, and submit all necessary documents.

3.4.4. Instructions and Submission Guidelines

The Institutional Support and Reference Form (ISRF) must be signed by the school director.

This will confirm that the school supports the participation of the teacher in this program.

The ISRF is required for an online application, then, teachers are prompted to print the form, upload the completed form, and reference it to the same section of the application for it to be

considered “complete.” The Online Application System will not let you submit your application without uploading the ISRF.

3.5. TechWomen Program

TechWomen connects emerging women leaders in Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math (STEM) fields with their counterparts in the United States. During the five-week program, participants engage in a project-based mentorship at leading companies in the San Francisco Bay Area and Silicon Valley, participate in professional development workshops and networking events, and travel to Washington, D.C. for targeted meetings and special events to conclude the program.

3.5.1. Eligibility Requirements

Requirements to apply to include a Bachelor’s degree or equivalent, A minimum of two years of full-time, professional experience in a STEM field, Demonstrated leadership qualities and a record of public service in the community, and English language proficiency. The application is online.

After applying online, Semifinalists will be notified of the status of their application no later than July 31. Final decisions will be made no later than September 30. All applicants will be notified of the results of their application.

TechWomen participants are selected based on the eligibility requirements, applications are reviewed by independent selection committees composed of industry leaders and regional experts. Semifinalists may be interviewed by United States Embassy personnel in Algiers.

Applicants must be women with a minimum of two years of full-time professional experience in the STEM (science, technology, engineering, and math) fields. Internships and other unpaid work experience do not count in the two-year professional experience requirement. They should also have, at minimum, a bachelor’s degree/four-year university degree or equivalent and be proficient in written and spoken English.

TechWomen is for citizens and permanent residents of Algeria at the time of application and while participating in the program, they are eligible to obtain U.S. J-1 exchange visitor visas who have not applied for an immigrant visa to the United States (other than the Diversity Immigrant Visa, also known as the “visa lottery”) in the past five years. They should not hold U.S. citizenship or be a U.S. legal permanent resident.

Preference is given to applicants who demonstrate themselves as emerging leaders in their chosen professional track through their work experience, volunteer experience, community activities, and education who are committed to returning to Algeria to share what they have learned and mentor women and girls. This program is for women who have limited or no prior experience in the United States. They should have a proven record of voluntary or public service in their communities, priority is given to those who demonstrate a track record of entrepreneurialism and commitment to innovation.

They should demonstrate a willingness to participate in exchange programs, welcome opportunities for mentoring and new partnership development, and exhibit confidence and maturity.

3.5.2. Application and Selection Procedures

TechWomen encourages Algerian women with diverse backgrounds and skills to apply, including individuals with disabilities. Semifinalists are contacted via email in/around July. Final decisions are made no later than September 30, all applicants will be notified of the results of their application.

From the moment the Emerging Leaders arrive in the United States, they are immersed in the innovative, constantly evolving culture of Silicon Valley and the San Francisco Bay Area. Emerging Leaders work closely with their Professional Mentors to design meaningful projects while exploring the San Francisco Bay Area with their Cultural Mentor and fellow program participants.

TechWomen emerging leaders will challenge themselves with new questions and concepts, Collaborate with like-minded women in their fields on an innovative project Network with influential industry leaders, discover their innovative leadership style, create meaningful friendships with women from all over the world, Explore the diverse communities of the San Francisco Bay Area and Washington, D.C. and Inspire the next generation of women and girls in their home countries

Each Emerging Leader is paired with a Professional Mentor who works closely with her to carry out a project at the host company. Before the participant arrives in California, she is in close contact with her Professional Mentor. Together, they work to design an exciting project of mutual interest.

The Emerging Leader is hosted at the Mentor's company four days per week for four weeks. The Professional Mentor offers guidance and support throughout the mentorship. The Emerging Leader also participates in professional enrichment activities that include seminars, workshops, tech talks, and networking events.

Each Emerging Leader also has the opportunity to explore the Bay Area with Cultural Mentors who facilitate activities to deepen mutual understanding. Cultural Mentors take participants to local attractions, art exhibits, sporting events, and local universities, among other local activities. Participants will also have the opportunity to explore San Francisco and tour national landmarks while in Washington, DC.

In 2015, TechWomen introduced a new component to turn into action our participants' passion to effect change in their home countries and foster continuity in TechWomen's programming. Integrating knowledge and skills developed in TechWomen's workshop series and leveraging collective experiences and ingenuity, Emerging Leaders form teams to design action plans to make an impact in their respective communities. Impact Coaches will strategically advise groups for success in terms of content and design, and they will help

connect the dots for groups to meet criteria and understand what makes a successful plan for potential seed grant funding.

TechWomen program covers costs of Round-trip international airfare from participant home country to the United States, domestic airfare from San Francisco to Washington, D.C., Housing in San Francisco or Sunnyvale, California during the mentorship period Meals and incidentals, hotel in Washington, D.C. public transportation to the participant's host company, local transportation to group program events in the San Francisco Bay Area and Washington, D.C.

Participants are responsible for the cost of any non-program activities such as independent sightseeing and cultural events, as well as any non-program-related domestic or international travel. TechWomen participants are housed in San Francisco or Sunnyvale, California, depending on the location of the participant's host company. Participants share an apartment with a fellow Emerging Leader. Each participant has her private bedroom, while the living room and kitchen will be shared. The TechWomen program is unable to accommodate participants' spouses, children, or other dependents.

3.6. Programs Participants and Their Role in Mutual Understanding

To achieve this work, data was collected from Algerian US exchange program participants. The description of their profile attempts to give an idea about the sample population concerned by this study.

Algerian US exchange programs participants are mostly young and brilliant students who studied in Algerian schools where English is studied from the first year of middle school until the third year of secondary school, which makes seven years of English tuition. At the secondary school, English is part of the curriculum as part of the selection for the programs they have to show their proficiency and mastery English language through Internet Based Tests and interviews. This research work was conducted online and has taken a sample population

consists of 20 people who have taken part in these programs in the last years. They were from different regions of Algeria and studying or working in different sectors, eight among them were teachers of English.

The research instruments involved the use of a questionnaire, the questionnaire was designed for Algerian US exchange program participants to collect data and have different points of view concerning their role in mutual understanding between the USA and Algeria. The questionnaire is composed of fifteen Yes/No questions.

The major concern in data analysis is about whether participants as means of cultural, social, and educational exchange are playing their role in mutual understanding between the Algerian people and the American people, and if they are facing difficulties in participating in such programs and in playing their role after coming back to Algeria.

The second concern is whether the Algerian authorities are encouraging them to participate or not. In addition to this, it analyses the difficulties they find and how much importance and appreciation is given to their skills.

3.6.1. Questionnaire Results Analysis

Table 1

Duration of Exchange Programs

Less than a year	More than a year
12	8

Source: Research conducted by the researchers to collect data about the Cultural Program

Exchange between Algeria and the USA

This shows that the majority of participants took in short-term programs, this may be because long-term programs are very competitive or they are not convenient for the sample. But most of them think that the program duration was sufficient to achieve the goals and objectives set for them.

Table 2

Types of Programs

Educational	Cultural	Social	Other
8	4	3	5

Source: Research conducted by the researchers to collect data about the Cultural Program Exchange between Algeria and the USA

This question shows that most participants had an educational background. Whereas few of them took part in cultural, social, and other programs, this may be because teachers of English have more chances since they speak English.

Table 3

Reasonability of exchange programs requirements

Yes	No
18	02

Source: Research conducted by the researchers to collect data about the Cultural Program Exchange between Algeria and the USA.

Almost all Algerian alumni think that US exchange programs requirements are reasonable; in fact, looking for successful and dedicated candidates who master English the language of the

host country and other requirements concerning the educational and professional background of the candidate should be considered reasonable requirements.

Table 4

US embassy facilitation of participants travel

Yes	No
20	00

Source: Research conducted by the researchers to collect data about the Cultural Program

Exchange between Algeria and the USA

All Algerian alumni said that the US embassy in Algiers facilitated their travel to the USA, the role of the cultural section in the embassy is the most important, even before they decide to engage, the US embassy answers all questions about exchange programs and encourage people to participate under the slogan of equal opportunities and to ensure that every interested candidate is given equal opportunity to show the skills and qualities which allow and support his candidacy, and even after their return to their countries, the embassy keeps in touch with alumni and provides them with the necessary assistance and guidance for their potential projects.

Table 5

Work responsible encouragement for participants

Yes	No
3	17

Source: Research conducted by the researchers to collect data about the Cultural Program

Exchange between Algeria and USA

Most of the questioned alumni declared that their work administration did not encourage their participation in the US exchange programs; this is the greatest obstacle Algerians face when they express their desire to participate.

When they express their desire to participate in these programs, the administration stands in their faces and frustrates them, it works hard and does everything in its power so that they cannot participate, since this is the nature of the Algerian administration, its main role is to prevent anyone who seeks to improve his level because those in charge of the administration are afraid that the participants will benefit from being promoted upon completion of the programs and they become in better positions than theirs, and this is, unfortunately, the dominant mentality of the Algerian administration since independence until today.

Table 6

Promotion for programs

Local media	Universities	US embassy website and social media
00	00	20

Source: Research conducted by the researchers to collect data about the Cultural Program Exchange between Algeria and the USA.

All questioned alumni said that they knew about their program through the US embassy’s website and social media all information concerning these programs is available on the embassy website and everything is clearly explained to facilitate the participation of candidates, but nothing is mentioned in the Algerian media and universities about such programs.

Table 7**The Benefit from the programs**

Yes	No
20	00

Source: Research conducted by the researchers to collect data about the Cultural Program

Exchange between Algeria and the USA

All Algerian alumni admitted that they benefited from their experience in the United States, the objectives of most of these programs is to allow participants to be in real contact and daily interaction with the American way of life and social and cultural values, this is a unique chance for them to experience the American culture and compare it with the Algerian culture and discover similarities and differences to achieve the mutual understanding through cultural exchange when living with American families and dealing with different situations of interaction.

Table 8**Appreciation of professional development**

Yes	No
04	16

Source: Research conducted by the researchers to collect data about the Cultural Program

Exchange between Algeria and the USA

The respondents' answers to this question state that their work administration never appreciates their skills and that they have acquired through their participation in these programs of great repute throughout the world, and that they did not benefit from promotion

at work or from encouragement to share the skills they acquired in America, rather those Administrations engulfed by bureaucracy and outdated practices marginalize and demoralize them.

Table 9

Understanding of the American society from the experience

Yes	No
20	00

Source: Research conducted by the researchers to collect data about the Cultural Program Exchange between Algeria and the USA

All participants said they enriched their knowledge and understanding of American society through their experience in America, Although the American social life has become the model and the sample because of globalization and the mass media in America which promotes the American culture and social structure only the real situation of living in America can clarify things and enable people to understand more why things are in that way.

Table 10

Making friendship with Americans

Yes	No
20	00

Source: Research conducted by the researchers to collect data about the Cultural Program Exchange between Algeria and the USA

All Algerian alumni said they made new American friends while staying in America. This close friendship is a real one that would never exist without these programs, a person

may have thousands of foreign friends, but the friendship that is worth trusting and long-lasting relationship are the ones built after meeting the person face to face and exchanging ideas while living together.

Table 11

Importance of courses for the career

Yes	No
18	02

Source: Research conducted by the researchers to collect data about the Cultural Program Exchange between Algeria and the USA

Most of the questioned alumni declared that the courses they attended in the USA were important for their careers; the quality and duration of free courses offered by the selected American host universities are so attractive that every participant said that they enriched the acquired skills and agreed to describe it as important.

Table 12

Participation in cultural and social events in the USA

Yes	No
20	00

Source: Research conducted by the researchers to collect data about the Cultural Program Exchange between Algeria and the USA

All questioned participants in the US exchange programs said that they took part in American social and cultural events during their programs. As stated on the US embassy website, participants are considered cultural ambassadors for their countries and thus they are

supposed to affect and be affected during their participation in any social or cultural events that may be organized during programs so that they will go back to their countries with a real and clear background about Americans and their culture.

Table 13

Returning to Algeria after the program

Yes	No
15	05

Source: Research conducted by the researchers to collect data about the Cultural Program Exchange between Algeria and the USA

Although it is required that participants in the US exchange programs must return to Algeria when they finish their programs, and stay there for two years before they can apply for an immigration visa, a quarter of the questioned alumni had no problem declaring that they didn't return to their country and preferred to stay there.

Table 14

The intention of going back to the USA

Yes	No	Maybe
12	00	03

Source: Research conducted by the researchers to collect data about the Cultural Program Exchange between Algeria and the USA

Most Algerian alumni who returned to Algeria after finishing their exchange programs are willing to go back to the USA and stay there, this is reflected by their answer, their choice

is fully justified by the rejection and marginalization they face and the lack of appreciation and consideration of their skills by the Algerian authorities.

Table 15

The success of representing Algeria and playing role in mutual understanding

Yes	No	Somehow
13	00	07

Source: Research conducted by the researchers to collect data about the Cultural Program Exchange between Algeria and the USA

More than half of Algerian participants in the US exchange programs said that they think that they succeeded to represent the Algerian culture for Americans and were able to play their role in mutual understanding between the American and Algerian people, this is a matter of fact since their travel to the United States will be surely a great chance for intentional representation of the Algerian culture, they themselves, the way they behave in different situation, the way they treat people and interact with them reflects their culture without any intention to do so.

Conclusion

The American foreign policy depends on two types of power to achieve its goals, the first type is the hard power, it is a coercive power executed through military threats and economic inducements and based on tangible resources such as the army or economic strength. In contrast, the second type of power is soft power; it is a persuasive power deriving from attraction and emulation and grounded on intangible resources such as a cultural exchange.

The close examination of the US Foreign policy showed that it was balanced between the two types but recently there emerged a serious tendency towards the intensive use of soft power instead of the use of the highly risky use of hard power which is becoming more and more useless according to many US foreign policymakers, that why the position of soft power is going up including mainly exchange programs as means of colonizing the mind instead of colonizing the land as an expert said.

The United States of America, according to the elements of the hard and soft power that it possesses, enjoys a high military and diplomatic position in the world, and an advanced position with the active forces in the international system, its foreign policy affect the whole international relations and in some cases, it dictates the policy which applies to its capabilities to reach its interests and achieve its goals as required, and this is reflected in its diplomatic behavior. The external system deals with units in the international system. The influence power that characterizes the American foreign political behavior stems from the global role that the United States of America plays extensively in international politics and even the domestic policies of many countries of the world.

As the only superpower in the world, the United States of America has possessed since the dissolution of the Soviet Union the ability to reshape other societies and managing international relations with the international system in a way that aligns with its national

interests, it may not be an exaggeration to say that the fate of many countries in the world depends on how the United States of America deals with the issue it encounters in the international system. Despite the increasing importance of the United States of America at the global level, most of the studies that dealt with American foreign policy have not been busy with the current interaction between American foreign political behavior and the ideas that establish its rationale in the international system, not to mention that they tend to describe the continuity of character.

American foreign policies in the international system, even if successive administrations differed depending on many circumstances and power in the United States of America. It is not possible to understand the nature of this global dynamic that the United States of America has in the international system without access to the main currents that govern its vision for itself, and define the settings of its external role on the international scene, as American foreign policy is greatly affected by the intellectual realist and liberal schools, Since World War II and until today, decision-makers in the United States of America have set out to look at the world through the eyes of two schools: realism and liberalism. These two schools have often formed the mechanisms of thinking and planning for American strategic actions in the international system.

The Algerian-American relations or cooperation, as previously mentioned, touched many fields. There has been economic cooperation and exchange, with Algeria exporting 60 percent to the United States, the US imports 20% of it, due to the invasion of the Algerian market by China and the European Union countries, in addition, Algeria and the United States of America share a long history of friendly relations dating back to September 5, 1795, when the two countries signed their Treaty of Amity and Peace. Algeria was among the very first countries to recognize American independence and has since continuously worked to strengthen relations of peace and friendship with the United States.

Algeria has good deeply rooted diplomatic relations with the United States these relations were affected by world-historical events but not deeply affected, and Algeria kept its position as a prominent US partner in the economy, politics, and in the war against terrorism. One of the most effective means in the US Foreign policy soft power is the use of educational, cultural, and social exchange programs.

The US embassy in Algiers announces every year the opening of registration for many exchange programs for Algerians to study freely in American universities, the application for these programs is very competitive and only those who merit the scholarships are selected among hundreds of applicants, it also provides online and face-to-face assistance and support for Algerians who are interested in these programs before, during, and even after their participation.

Upon their return to Algeria after finishing their programs, most Algerian alumni fail to play their role in mutual understanding due to the deliberate marginalization of their competencies by the Algerian authorities. This willful disregard for these competencies made them think seriously about returning to America and settling there permanently, instead of their benefiting their country and their people from the experience and competence they gained in America.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Exchange Programs Alumni Survey

Questionnaire for Algerian Alumni of US exchanges programs

Dear Algerian US exchange programs alumni,

You are kindly requested to answer the following questionnaire.

This questionnaire aims at gathering information about programs, your experience, and your role in mutual understanding between Algeria and USA.

1. How long did your program last?

Less than a year

More than a year

2. What type of exchange programs did you apply for?

Educational

cultural

social

other

3. Do you think that the requirements of the program were reasonable?

Yes

No

4. Did the US embassy facilitate your travel to USA?

Yes

No

5. Did your work authorities encourage you to participate in the program?

Yes:

No:

6. How did you know about your program?

Local media: universities: US embassy website and social media

7. Did you benefit from your experience in the United States?

Yes:

No

8. Did your work authorities appreciate your professional development and skills?

Yes

No:

9. Did your experience with Americans enrich your knowledge and understanding of the American society?

Positive effects

Negative effects

10. Did you meet new American friends while staying in USA?

Yes

No

11. Were the courses you attended in the USA important for your career?

Yes

No

12. Did you take part in any social or cultural events during your stay in USA?

Yes

No

13. Did you return to Algeria after finishing the program?

Yes

No

14. If you returned to Algeria, Do you intend to go back to USA and stay there?

Yes

No

Maybe

15. Do you think that you succeeded to represent the Algerian culture for Americans and play

your role in mutual understanding?

Yes

No

Appendix 2

Remarks of Senator John F. Kennedy (Dem.,-Mass) on the senate floor in reply to criticism of his call for freedom for Algeria

FROM: OFFICE OF SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY
SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

REMARKS OF SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY (DEM.-MASS.) ON THE SENATE
FLOOR IN REPLY TO CRITICISM OF HIS CALL FOR FREEDOM FOR ALGERIA

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: MONDAY, JULY 8, 1957

Mr. President:

I want to reply briefly to the criticisms of my recent speech on Algeria delivered yesterday by the French Minister for Algeria, Robert LaCoste, and by others who have joined in that criticism. I might say at the outset that I was fully aware, when preparing my speech of last Tuesday, of the disfavor with which it would be regarded by our Department of State, the French Government and others-- but I felt nevertheless that these were facts that needed to be stated fully and frankly.

The reaction to my remarks both at home and abroad has further strengthened my conviction that the situation in Algeria is drifting dangerously, with the French authorities refusing to seek a fresh approach and our American authorities refusing to recognize the grave international implications of this impasse. No amount of hopeful assertions that France will handle the problem alone, no amount of cautious warnings that these are matters best left unmentioned in public, and no amount of charges against the motives or methods of those of us seeking a peaceful solution can obscure the fact that the Algerians will someday be free. Then, to whom will they turn -- to the West, which has seemingly ignored their plea for independence, to the Americans, whom they may feel have rejected the issue as none of our affair while at the same time furnishing arms that help crush them -- or to Moscow, to Cairo, to Peking, the pretended champions of nationalism and independence?

And who, by that time, will be leading the Algerians -- the Moderates with a pro-Western orientation with whom negotiations might still be conducted now-- or the Extremists, Terrorists and outside provocateurs who inevitably capture such a movement as the conflict drags on? Finally, what will such a settlement in Algeria at some distant date mean to France then? Will it not mean the loss of all her economic, political and cultural ties in North Africa which could still be salvaged in a settlement today? Will it not mean that France will have suffered a weakened economy, a decimated army and a series of unstable governments only to learn once again -- as she learned too late in Indo-China, Tunisia and Morocco -- that man's desire to be free and independent is the most powerful force in the world today?

Of course Algeria is a "complicated" problem. Of course, we should not assume full responsibility for that problem's solution in France's stead. And, of course, the Soviet Union is guilty of far worse examples of imperialism. But we cannot long ignore as none of our business, or as a French internal problem, a struggle for independence that has been and will be a major issue before the U.N., that has denuded NATO of its armies, drained the resources of our French allies, threatened the continuation of Western influence and bases in North Africa and bitterly split the "Free World" we claim to be leading.

The Algerian situation is a deadly timebomb steadily ticking toward the day when another disaster to the Free World -- worse than Indo-China -- might explode.

When the roll is called on Algeria this fall in the United Nations, as it must inevitably, we in this nation will be forced to face this issue publicly. If no reasonable proposal for settlement has by then been put forward by the French and encouraged by the West, will we be able to say to the General Assembly in all sincerity that progress has been made -- will we again vote against the anti-colonial bloc that controls the world balance of power -- or will we finally take back from the Soviets the leadership that is rightfully ours of the worldwide movement for freedom and independence?

I repeat my opening observations of last Tuesday -- that we dare not overlook, in our concern over legal and diplomatic niceties, the powerful force of man's eternal desire to be free and independent. The worldwide struggle against imperialism, the sweep of nationalism, is the most potent factor in foreign affairs today. We can resist it or ignore it, but only for a little while -- we can see it exploited by the Soviets, with grave consequences -- or we in this country can give it hope and leadership, and thus improve immeasurably our standing and our security.

Appendix 3

The Treaty of peace and amity 1795

Algiers

PEACE AND AMITY

Treaty signed at Algiers September 5, 1795
Senate advice and consent to ratification March 2, 1796
Ratified by the President of the United States March 7, 1796
Proclaimed by the President of the United States March 7, 1796
*Superseded by treaty of June 30 and July 3, 1815*¹

8 Stat. 133; Treaty Series 1²

1795 TRANSLATION³

A Treaty of Peace and Amity Concluded this Present Day Jima artasi, the twenty first of the Luna Safer, year of the Hegira 1210, Corresponding with Saturday the fifth of September, One thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety five, between Hassan Bashaw, Dey of Algiers, his Divan and Subjects and George Washington, President of the United States of North America, and the Citizens of the Said United States⁴

ARTICLE 1st

From the date of the Present Treaty there shall subsist a firm and Sincere Peace and Amity between the President and Citizens of the United States of North America and Hassan Bashaw Dey of Algiers his Divan and Subjects the Vessels and Subjects of both Nations reciprocally treating each other with Civility Honor and Respect

¹ TS 1½, *post*, p. 45.

² For a detailed study of this treaty, see Hunter Miller, *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States*, vol. 2, p. 275.

³ The treaty was signed only in Turkish. The 1795 English translation (8 Stat. 133), when examined in 1930 in connection with its publication in the Hunter Miller series, disclosed considerable differences from the signed Turkish text. A complete new English translation was made at that time by Dr. J. H. Kramers, of Leiden. Dr. Kramers' translation is printed herein following the 1795 translation.

⁴ For an explanation of the position of this paragraph, see 2 Miller 313.

ARTICLE YE 2^d

All Vessels belonging to the Citizens of the United States of North America Shall be permitted to enter the Different ports of the Regency to trade with our Subjects or any other Persons residing within our Jurisdiction on paying the usual duties at our Custom-House that is paid by all nations at Peace with this Regency observing that all Goods disembarked and not Sold here shall be permitted to be reimbarked without paying any duty whatever either for disembarking or embarking all naval & Military Stores Such as Gun-Powder Lead Iron Plank Sulphur Timber for building Tar pitch Rosin Turpentine and any other Goods denominated Naval and Military Stores Shall be permitted to be Sold in this Regency without paying any duties whatever at the Custom House of this Regency

ARTICLE 3^d

The Vessels of both Nations shall pass each other without any impediment or Molestation and all Goods monies or Passengers of whatsoever Nation that may be on board of the Vessels belonging to either Party Shall be considered as inviolable and shall be allowed to pass unmolested

ARTICLE 4th

All Ships of War belonging to this regency on meeting with Merchant Vessels belonging to Citizens of the United States shall be allowed to Visit them with two persons only beside the rowers these two only permitted to go on board said vessel without obtaining express leave from the commander of said Vessel who shall compare the Pass-port and immediately permit said Vessel to proceed on her Voyage unmolested All Ships of War belonging to the United States of North America on meeting with an Algerine Cruiser and Shall have seen her pass port and Certificate from the Consul of the United States of North America resident in this Regency shall be permittd to proceed on her cruise unmolested no Pass-port to be Issued to any Ships but such as are Absolutely the Property of Citizens of the United States and Eighteen Months Shall be the term allowed for furnishing the Ships of the United States with Pass-ports

ARTICLE 5th

No Commander of any Cruiser belonging to this Regency shall be allowed to take any person of whatever Nation or denomination out of any Vessel belonging to the United States of North America in order to Examine them or under pretence of making them confess anything desired neither shall they inflict any corporal punishment or any way else molest them

ARTICLE 6th

If any Vessel belonging to the United States of North America shall be Stranded on the Coast of this Regency they shall receive every possible Assist-

ance from the Subjects of this Regency all goods saved from the wreck shall be Permitted to be Reimbarked on board of any other Vessel without Paying any Duties at the Custom House

ARTICLE 7th

The Algerines are not on any pretence whatever to give or Sell any Vessel of War to any Nation at War with the United States of North America or any Vessel capable of cruising to the detriment of the Commerce of the United States

ARTICLE YE 8th

Any Citizen of the United States of North America having bought any Prize condemned by the Algerines shall not be again captured by the Cruisers of the Regency then at Sea altho they have not a Pass-Port a Certificate from the Consul resident being deemed Sufficient until such time they can procure such Pass-Port

ARTICLE YE 9th

If any of the Barbary States at War with the United States of North America shall capture any American Vessel & bring her into any of the Ports of this Regency they shall not be Permitted to sell her but Shall depart the Port on Procuring the Requisite Supplies of Provision

ARTICLE YE 10th

Any Vessel belonging to the United States of North America, when at War with any other Nation shall be permitted to send their Prizes into the Ports of the Regency have leave to Dispose of them with out Paying any duties on Sale thereof All Vessels wanting Provisions or refreshments Shall be permitted to buy them at Market Price

ARTICLE YE 11th

All Ships of War belonging to the United States of North America on Anchoring in the Ports of y^e Regency shall receive the Usual presents of Provisions & Refreshments Gratis should any of the Slaves of this Regency make their Escape on board said Vessels they shall be immediately returned no excuse shall be made that they have hid themselves amongst the People and cannot be found or any other Equivocation

ARTICLE YE 12th

No Citizen of y^e United States of North America shall be Oblidged to Redeem any Slave against his Will even Should he be his Brother neither shall the owner of A Slave be forced to Sell him against his Will but All Such agreements must be made by Consent of Parties. Should Any American Citizen be taken on board an Enemy-Ship by the Cruisers of this Regency having a Regular pass-port Specifying they are Citizens of the United States

they shall be immediately Sett at Liberty. on the Contrary they having no Passport they and their Property shall be considered lawfull Prize as this Regency Know their friends by their Passports

ARTICLE YE 13th

Should any of the Citizens of the United States of North America Die within the Limits of this Regency the Dey & his Subjects shall not Interfere with the Property of the Deceased but it Shall be under the immediate Direction of the Consul unless otherwise disposed of by will Should their be no Consul, the Effects Shall be deposited in the hands of Some Person worthy of trust untill the Party Shall Appear who has a Right to demand them, when they Shall Render an Account of the Property neither Shall the Dey or Divan Give hinderence in the Execution of any Will that may Appear

ARTICLE 14th

No Citizen of the United States of North America Shall be oblided to purchase any Goods against his will but on the contrary shall be allowed to purchase whatever it Pleaseth him. the Consul of the United States of North America or any other Citizen shall not be answerable for debts contracted by any one of their own Nation unless previously they have Given a written Obligation so to do. Shou'd the Dey want to freight any American Vessel that may be in the Regency or Turkey said Vessel not being engaged, in consequence of the friendship subsisting between the two Nations he expects to have the preference given him on his paying the Same freight offered by any other Nation

ARTICLE YE 15th

Any disputes or Suits at Law that may take Place between the Subjects of the Regency and the Citizens of the United States of North America Shall be decided by the Dey in person and no other, any disputes that may arise between the Citizens of the United States, Shall be decided by the Consul as they are in Such Cases not Subject to the Laws of this Regency

ARTICLE YE 16th

Should any Citizen of the United States of North America Kill, wound or Strike a Subject of this Regency he Shall be punished in the Same manner as a Turk and not with more Severity should any Citizen of the United States of North America in the above predicament escape Prison the Consul Shall not become answerable for him

ARTICLE YE 17th

The Consul of the United States of North America Shall have every personal Security given him and his household he Shall have Liberty to Exercise his Religion in his own House all Slaves of the Same Religion shall not be impeded in going to Said Consul's House at hours of Prayer the Consul shall

have liberty & Personal Security given him to Travil where ever he pleases within the Regency. he Shall have free licence to go on board any Vessel Lying in our Roads when ever he Shall think fitt. the Consul Shall have leave to Appoint his own Drogaman & Broker

ARTICLE YE 18th

Should a War break out between the two Nations the Consul of the United States of North America and all Citizens of Said States Shall have leave to Embark themselves and property unmolested on board of what Vessel or Vessels they Shall think Proper

ARTICLE YE 19th

Should the Cruisers of Algiers capture any Vessel having Citizens of the United States of North America on board they having papers to Prove they are Really so they and their property Shall be immediately discharged and Shou'd the Vessels of the United States capture any Vessels of Nations at War with them having Subjects of this Regency on board they shall be treated in like Manner

ARTICLE YE 20th

On a Vessel of War belonging to the United States of North America Anchoring in our Ports the Consul is to inform the Dey of her arrival and She shall be Saluted with twenty one Guns which she is to return in the Same Quanty or Number and the Dey will Send fresh Provisions on board as is Customary, Gratis

ARTICLE YE 21st

The Consul of y^e United States of North America shall not be required to pay duty for any thing he brings from a foreign Country for the Use of his House & family

ARTICLE YE 22^d

Should any disturbance take place between the Citizens of y^e United States & the Subjects of this Regency or break any Article of this Treaty War shall not be Declared immediately but every thing shall be Searched into regularly. the Party Injured shall be made Reparation

On the 21st of y^e Luna of Safer 1210 corrsponding with the 5th September 1795 Joseph Donaldson Jun^r on the Part of the United States of North America agreed with Hassan Bashaw Dey of Algiers to Keep the Articles Contained in this Treaty Sacred and inviolable which we the Dey & Divan promise to Observe on Consideration of the United States Paying annually the Value of twelve thousand Algerine Sequins ⁵ in Maritime Stores Should the United States forward a Larger Quantity the Over-Plus Shall be Paid for in Money by the Dey & Regency any Vessel that may be Captured from the

⁵ Or \$21,600.

Date of this Treaty of Peace & Amity shall immediately be deliver'd up on her Arrival in Algiers

Sign'd VIZIR HASSAN BASHAW
 JOSEPH DONALDSON JUN

To all to whom these Presents shall come or be made known. Whereas the Underwritten David Humphreys hath been duly appointed Commissioner Plenipotentiary, by Letters Patent under the Signature of the President and Seal of the United States of America, dated the 30th of March 1795, for negotiating & concluding a Treaty of Peace with the Dey and Governors of Algiers; Whereas by Instructions given to him on the part of the Executive, dated the 28th of March & 4th of April 1795, he hath been farther authorised to employ Joseph Donaldson Junior on an Agency in the said business; whereas by a Writing under his hand and seal, dated the 21st of May 1795, he did constitute & appoint Joseph Donaldson Junior Agent in the business aforesaid; and the said Joseph Donaldson Junior did, on the 5th of September 1795, agree with Hassan Bashaw Dey of Algiers, to keep the Articles of the preceding Treaty sacred and inviolable.

Now Know ye, that I David Humphreys, Commissioner Plenipotentiary aforesaid, do approve & conclude the said Treaty, and every article and clause therein contained, reserving the same nevertheless for the final Ratification of the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the said United States.

In testimony whereof I have signed the same with my hand and seal, at the City of Lisbon this 28th of November 1795.

DAVID HUMPHREYS [SEAL]

1930 TRANSLATION⁶

Reason for the Drawing Up of the Peace Treaty with the American People

The reason for the drawing up of this treaty and the motive for the writing of this convention of good omen, is that on Saturday, the twenty-first day of the month of Safar of this year 1210,⁷ there have been negotiations for a treaty of peace between the ruler and commander of the American people, living in the island called America among the isles of the ocean, and the frontier post of the holy war, the garrison⁸ of Algiers. To this purpose has been appointed as his Ambassador,⁹ Joseph Donaldson, who has, in con-

⁶ 2 Miller 304.

⁷ In the chronological tables 21 Safar, A.H. 1210, corresponds to September 6, 1795, which was a Sunday. In this case, however, 21 Safar, A.H. 1210, no doubt answers to September 5, 1795. [This and succeeding footnotes from Miller, *op. cit.*]

⁸ "Garrison" renders the Turkish word "odgiak," which means originally "a hearth" and, as a military term, "a regiment" of the Janizaries.

⁹ The Turkish text has here "pashador," which seems to be an attempt to render the word "ambassador."

firmation of the articles and paragraphs of the present treaty, strengthened the mutual friendship and good understanding in the exalted presence of His Excellency the noble Vizier and powerful Marshal who sits on the throne of lordship, the destructor of tyranny and injustice and the protector of the country, Hassan Pasha—may God grant to him what he wishes; and in the presence of all the members of the Divan, of the chiefs of the victorious garrison, and of the victorious soldiers. This peace treaty has been concluded, together with the contractual promise to give annually to the garrison of Algiers 12,000 Algerian gold pieces, provided that, in equivalence of these 12,000 gold pieces, being the price of the peace, there may be ordered and imported for our garrison and our arsenal, powder, lead, iron, bullets, bombshells, bomb stones, gun stones, masts, poles, yards, anchor chains, cables, sailcloth, tar, pitch, boards, beams, laths, and other necessities, provided that the price of all the ordered articles shall be accounted for, so that, if this is equal to 12,000 gold pieces, it shall be all right, but if the price of the articles is higher, it shall be paid to them,¹⁰ and if there remains something to our credit, they promise to complete it. If, before the conclusion of our peace, our vessels of war have captured vessels of the said nation, these shall not be restored and shall remain our prizes, but if our war vessels capture one of their ships after the date of the conclusion of the peace treaty, it is promised that this ship shall be given back.

All this has been put down in the present document, which shall be consulted whenever needed and according to which both parties shall act.

21 Safar, 1210.

[Tughra ¹¹ of HASSAN PASHA]

[Seal of HASSAN PASHA]

ARTICLE 1

The statements of the first article are that in this year 1210 an agreement has been reached between the ruler of America, George Washington, President, our friend and actually the Governor of the States of the island of America, and the lord of our well-preserved garrison of Algiers, His Highness Hassan Pasha—may God grant to him what he wishes—the Dey, together with the Agha of his victorious army, his minister, all the members of the Divan, and all his victorious soldiers, and equally between the subjects of both parties. According to this agreement our peace and friendship shall be steady and has been confirmed. After this date nothing has been left that is contrary to our peace or that may disturb it.¹²

21 Safar, 1210.

¹⁰ That is, the difference shall be paid to the Americans.

¹¹ "Tughra" is the "name sign," a kind of calligraphic monogram in which a ruler's names are inscribed. The tughra takes the place of the signature.

¹² Each article concludes with the word "salaam," salutation or peace, which has been left untranslated.

ARTICLE 2

The statements of the second article are that when large or small ships belonging to our friend the ruler of America, and equally ships belonging to his subjects, arrive in the port of Algiers or in other ports dependent on Algiers, and they sell from their goods according to the ancient usage, there shall be taken a duty of 5 piasters from every 100 piasters, in the same way as this is paid, according to the treaties, by the English, the Dutch, and the Swedes, and that no more shall be taken. Also that if they wish to take back their unsold goods and reembark them, nobody shall require anything from them, and equally that nobody in the said ports shall do them harm or lay hand upon them.

21 Safar, 1210.

ARTICLE 3

The statements of the third article are that if war vessels or merchant vessels belonging to our friend the American ruler meet on the open sea with war vessels or merchant vessels belonging to Algiers, and they become known to each other, they shall not be allowed to search or to molest each other, and that none shall hinder the other from wending its own way with honor and respect. Also, that whatever kind of travelers there are on board, and wherever they go with their goods, their valuables, and other properties, they shall not molest each other or take anything from each other, nor take them to a certain place and hold them up, nor injure each other in any way.

21 Safar, 1210.

ARTICLE 4

The statements of the fourth article are that if war vessels of Algiers meet with American merchant vessels, large or small, and this happens out of the places under the rule of America, there shall be sent only a shallop, in which, besides the rowers, two persons shall take place; on their arrival no more than two persons shall go on board the ship, the commander of the said ship having to give permission, and after the showing of the Government passport, these persons shall perform quickly the formalities with regard to the ship, and return, after which the merchant vessel shall wend its own way.

Further, that if war vessels of the American ruler meet with war vessels or merchant vessels of Algiers, and these vessels are in possession of a passport delivered by the ruler of Algiers or the American Consul residing in Algiers, nobody may touch anything belonging to the said vessel, but it shall wend its way in peace.

Further, that the war vessels of Algiers, large or small, shall not touch Americans not possessed of American passports within a period of eighteen months after the date of the passports given by reason of the peace treaty and

after the date of the peace treaty,¹³ and they shall not hinder them from going their way. Equally, if the war vessels of the American ruler meet with Algerian ships, they shall not prevent them from continuing their journey in the same way, within a period of eighteen months, but they shall wend peacefully their way.

Further that our friend the American ruler shall not give a passport to any crew not being under his rule and not belonging to his own people; if an American passport is found in the hands of a crew not belonging to his own people, we shall take them as prize, for this is not covered by the stipulations of this peace treaty. This has been expressly stated in this article in order to prevent a rupture of peace; so it shall not be neglected.

21 Safar, 1210.

ARTICLE 5

The statements of the fifth article are that none of the captains of Algerian ships or of their officers or commanders shall take anybody by force from American ships into their own ships or bring such a person to other places, that they shall not interrogate them on account of anything or do them harm, whatever kind of people they may be; as long as these are on American ships, they shall not molest them.

21 Safar, 1210.

ARTICLE 6

The statements of the sixth article are that if a ship of the American ruler or belonging to his subjects shall be stranded on one of the coasts of the territory under Algerian rule and is wrecked, nobody shall take anything from their properties or goods or plunder them.

Also, that if such a thing should happen, their goods shall not be taken to the customhouse, nor shall there be done any damage to their people, and if a similar thing should happen in the places that are under the rule of Algiers, the inhabitants shall do anything in their power to give every possible aid and assistance and help them to bring their goods on dry places.

21 Safar, 1210.

ARTICLE 7

The statements of the seventh article are that no Algerian ship, small or large, shall, with the permission and the authority of the ruler of Algiers, be equipped from countries at war with the ruler of America and commit acts of war against the Americans.

21 Safar, 1210.

ARTICLE 8

The statements of the eighth article are that if an American merchant buys a prize in Algiers, or if an Algerian cruiser captain who has taken a

¹³ This is a literal translation, but the sense is not very clear. The words "of the passports given by reason of the peace treaty" seem to be superfluous.

prize on the open sea sells his prize to an American merchant, either in Algiers or on the sea, so that it is bought immediately from the captain, and there is drawn up a document concerning this sale, and if he meets afterwards another war vessel from Algiers, nobody shall molest the merchant who has bought this prize, nor shall he prevent him from wending peacefully his way.

21 Safar, 1210.

ARTICLE 9

The statements of the ninth article are that the inhabitants of Tunis, Tripoli, Sale, or others shall in no wise bring the people or the goods of American ships, large or small, to the territory under the rule of Algiers, nor shall there be given permission to sell them nor shall they be allowed to be sold.

21 Safar, 1210.

ARTICLE 10

The statements of the tenth article are that if the warships of the American ruler bring to Algiers, or to ports under Algerian rule, prizes or goods captured by them, nobody shall hinder them from doing with their booty as they wish, namely, selling it or taking it with them.

Also, that American war vessels shall not pay any tithes or duties whatever.

Further, that if they wish to buy anything for provisions, the inhabitants shall give it to them at the same price as they sell it to others and ask no more.

Likewise, if those people want to charter ships for the transport of goods to whatever region, province, or port, be it to Smyrna or from Constantinople to this region, or for the transport of travelers from Smyrna or other provinces, or in order to convey pilgrims to Egypt, they may charter those ships at reasonable prices, in the same way as other peoples, and from our side they shall not be opposed by pretexts such as that it is contraband or that it is not allowed among us, so that we do not allow those ships to leave.

21 Safar, 1210.

ARTICLE 11

The statements of the eleventh article are that if war vessels belonging to our friend the American ruler come to anchor in front of Algiers, and a slave, being an American or of another nationality, takes refuge on board the said war vessel, the ruler of Algiers may claim this slave, at which request the commander of the war vessel shall make this fugitive slave leave his ship and deliver him into the presence of the ruler of Algiers. If the slave is not to be found and reaches a country of unbelievers, the commander of the ship shall pledge his word that he shall return and bring him to Algiers.

21 Safar, 1210.

ARTICLE 12

The statements of the twelfth article are that from this time onward the subjects of the American ruler shall not be bought, nor sold, nor taken as slaves, in the places under the rule of Algiers.

Also, that since there is friendship with the American ruler, he shall not be obliged to redeem against his will slaves belonging to him, but that this shall be done at the time he likes and that it shall depend on the generosity and the solicitude of the friends and relations of the slaves.

Further, that there shall be put no term or time for the redeeming of prisoners, that the amount which shall be found convenient shall be paid in due order, and that there shall be negotiations about the price with the masters of the slaves; nobody shall oblige the masters to sell their slaves at an arbitrary price, whether they be slaves of the State, of others, or of the Pasha; but if the redeemed persons are American subjects, there shall not be asked of them more than of other nations in similar circumstances.

Also, that if the Algerian vessels of war capture a ship belonging to a nation with which they are at war, and there are found Americans among the crew of this ship, these shall not be made slaves if they are in possession of a pass,¹⁴ nor shall there be done harm to their persons and goods; but if they are not in possession of a pass¹⁴ they shall be slaves and their goods and properties shall be taken.

21 Safar, 1210.

ARTICLE 13

The statements of the thirteenth article are that if one of the merchants of the American ruler or one of his subjects shall die in Algiers or in one of the dependencies of Algiers, the ruler of Algiers or other persons shall not touch in any way the deceased's money, property, or goods; if he has designated before his death an executor, nobody else shall touch any part of his property or goods, either if the executor mentioned is present in Algiers or if he is not there. Accordingly, the person designated as executor by the deceased shall take the properties and the goods, and nobody else shall touch the slightest part of it; so shall it be. The executor or the person delegated by him as his representative shall make an inventory of his money and property, take possession of it, and forward it in due time to the heir.

Further, that if no subject of the American ruler is present, the American Consul shall make an inventory of the said deceased's money and goods and take possession of them and keep them in charge until the arrival of his relations living in their own country.

21 Safar, 1210.

ARTICLE 14

The statements of the fourteenth article are that neither in Algiers itself nor in its dependencies shall the American merchants be obliged to purchase goods which they do not desire, but they shall be free to purchase the goods they desire.

Also, that the ships visiting the ports of Algiers shall not be molested in this way—that goods which they do not wish be put into the ships.

¹⁴ The Turkish has "passavant."

Further, that neither the American Consul nor anyone else, in case an American subject is unable to pay his debts, shall be held responsible for those debts and be obliged to pay, unless some persons, according to their free will, are bound for the debtor.

21 Safar, 1210.

ARTICLE 15

The statements of the fifteenth article are that if one of the subjects of the American ruler has a suit at law with a Mohammedan or with some one subjected to the rule of Algiers, the said suit at law shall be settled in the presence of His Excellency the Dey and the honored Divan, without intervention of anybody else. If there occurs a suit at law among those people themselves, the American Consul shall decide their disputes.

21 Safar, 1210.

ARTICLE 16

The statements of the sixteenth article are that should one of the subjects of the American ruler have a fight with a Mohammedan, so that one wounds the other or kills him, each one shall be punished according to the prescriptions of the law of his own country, that is, according to the custom in all other places. If, however, an American kills a Mohammedan and flies and escapes after the murder, neither the American Consul in Algiers nor other Americans shall be compelled to answer for him.

21 Safar, 1210.

ARTICLE 17

The statements of the seventeenth article are that the American Consul, now and in future, without regard to who he is, shall be free to circulate without fear, while nobody shall molest his person or his goods.

Also, that he may appoint anyone whom he desires as dragoman or as broker.

Also, that whenever he wishes to go on board a ship or to take a walk outside, nobody shall hinder him.

Further, that a place shall be designated for the practice of their void religious ceremonies, that a priest whom they need for their religious instruction may dwell there, and that the American slaves present in Algiers, either belonging to the Government or to other people, may go to the house of the Consul and practice their vain religious ceremonies without hindrance from the chief slave guard or from their masters.

21 Safar, 1210.

ARTICLE 18

The statements of the eighteenth article are that now there reigns between us peace and friendship, but that if in future there should occur a rupture of our present state of peace and friendship, and there should be caused trouble on both sides, the American Consul, and besides him the subjects of

the American ruler either in Algiers or in its dependencies, may not be hindered either in peace or in trouble, and that whenever they wish to leave, nobody shall prevent them from leaving with their goods, properties, belongings, and servants, even if such a person be born in the country of Algiers.

21 Safar, 1210.

ARTICLE 19

The statements of the nineteenth article are that a subject of the American ruler, to whatever country he goes or from whatever country he comes, and to whatever kind of people he belongs, shall not be molested in his person, goods, property, belongings, or servants, in case he meets with Algerian vessels, large or small.¹⁵ Equally, if an Algerian is found on board a ship belonging to enemies of the American ruler, they shall not be molested in any way in their person, their property, their goods, their money, or their servants, but the properties of these people shall not be regarded with disdain, and they shall always be treated in a friendly manner.

21 Safar, 1210.

ARTICLE 20

The statements of the twentieth article are that every time that a naval commander of the American King, our friend, arrives off Algiers, the American Consul shall inform the commander as soon as the vessel is seen; after the said captain has anchored before the port, the commander of Algerians shall, in honor of the American ruler, order a salute of twenty-one guns from the citadel, after which the captain of the American ruler shall answer gun for gun, and, as the said vessel is a vessel of the King, there shall be given provisions according to the custom, in honor of the King.

21 Safar, 1210.

ARTICLE 21

The statements of the twenty-first article are that there shall not be asked duty and taxes for goods that are destined for the house of the American Consul, consisting of eatables, drinkables, other necessaries, and presents.

21 Safar, 1210.

ARTICLE 22

The statements of the twenty-second article are that if there occurs from this time onward a disturbance of our peaceful relations, from whatever side this happens, this shall not rupture our peace, but the peace shall be maintained and our friendship shall not be disturbed. The person injured, to whatever party he belongs, shall claim justice. If, however, the fault and the guilt are on both sides, or on the side of a subject, and the matter is kept secret, our belief in our friendship shall remain and our word shall remain as good as ever.

21 Safar, 1210.

¹⁵ The Turkish text does not mention the condition that these Americans and their goods are on ships belonging to enemies of Algiers, but this, of course, is the meaning.