

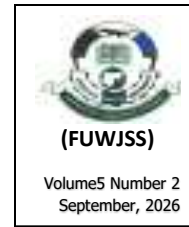
A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM AND EROSION OF LIBERAL INTERNATIONALISM

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Abstract

The period after the cold war has witnessed the reaffirmation and intensification of United State commitment towards actualizing the liberal international order. To this end, the country has dedicated enormous energy and resources in actualizing this gigantic objective. This paper is a critical appraisal of America's journey to coherently pursued liberalized political and economic agenda across the globe. Through a systematic review of extant literature, this paper discusses how American exceptionalism has taken a center stage in the formation, pursuit and implementation of its foreign policy. America exceptionalism holds that United State is unique in its history, politics and social and cultural life among the comity of nations. As such, superiority of these uniqueness in the pursuit of the country's foreign policy has dramatically induced the United State to abandoned its preached liberal internationalism in favour of national interests. The paper concludes that America's external force is antithetical to other great powers thereby posing hazard to peaceful international environments. The paper recommends that America's foreign policy should align with its core principles of liberal internationalism, rooted in pursuing dialogue rather than confrontation with other major world powers.

Keywords: Liberal internationalism, America, foreign policy, national interest

Introduction

Inspired by philosophical thoughts of Thucydides, Clausewitz, Grotius, Hobbes, Machiavelli, and Carr, realism has enjoyed the domineering role in interpretation of international politics in the 21st century. The pessimistic ideological lens of these theorists have explained the conflicting nature of international environments that guaranteed war among nations in the pursuits of their national interest (Carr, 1939; Morgenthau, 1948; Waltz, 1979). However, the period after the cold war in the 90s has witnessed the renaissance of liberal internationalism that injured the dominance and popularity of realist thoughts in international politics. The optimistic ideological view of liberal theorists have queried the intellectual exercise of realist thoughts by explaining the exercise of power in international relations see (Keohane, 1984; Doyle, 1986; Fukuyama, 1992; Ikenberry, 2001). As both ancient and modern realists occupied the international relations scholarship space by reducing nation states to a rational actors rationalizing their actions in anarchic international environment with wider motivation to achieve their desire interest, liberal internationalism has assumed this scholarship intellectual hegemony with triumph of United State in the Cold War era. This triumphant phenomenon was a giant liberation of liberalism as aftermath of the cold war saw ‘internationalization’ of international politic where common cooperation among nations were achieved. Prospect for war reduces while optimism for stronger international corporation and alliances rises. In fact to use the words of Francis Fukuyama “the story has ended when the cold war finished (Fukuyama, 1992),

The colossal attack to tame the realist populism in the 21st century is not only intellectual exercise by liberal scholars but high level of commitment by United State to turn the post-cold war era into a global village through spreading the gospel of democracy and international trade. American foreign policy therefore in the aftermath of cold war was a robust commitment to eliminate anarchy and competition in the international system. This gigantic stride by United State saw its commitment to building institutions such as international organizations capable of promoting international peace. This foreign policy initiative by the United State gained its populism and wide international acceptance because of its advocate for representative government where people are govern by their consent, supports for fundamental human rights of the citizens such as right to life, right to dignity, freedom of expression, libertarian press, and electoral competitions. Coupled with these, the new America foreign policy after the cold war gave primacy to the non-interference in internal affairs of a sovereign States and strong support for private ownership and control of economic production.

Reversely, as foreign policy is usually the outcome of domestic realities, America’s foreign policy from empirical point of view was a mere liberal

rhetoric and has been occupied by the ingredients of realist's interpretation of international politics. (Morgenthau, 1948; Mearsheimer, 2001). The policies were driven by utmost national interest that are utterly antithetical to the onions of liberal internationalism. In his efforts to expose the double-edged United State foreign policy in the pursuit of its liberal agenda, G. John Ikenberry, averred that:

...It did not take long for these expectations to be frustrated. Even in the course of the 1990s, many of the policies designed to realize this vision—from democracy promotion through humanitarian intervention to neo-liberal economic policies—failed to achieve their aims. Under the Bush administration in the early 2000s, the United States seemed to abandon liberal internationalism altogether. It replaced multilateralism with unilateralism, shunned its friends and allies, ignored international institutions, pursued an aggressive and illegal foreign policy, and blatantly violated human rights (Ikenberry, 2011, p.6)

This position is justifiably the retrogression of America's foreign policy from its liberal architectural design to a more aggressive quest for global hegemony in line with its national interest. This has somewhat signaled the re-death of liberal internationalism after its renaissance in the aftermath of the cold war. Though Beate (2018) berated some of the liberal scholars for envisaging that failure of liberal internationalism is over exaggerated. In the midst of acclaimed exaggeration, the liberal theorists have also admitted the crisis encountered in their intellectual scholarship. Ikenberry thus countered the liberalist argument that liberal internationalism is not only in crisis but its ideological driver, United State was tormented by the crisis of hegemony (Ikenberry, 2011).

Perhaps, the intricacies behind the failure of United State to display liberal credentials such as respect for human right, non-interference in internal affairs of a sovereign state and most importantly respect for international norms and convention beyond the global doubt is its precondition of democratic entrenchment and economic reforms. See (Moravcsik, 1997). The survival and success of America in the cold war does not necessarily mean total elimination of authoritarian polities. These polities however saw America's foreign policy and liberal agenda as institutionalization of America's policy in their states. Hence, the perceived threats by these state coupled with their commitment to protect their national interest has contributed immensely to the failure of post-cold war liberal approach to peaceful international environments.

America exceptionalism has no doubt played a critical role and has taken a center stage in the pursuit of the country's foreign policy. This exceptionalism has witnessed the abandoning of the core values of liberal internationalism by the United State. The hope of international community to

witness peaceful international communities in the aftermath of the cold war thus is not too bright as other great power such as Russian and emerging China shall not fold their hands to witness the growth of America's hegemon perceived to be against their national interest.

Historicizing and Conceptualizing Liberal Internationalism

Liberal internationalism historically traced their origin to John Lock philosophical thought that human being are naturally born to be free from all forms all alienation, and should be allowed to make a choice freely among various alternative for the betterment of their political community. (Locke, 1689; Doyle, 1986).

This philosophical blueprint was later supported by later theorists such as Emmanuel Kant, Baron de Montesquieu, Adam Smith, Jeremi Bentham, Giuseppe Mazzin, Joseph Schumpeter and John Stuart Mill etc. The liberal ideas after the demise of these great thinkers continued to gain momentum among the later scholars that saw human nature from optimistic view capable of avoiding conflict and nurturing peace across the globe. The dramatic growth of liberal internationalism was grossly inspired by Woodrow Wilson's 14 points agenda after the First World War in 1918. (Wilson, 1918). Wilson made a shift from liberal political philosophy of Locke and other thinkers to theoretical formulation explicating the danger of subsequent wars owing to the devastating effects of the First War that lasted for four years. Drawing from his theoretical postulation of bringing international peace through the instrumentalities of international organizations, modern liberal theorists derived their inspirations from Wilson's political landmark.

Essentially, liberalism is both political philosophy and theoretical ideological blueprint that explained the system of societal relations. The former is a political doctrine that is majorly concerned with the freedom of man from all form of political incarceration such as freedom to choose leaders of a state in a competitive political manner, freedom of speech, free press, limited power of government, right to own properties and free trade. The later depict theoretical exploration that envisaged the formation of global political institutions and norms with the aim of arresting international anarchy and guaranteeing security for all. (Keohane, 1984). As Oliver Stuenke argued, liberalism is a social construct that is difficult to define across different political climes. As the concept may mean different thing to different people owing to their social believe and ideological divide (Oliver, 2014). He buttressed further that the concept is one the misunderstood theoretical strands in anal of international relation. He also belong to group of scholars who believed that liberal internationalism is a dangerous school

of thought citing the 2003 Iraqis intervention as thought provoking (Oliver, 2014).

Liberalism has no doubt produced or manufactured robust ideas of bringing lasting peace to the acrimonious and anarchical international environments. The theory anchored its ideas on tripartite mechanism to restore international peace after the devastating horrors of two World Wars. First, the formation of international organizations where nations surrender some of their powers to supranational authority. This supranational authority shall regulate all international interactions. Second, international trade which by far is the economic ties and alliances among the states which is expected to encourage the common cooperation among the comity of nations. Third, democratic culture must be entrenched in all political climes as democratic principles are tantamount to peace and are capable of discouraging any state to embark on war.

Bertrand et'al (2011), have identified two major types of liberal scholars. The divide in this scholarship was based on military interference into the internal affairs of a sovereign state. In another words, when will a State loose it sovereignty? It is based on this that these scholars identified cosmopolitan interventionists and liberal internationalists. To them, cosmopolitan interventionists hold Kantian liberal tradition but somewhat supported State intervention which is against Kant's idea. According to these group of liberal scholars, intervention is legalized when designed to check civil unrest and protection of unhelpful and arm population within the state (Bertrand et'al, 2011). This set of liberal ideological strand might be the inspiration of United State in intervening in external powers. While liberal internationalist utterly rejected the ideological prism of cosmopolitan interventionist arguing that nonintervention is a duty of international community. These set of scholars rallied behind self-determination and discouraged intervention in any form. Michael Walzer and John Rawls belong to the liberal school of thoughts that categorically supported state intervention with some reservation. To them, state intervention is only legalized and applicable when it is obvious that government sponsored genocide of unprotected citizens and most significantly should be last resort. Another important reservation by these scholar was that intervention must be multilaterally approved by international institutional order (Walzer, 1977, Rawls, 1999).

In their contribution to the understanding of liberal internationalism, Daniel and Ikenberry have reduced liberalism into subsystem averring that the theory have five (5) distinguishing features. These features are; security arrangement, penetrated reciprocal hegemony, the integration of semi-sovereign and partial great powers, economic openness and lastly liberal subsystem is often characterized by civic identity (Daniel and Ikenberry,

1999). This elucidative analysis is in conformity with core liberal values as collective security, economic alliance and political unification through international organization and entrenchment of liberal democracy remained the robust arguments of liberal internationalists. In fact, Emmanuel Kant in his book “Perpetual Peace” has given primacy to liberalization of republics believing that liberal republics are likely not fighting war. This classical thought by Kant on liberal internationalism served as a relive to later liberal scholar from where they designed their democratic peace theory. This theory is one of the newly formulated paradigm in international relations that supported intellectual journey of liberal internationalism.

Theoretical Framework

The research is based on the combined theoretical perspective comprising realism and liberal internationalism under the larger paradigm of neoclassical realism. Under realism, it is considered that the international environment consists of the anarchy nature wherein the states seek the maximization of survival and security (Waltz, 1979; Morgenthau, 1948). However, under liberal internationalism, the focus is on cooperation, institution-building, and democracy. The debate existing between these two perspectives serves to offer a useful tool for examining the foreign policy of the United States in light of the paradox associated with its foreign conduct.

In realism theory, international relations are fundamentally motivated by a power struggle between states that exist in an anarchical environment. Classical realists including Hans J. Morgenthau posit that the interest of the state based on power is what drives the conduct of state actors (Morgenthau, 1948). According to structural realists like Kenneth N. Waltz, the structure of the international system demands that states be concerned with their own security rather than any other ideology (Waltz, 1979). Likewise, according to the offensive realism approach championed by John J. Mearsheimer, great powers are always motivated by the desire to increase their power relative to others (Mearsheimer, 2001). All these theories collectively account for U.S. foreign policy decisions.

Liberal internationalism, on the other hand, offers a theory of international order that focuses on cooperation, interdependence, and rule-based management. According to Robert O. Keohane, for instance, international institutions lower transaction costs and foster cooperation despite the anarchy prevalent within the international system (Keohane, 1984). Moreover, according to G. John Ikenberry, the international order following World War II and the Cold War period was built upon liberal concepts such as democracy promotion, multilateralism, and open economies (Ikenberry, 2001). Liberal scholars further assert that the concepts of democratic peace and international norms also help limit conflict

between states (Doyle, 1986). However, many critics claim that such liberalism tends to be selective when conflicting with national security concerns.

In an attempt to bring balance between these two rivaling perspectives, this study applies a neoclassical realist approach that takes into consideration the influence of both the international environment and the domestic level of analysis. According to Gideon Rose, the results of foreign policies are influenced not only by the distribution of power in the international environment but also by domestic institutions and political elites' perception and interests (Rose, 1998). Further support for this theoretical perspective comes from Lobell, Ripsman, and Taliaferro (2009), who claim that states' behaviors are conditioned by both strategic considerations at the external level and domestic politics. Applied to the US foreign policy, this theory helps to understand why the liberal internationalist discourse does not prevent the realism of US foreign policy practices.

Research Methodology

For this purpose, a qualitative methodology would be employed in this research study with special emphasis on documentary and content analysis. The reason for employing such a research strategy lies in the fact that this study aims at analyzing and interpreting both the ideology and practice of foreign policy of the United States after the end of the Cold War period. It does not depend upon statistics but emphasizes the interpretation of written material in academic literature as well as policy-making documents and historical accounts.

The sources used for gathering the data in the study include only secondary sources. They include articles published in peer-reviewed journals, books, U.S. foreign policy documents, speeches by the presidents, policy statements, and other sources in relation to international relations theory dealing with realism and liberal internationalism. In order to retrieve data for the study, systematic literature searches and retrievals from various reliable academic sources such as Google Scholar and JSTOR have been conducted. Efforts were made to select data that are relevant to realism and liberal internationalism, especially in relation to post-Cold War policies of the United States.

In this study, the approach to data analysis adopted is that of qualitative content analysis. This entails a systematic approach to the analysis of textual information with an aim of finding out underlying themes and patterns of meaning regarding U.S. foreign policy behavior. Realism and liberalism are the two theoretical approaches that will be adopted in this case since they offer the conceptual basis for explaining various foreign policy issues in regard to power politics, institution building, and ideology. Furthermore,

neoclassical realism insights will be incorporated in order to analyze the impact of domestic politics and elites' perceptions on the influence of system constraints and foreign policy results. Multiple scholarly sources, such as academic journals, theoretical books, and policy documents, will be considered in this analysis in order to ensure reliability and validity.

Qualitative analysis is used as the approach for conducting this study owing to the fact that the issues of concern to this research, namely power, ideology, norms, and institutions, cannot be captured using any form of quantitative methods. As much as this research does not seek to measure the foreign policies of the United States empirically, it seeks to make sense of contradictions inherent between liberal internationalism discourse and realism in US foreign policy.

Findings and Discussions

America's Foreign Policy and National Interest

It is not contestable that no nation could achieve its national interest in isolation of international environments. This is not far from the fact that global resources are scarce and each nation struggle to access these scarce resources at all means in line with their national interest. Instrument used by states in communicating with external environment in the pursuits of national interest is foreign policy. Foreign policy therefore could be seen as a game in international relations where winner emerge with their capabilities to alter international scene to suits its interest. Foreign policy and national interest are thus inseparable concepts in annals of international politics. Classical theorists in the field of international relations such as Machiavelli and Clausewitz has given primacy to national interest in their classical political thoughts. For instance Clausewitz cited in Alfred that behavior and action of all state in the global communities are often shaped by their desire to prosper and survive. He went further to justify the war in the pursuit of genuine national interest (Alfred, 2013).

Though foreign policy is one the concept that have suffered definitional hurdle among the concepts in social sciences, it has been define by different scholars from different perspectives. In fact, Gross categorically opined that problem encountered in the study of foreign policy is the problem of definition (Gross, 1945). From the perspective of Frankel, foreign policy involves of decisions and actions, which involves to some appreciable extent relations between one state and others. This suggest that foreign policy is reciprocal in nature involving communication and or action between states in international environment. Buttressing this, Padelford and Lincoln (1977) conceptualized foreign policy as a total sum of state's interaction with the external World. All government interaction therefore that are cross-boundary with its intent to achieve a predefine objective could be seen as

foreign policy. In his own contribution to the meaning of foreign policy, Gibson situated the concept around the comprehensive plan based on knowledge and experience for conducting the business of government with rest of the world (Gibson, 1944). This is to say that foreign policy is distinguishable from domestic policy and require a lots of expertise and calculations before decision are making as its effects are either favorable or unfavorable.

As the aim of all foreign policies are widely to achieve national interest, calculated attempt are often made to make a wisest choice by the States. Thus, if national interest is an ends, foreign policy is the means to achieve those ends. National interests are often generally believed to be power, Security and wealth (Krasner, 1978; Finnemore, 1996, Donnelly, 2000). The trio of these national interest could be subsumed under military capability, economic viability and most significantly national prestige. A critical analysis of America's foreign policy posture in both old and recent history revealed that emphasis of its foreign policy makers is not only to militarily secured the country territorial integrity but wish to be seen as the most prestigious nation in the World.

America's foreign Policy: From Liberalism to Exceptionalism

To discuss the United State external relation policy in the aftermath of the ideological battle that ended in 90s without given the space to the concept of exceptionalism is tantamount driving a car without a direction. American exceptionalism has no doubt assumed a topical intellectual discourse in this era in the analysis of the country's foreign policy. Terrence (2012), has given credence to the rise of concept of American exceptionalism in both American political scene and academic scholarship. Scholars like (Lipset 1996), (Madsen 1998), have admitted that the concept of America exceptionalism has long history and has been identified with America uniqueness especially regard to its history, culture and identity. The historical antecedent of this concept is traceable to idea by French Philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville when he traveled to United State in 1831. His description of American politics was that the country's democratic culture was not only highly exceptional but no polity might be placed in this exceptional position. Samuel Huntington's description of United State polity has corroborated the ancient philosophical doctrines of Tocqueville when conceptualized America principle as of freedom, egalitarianism, individualism, democratic doctrine and rule of law under constitution (Huntington, 1983).

As argued by John (2019), the concept of American exceptionalism was subjected to distinct meanings from various persuasions. This distinctiveness in defining the concept has created room for heated

intellectual discourse in the analysis of the country's foreign policy. In his article titled; *Old Paradigms in History Die Hard in Political Science: US Foreign Policy and American Exceptionalism*, Hilde Eliassen Restad tried to quench the argument associated in the definition of American exceptionalism. He queried the stringent emphasis on American exceptionalism that is often used when analyzing the country interaction with external World (Hilde, 2012). As is historically opined, the concept is equated to uniqueness in the country's quality that bordered on greatness in its long standing political culture; democratization of politics, liberalization of economy and above all respect for human dignity. Capturing its own definition, Gökhan (2018), sees American Exceptionalism as United State superiority in mission and cohesiveness. While Hilde (2012), has given premium to the special and unique role United States is meant to play in World affair in his own version of definition of American exceptionalism, he identified two major categories of American Exceptionalism that are dominant in the literatures; exemplary exceptionalism and missionary exceptionalism. While the former entails that United States posed as the example owing to its exceptional qualities for other to emulate without interfering in their internal affairs, the latter means direct involvement of United States in promoting democracy and capitalism in World affairs.

However, evidences abound that this exceptional attributes of United States has tremendously shaped the country's foreign policy. Though the country is the greatest advocate and champion of liberal internationalism, inadequacy in pursuing the foreign policy with liberal agenda is quite obvious. Beate (2018), envisaged vividly that United States foreign policy is antithetical to liberal internationalism. He cited the example of Bush and Trump administration. This to him has heightened the debate on the crisis of liberal internationalism and America's foreign policy because the country is the leading factor in the championing of liberal power in global politics in the Twentieth century. Explicating the diversion from liberal internationalism to American exceptionalism in United States' foreign policy posture, Ignatieff (2005), averred that American exceptionalism is likened to the concept of exemptionalism. He harangued the United States for legal isolationism and blatant disregard for international law. Three (3) major scenarios according to Ignatieff are discernable in identifying the transmutation from liberal internationalism to American exceptionalism in the pursuit of America's foreign policy. First, involvement of United States in treaties and conventions and subsequent violation of the same treaty either by non-ratification or noncompliance to its provisions. Second, the United States has displayed the habit of double standard in dealing with external environment. In most cases, the country overlooked the sin of a friend and

sprang the sin of enemies. Third, the denial of jurisdiction to human right law within its own domestic law (Ignatieff, 2005).

To justify the position of Ignatieff, Sachs (2018), has historically averred that United State in nearly a quarter century has not only failed to ratify UN-backed treaties, but consistently pursued foreign policy that are grossly inconsistent with international norms and practices. While it is generally acknowledged that ratification of treaties and compliance with its provision is the fundamental instrument of liberal internationalism, the believe by international community in the aftermath of the cold war that United State will champion the course of liberal internationalism is blinked and is significantly linked to the trouble that is accompanying the contemporary international relations. For instance, in 2002, United State initiated the undermining of U.S.-Russian Nuclear treaty known as the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) by unilaterally abandoning its provision (Sachs, 2018). Similarly in 2019, Trump administration maintained the tradition of anti-liberal agenda by backing out of Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty (John, 2019).

Exceptionalism might not be peculiar to United State as other great powers also wished to look exceptional. This prompted Edward Luck to identify the four (4) attributes of exceptionalism. First, when a nation is willing to do it alone a range of issues coupled with apparent immunity to the pressure and criticism from others. Second, when a nation assumed that its national value and practices are universally valid and that its policy decisions are not just expedient but proper and moral. Third, when a nation pragmatically look inward into its internal political realities in relating to external World even if those realities are inconsistency with international norm and practices. Fourth, the believes by national policy makers and legislators that there are multiple ways to pursue state interest in international affairs and that acting through multilateral arrangement is optional and not obligation (Edward, 2003). Though Edward attribution of exceptionalist politics is general, his analysis is strikingly and intrinsically linked to the display of United State foreign policy as exceptional state in the World affairs.

It will therefore be empirically erroneous to delink the United State foreign policy from its perceived exceptional regalia owing to the practical evidences in the country's ideological pride. John Glaser quoted President Bill Clinton's Secretary of State Madeline Albright to have said that "if we use force as America, we use it because we are America and indispensable nation". He buttress further that America stand tall and see future than other countries. That United State is not just a nation among nations but indispensable in sustenance of peace and security in the World and for this responsibilities to be carried out, the country have the right to act in a ways

that other would be punished and condemned for (John, 2019). This ideological pride that is highly associated with America exceptionalism might be the reason why Sachs (2018) described the post-World War II renaissance of America exceptionalism as a condition where the country leaders conceived the ideology of being exceptional and have the right to make and disobey international law. Sachs argued further that this ideological portraits of United State in pursuing its foreign policy is tantamount to international hypocrisy and generate more enemies for the State considering the country gesture for unwarranted military interventions. In the midst of this military interventions, Sachs reiterated that United State has wasted a lot of resources and missed many opportunities for international cooperation (Sachs, 2018). Power absolutism embarked by United State in pursuing its foreign policy because of its perceived exceptional attributes is not only inimical to the success of liberal internationalism but has sent a bad signal to other great powers which consequently reduced the optimism for global cooperation. To use the words of Mearsheimer (2001), “the tragedy of great power politic” where the prospect for cooperation is not bright and where other great powers are suspicious of United State because of its flagrant disregard for international norms which is not only against the primacy of liberal internationalism but perceived to be threats to their national interest.

America’s Foreign Policy: An Appraisal of Liberal Hegemony

America’s foreign policy is presumably the most discussed foreign policy in the social intellectual World. This perhaps is traceable to the unique role the country is playing in global politics. In furtherance to this assertion, there is no any political climate in the World that expansively defined its foreign policy in relation to the external like United State. In both academic and social milieu, the United State foreign policy is the most debated and most criticized. Debate on the U.S. foreign policy has occupied the intellectual space since 1945 after the Second World War when the country attempt to militarily and economically monopolized the World (liberal hegemony); a feat that culminated into cold war between the rival USSR that ended in the 90s in favor of United State. Since then, United State had made its position known to the World. In describing the United State foreign policy, Ronald (2021), advanced that traditional role of United State in the World affairs since the end of World War II varied in their specifics. However, he enumerated some key elements under which United States Foreign Policy is generally based. These elements are;

- World leadership
- Defending and promoting liberal international order
- Defending and promoting freedom, human rights and democracy

- Preventing in Eurasia the emergence of regional hegemon (Ronald, 2021).

A critical appraisal of United State foreign policy suggests that the policy is and often ridden by internal political realities and aspiration of the country. Of all the four key elements identified by Ronald which America's foreign policy are generally based, only the second and the third elements are ingredients of liberal internationalism. The first which is global leadership and the last which is preventing in Eurasia the emergence of regional hegemons are only United State national identity defined as national interest which is presented at the global market place. This perhaps might explain the reason why efforts by United State to champion the liberal internationalism is consistently inconsistent and habitually ridden by attainment of national interest. For instance, in his article titled; *After Hegemony: A Conservative Foreign Policy*, Jared Morgan McKinney quoted Mearsheimer, Walt, and Hendrickson to have argued that since 1989, no any foreign policy decision of United State had made the country more secure (Jared, 2019). If U.S. has actually pursued its foreign policy in true conformity to the principles of liberal internationalism such as avoidance of use of force, respect for territorial integrity and human dignity and non-intervention in internal affairs of sovereign State, the United states will not only be secured but will enormously guaranteed the security of entire global communities.

Liberal hegemony of United States therefore has not only failed to promote democracy, but colossally creates room for international instability, unnecessary militarism and above all antagonize the force of nationalism (Mearsheimer, 2018). The failure of liberal agenda as United State foreign policy blueprint as argued by Jared (2019), is even tedious to narrate as promised by Bush in 1999 to inspire democratic peace among the comity of nations metamorphosed into inspiration of war that followed intervention in Iraq and Libya and promoting misery and violence in Yemen and Syria. Similarly, the expansion of NATO in the aftermath of cold war in 1999, 2004 and 2009 sparked Russian pessimism, a phenomenon that caused 2008 Georgia war and annexation of Crimea region in 2014 (Jared, 2019). Buttressing this, Walt (2018) linked the failure liberal hegemony to the fact that it has over exaggerated by the ability of America to shape other states through interventions. This trends is somehow overlooked by United Nations. For instance, the tendency by America to militarily dominate the World is linked to the approval by George Bush to intervene in Iraq without UN resolution which is the fundamental doctrine of international law (Hamda, 2021). Consequently, the post-world wars liberal agenda to quench the flavor of subsequent war especially among the great powers championed by the United States is perpetually retrogressed as the country's foreign

policy has not only erodes the principles of liberal internationalism but remained economically and militarily threats to other great powers.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The central theme of this paper was to critically appraise the liberal internationalism and America's foreign policy. The paper argued that United State has aggressively and rhetorically pursued global agenda that promotes human rights, egalitarian societies and national sovereignties. However, practical evidences have shown that United States' foreign policy was inimical to the ethics of liberal internationalism such as principle of non-intervention and peaceful resolution of international conflicts. Owing to the threatened Russia and emerging China, the unflinching tendency by United State to pursue its national interest at the detriment of liberal internationalism would not only remain hostiles to these great powers but capable of jeopardizing the hard-earned global pacifism.

In light of the results of this study, the following recommendations can be formulated: First, the United States must strive for better alignment between its foreign policy practices and the ideals of liberal internationalism, which will be achieved by giving preference to multilateral diplomacy, following international law, and respecting state sovereignty in international affairs. Second, international organizations, including the United Nations, need to be further reformed to promote a fairer balance in global governance by improving accountability and avoiding selective enforcement of international norms by leading nations. Third, new global powers, along with the United States, including China and Russia, need to be involved in enhanced strategic and security cooperation in an effort to avoid any form of geopolitical tensions that may lead to conflicts.

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