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American Exceptionalism in Foreign Policy between Myth and Reality

**Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
Master's Degree in Literature and Civilization**

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Dedication

To my parents and brothers the source of tenderness.

To my best friends for my making my life memorable.

Lamia

With great honour, I dedicate this work to the dearest people in my life, my family.

I also dedicate it to my friend Lamia who was so active, positive and helpful.

Chahinaz

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By the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

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Abstract

What makes any country in the world worth to learn about it is its long, varied, unique history, rich legacy, prominent events, developed civilization, powerful economic and effective policy. It is recognized that the United States of America fulfills all these requirements and that it is an exceptional country. American exceptionalism is a term that defines the United States of America as a nation different from the rest of the world, which is distinguished by the mission of world leadership and takes upon itself the responsibility of spreading democracy and freedom around the world. The term was first created by the French writer Alexis de Tocqueville in 1835. This present dissertation is intended to examine the concept of American Exceptionalism, explain the impact of the American exceptionalism on the United States foreign policy and verify the credibility of the American exceptionalism during the war in Afghanistan under the title «AmericanExceptionalismInForeignPolicybetweenMythandReality».The present study utilizes the qualitative approach that employs the descriptive analytical and historical method. The study findings revealed the myth of American exceptionalism as a consequence of the failure of the American war in Afghanistan. However, the fact that the United States of America is a global superpower cannot be disregarded.

Keywords : American Exceptionalism, Foreign Policy, Myth, Reality, War in Afghanistan

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
NATO	The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
USA	United States of America
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
WTC	World Trade Center
WWI	World War One

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ملخص

General Introduction

American exceptionalism has affected American foreign policy significantly and clearly in recent years, as the United States of America has taken many bold political decisions, including military interventions. This has led to doubt about the reality of American exceptionalism. This research aims to investigate the effectiveness of American exceptionalism.

It is believed that the USA is an exceptional country with its special historical background, social, economic and political development. The term "American Exceptionalism" first appeared in 1835 in the book "Democracy in America" by Alexis De Tocqueville, a French aristocrat who visited America during 1831 and 1832, where he stated that what America has passed through is unique and distinct from the rest of the world.

The concept of American Exceptionalism has religious roots that can be traced back to Christianity Puritan pilgrim. Puritans believed that God chose them to be rescued and to lead the other nations, as John Winthrop the leader of the Puritans and the founder of the Massachusetts Bay Colony said that "America is a city upon a hill" in his address that America has special destiny, exceptional country and all eyes are upon us.

The impact of American exceptionalism on foreign policy goes back to a long history that has different dimensions, as the idea of American exceptionalism states that the US has a unique position and a special responsibility in the world and it promotes several principles such as democracy, human rights and individual freedom. The impact of American exceptionalism is evident in several aspects, including military power, as the US played an important role in international affairs thanks to its enormous military power to achieve its political and economic goals in addition to maintaining international security and combating injustice and persecution around the world. However, the effectiveness of the American exceptionalism is a controversial topic as there is no general consensus.

1. Statement of the Problem

The US imposes itself as a leading force in foreign policy through its ability to influence global affairs, as it plays an important and decisive role in shaping global decisions and achieving national interests around the world as it is the case in Afghanistan. In this regard, the US uses the idea of American exceptionalism to justify military intervention under several pretexts, including freedom, democracy, human rights and international security.

2. The Aim of the Study

- Exploring the incidents and information related to the rise of the concept of American Exceptionalism

- Investigating the impact of American exceptionalism on foreign policy

- Verifying the efficiency of American Exceptionalism

3. Research Question

- Is American exceptionalism a reality or solely a myth that has been passed throughout history?

Subsidiary questions

- 1- What is American Exceptionalism?

- 2- What are the different types of American exceptionalism?

- 3- How did presidents use American exceptionalism in their rhetoric?

- 4- Is American Exceptionalism a national identity?

- 5- Why did the US invade Afghanistan?

- 6- Was the American Exceptionalism a justification for the war?

- 7- How did the US end the war?

4. Research Hypotheses

This research presents the following two hypotheses:

- The myth of American exceptionalism as a result of the failure of the war in Afghanistan
- American exceptionalism is a historical, cultural, and political fact that characterizes the United States of America.

5. Significance of the Study

American exceptionalism reflected the global role of the US and its influence on international affairs. The significance of the current study helps to understand the history and fundamentals of American exceptionalism and the debate about its impact on the military intervention in Afghanistan. Our finding deepens current understanding of the myth of American exceptionalism. This research will provide students, teacher and researchers with the necessary information that can be used in future researches related to the topic

6. Research Methodology

A qualitative approach is proposed for the study. This approach enables researchers to obtain insights on American exceptionalism in foreign policy. The study employs a historical, descriptive and analytical method. In the first chapter, a historical descriptive method is used to introduce past events. The second chapter uses an analytical method to discuss the myth of American exceptionalism in Afghanistan.

7. Structure of the Study

Our research is divided into two chapters. The first one provides an overview of American exceptionalism by defining it, tracking its emergence, introducing the various types of American exceptionalism and showing how each president uses it in their speeches. Moreover, it highlights the relationship between American exceptionalism and national identity. The second

chapter studies the American exceptionalism during the war in Afghanistan and how this concept was used as a justification for the war. Furthermore, it presents the costs of the failure of the war in Afghanistan in order to demonstrate the myth of American exceptionalism.

CHAPTER ONE

An Overview on American Exceptionalism

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Introduction

The notion of American Exceptionalism is deeply ingrained in the country's history, identity, culture and has been the subject of extensive study by numerous scholars (Lipset, 1996; Madsen, 1998, as cited in Thimm, 2007). This chapter explores the diverse meanings of American Exceptionalism described by various scholars, highlighting the belief that the United States (U.S) is a unique and distinct nation. The chapter also traces the evolution of this concept, which passes through different stages and its religious roots dating back to the puritan John Winthrop's characterization of America as "A City upon a Hill" with a particular purpose. In addition, this chapter provides the various types of American Exceptionalism and how each type is adopted by the US leaders in their discourse. Finally, it discusses how the exceptional nature of the American identity influences the country's foreign policy.

1.1. The Meaning of American Exceptionalism

The idea of American Exceptionalism becomes familiar from 1840 to the late 19th century. Then, it was used in particular by sociologists, but nowadays it has become prevalent in various fields, especially political ones. In this context, American Exceptionalism refers to the nation's sense of superiority, and that the US is inherently distinct from other nations. This belief is often accompanied by a sense of chosenness and a mission to act benevolently at the international level. Some proponents of American Exceptionalism argued that the U.S. has a unique entitlement to intervene that it would never permit another power to do. The US is viewed by several as the great conservative society, but it may also be seen as the most classically liberal policy in the developed world.

Lake (2011) stated that

This broad agreement on American Exceptionalism is often overlooked. This is especially so for conservatives, who now demand allegiance to the idea and chastise Obama, despite all evidence to the contrary, for not believing sufficiently in the exceptional nature of the country he leads. (para.3)

This is not because the concept is disputed, but rather because conservatives and liberals have different ideas about what makes the US unique, makes Exceptionalism a contentious issue in modern American politics. These contradictions are the root of our current foreign policy difficulties (Lake, 2011).

Lipset (1996) in his literature review about American exceptionalism stated that:

To understand the exceptional nature of American politics, it is necessary to recognize, with H. G. Wells, that conservatism, as defined outside of the US is particularly weak in this country. Conservatism in Europe and Canada, derived from the historic alliance of church and government, is associated with the emergence of the welfare state. The two names most identified with it are Bismarck and Disraeli. Both were leaders of the conservatives (Tories) in their countries.(p.3)

Conservatives believe that the U.S is unique because its citizens are fundamentally moral, upright, and good people who support noble policies in their interactions with foreign nations. However, the belief that American values and culture are superior to those of other countries is much more common among conservatives than liberals(Lake, 2011).

Due to the Constitution's ingrained ideas of limited government, liberals view the US as unique. Liberals applaud the checks and balances system because they acknowledge that even naturally good Americans frequently have diverse definitions of what goodness is. (Lake, 2011).“The semantic confusion about liberalism in America arises because both early and latter-day Americans never adopted the term to describe the unique American polity” (Lipset, 1996, p.4).

In spite of the fact that, few liberals think that Americans have a superior culture, 73% of Democrats in a 2010 USA Today/Gallup poll thought that the US is "the greatest country in the world" because of its "history and its Constitution ". Obama holds this notion of American Exceptionalism. As he said at a press conference in Strasbourg, France, in 2009, “I think we have a core set of values that are enshrined in our Constitution, in our body of law, in our

democratic practices, in our belief in free speech and equality, that, though imperfect, are exceptional" (Lake, 2011).

The term Exceptionalism is explained by several scholars such as Hugh Heclo, James Q. Wilson and Seymore Martin Lipset.

Hugh Heclo who is an expert on American democratic institutions and the development of modern welfare states conducted a content analysis of books and articles published for more than 220 years(2013).According to his investigation, the idea that the USis exceptional first appeared around 1800. Alexis de Tocqueville and Thomas Jefferson both employed it. Wilson (2015) states that

In the 1920s, it was popularized by leaders of the Communist Party to explain the failure of socialism to emergein theUS. Heclo argued that Americans' tenacious commitment to individualism, limited governmentand laissez faire capitalism explains America's strong resistance to socialism and its opposition to an expansive welfare state.(p.6)

The term American Exceptionalism appeared first in 1835 in the book of the French writer Alexis de Tocqueville "Democracy in America ".After that, the term has been used for many decades.

Figure.1 *Alexis De Tocqueville a French Historian and Political Writer*



Note. Adopted from *Encyclopedia Britannica* .<http://www.britannica.com/biography/Alexis-de-tocqueville>

Alexis de Tocqueville explained that all what America has experienced is exceptional at all levels. Not only does it differ from the rest of the world, but it has a distinct historical background, social, economic and political development. Due to all these factors, America was recognized by the other nations as the ideal country as he stated.

The stance adopted by Americans is significantly unique and noteworthy. It can be postulated that democratic societies will likely never become completely homogeneous in their beliefs and values.

The American populace has historically demonstrated a preference towards prioritizing utilitarian goals. The individual's fervent enthusiasm and dedication to the subject matter are apparent.

The convergence of one's desires, educational background, and overall persona appears to be evident. The act of portraying indigenous individuals in the U.S in a downward direction and the expression of their spiritual beliefs is occasional glance towards the past, whence he has wandered into the vast and uncertain future. Individuals are compelled to frequently reflect on their past experiences while venturing into an unknown future. The act of turning one's attention towards their previous endeavors is momentary and sporadic. The individual's fleeting and unfocused gaze towards the celestial sphere. Let us desist from perceiving all democratic societies, as exemplified by the United States of America, are a cornerstone of modern political theory (Dunn, 2015).

In terms of economic concerns, Joseph Stalin considered America not Superior unlike Alexis de Tocqueville who was astonished with the history and superiority of America. For Joseph Stalin, it is meaningless to define the American Exceptionalism as the American superiority. Although Joseph Stalin described American Exceptionalism negatively, he promoted it more than Alexis de Tocqueville in spreading the term (Ghani 2017).

Furthermore, Lipset (1996, as cited in Wilson, 2015) claimed that the reason socialism never took hold in the U.S is due to American Exceptionalism as he stated:

Ironically, much of the efforts by Marxists and socialists to account for the failure of the prediction stressed that from sociological and political points of view, the U.S was too progressive, too egalitarian, too open, and democratic to generate massive radical or revolutionary movements on scale comparable to those of Europe. (p.7)

In his books *American Exceptionalism: A Double Edge Sword and Continental Divide*, both of which he coauthored with Louis Hartz, Lipset compared the political culture and public policies of the US with those of Canada, Europe, and Japan. He demonstrated the differences in values, popular opinion, public policies, and institutional frameworks that make the US. He summarized the idea of American Exceptionalism as follows: "The five concepts of liberty, equality, individualism, populism, and laissez-faire can be used to summarize the American Creed. Tocqueville stressed that the American definition of egalitarianism involves respect and equality of opportunity rather than equality of result or condition". (Lipset, 1996, p.19, as cited in Wilson, 2015).

To sum up, most statements of "American Exceptionalism" presume that America's values, political system, and history are unique and worthy of universal admiration. They also imply that the US is both destined and entitled to play a distinct and positive role on the world stage.

1.2. History of American Exceptionalism

American foreign policy has experienced significant development since the country's independence. This unique policy made the United States a powerful and exceptional country worldwide. This process passes through four stages.

1.2.1. Stage of Isolation 1776-1911

During this period, the US of America withdrew itself from any international political alliance linking it to other countries, particularly Europe. Subsequently, the main focus of the

American leaders was to work toward establishing a nation that could ensure its internal security, whether that security was political, military or economic.

Figure.2 *George Washington the 1st U.S President*



Note .Adopted from *American Battlefield Trust*. <http://www.battlefield.org/law/biographies/>

George-Washington

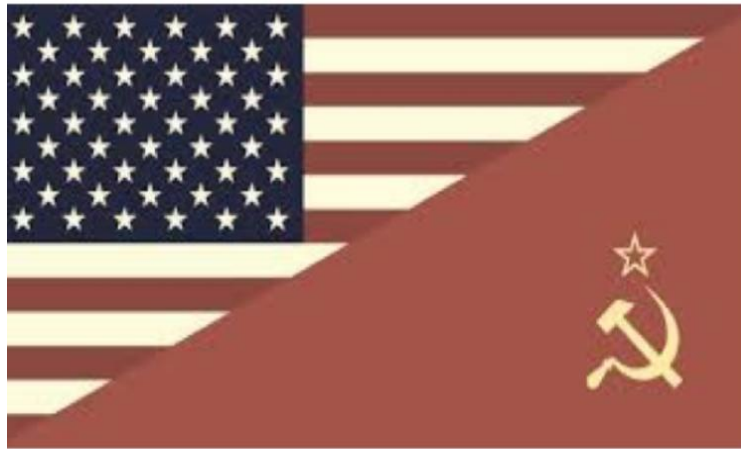
Additionally , George Washington- the first president of the USA,- who chose isolation as a critical principle and guiding policy while dealing with foreign countries, applied this idea. Then, James Monroe , – the fifth president of the U.S, –confirmed this principle through the famous tenet that says "America for Americans ".At that time, the USA succeeded in building internal stability and creating an economic superpower in parallel to the evolution of its military fleet (Meghzili, 2021,as cited in Ayadi, 2021, p.14-15).

1.2.2. The End of Isolation Stage 1914-1945

The US joined the allied forces in World War I (WWI) to endthe conflict and assert its new position in the international community as it sought to promote security, justice, democracy and the protection of human rights. Therefore, it ended the war and reduced the effects of the post-war global economic crisis (Meghzili, 2021, as cited in Ayadi, 2021,p.15).

1.2.3. Cold War Stage 1991

Figure.3 *The Ideological Conflict between the U.S and Soviet Union*



Note. Adopted from *AmericanDiplomacy*.<https://americandiplomacy.web.unc.edu/2019/11/how-u-s-soviet-and-technical-exchange-helped-end-the-cold-war/>

The Cold War was an ideological conflict over world leadership between the US, the Soviet Union and their respective allies. The start of this war was caused by the USA which displayed its nuclear power to the world at Hiroshima and Nagasaki and providing financial aid to rebuild Europe after the collapse that it faced due to the two World Wars, such as through the Marshall Plan. Nonetheless, the USA faced a global force represented by the threat of the Soviet Union's communist development(Meghzili, 2021, as cited in Ayadi, 2021,p.15).

Figure.4 *The Nuclear Bombs Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan*



Note. Adopted from *Imperial War Museum* .<https://www.iwm.org.uk/history/the/-atomic-bombs-that-ended-the-second-world-war>

Therefore, the USA adopted several policies and strategies to stop the spread of communist thoughts. One of the most prominent strategies used by the USA is the containment policy. This conflict lasted a half century and ended by the USA in 1990 after the Soviet Union's institutions were destroyed (Meghzili, 2021, as cited in Ayadi, 2021, p.15).

1.2.4. The Stage of World Domination and Unipolar System

As the Cold War ended, the US began to develop a single global vision that was centered on its unilateralism, -the process or fact of deciding a policy or action without involving another group or country- as the world's greatest and most powerful nation in addition to the establishment of a new foundation which is based on liberality, democracy, and capitalism to make America an exceptional model through its powerful economy and political system whoever opposes its rules will be considered as a rebel and terrorist state and all of this is done to spread American culture and leadership (Meghzili, 2021, as cited in Ayadi, 2021, p.16).

1.2.1.1. The Religious Origin

The roots of American Exceptionalism can be traced back to the puritan pilgrim. Puritans believe that God had specifically chosen them to be saved and to lead the other countries of the earth. John Winthrop, the chief figure among the Puritan founders of New England, was the first person to apply the "A City upon a Hill" phrase to America".

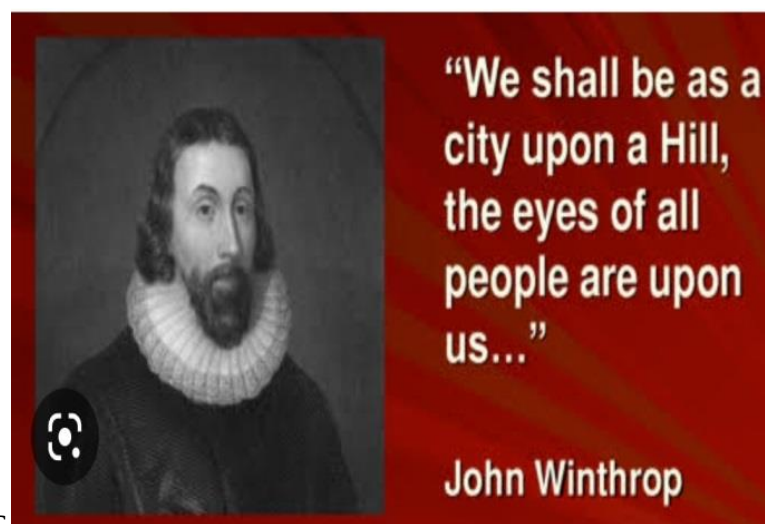
Figure.5 *The Puritan Leader John Winthrop*



Note. Adopted from *Lumen Learning* .<https://www.museumofthebible.org/book-minute/a-city-upon-a-hill>

A "City upon a Hill" is a phrase first that appeared in John Winthrop's address beyond the Arbella, he is a prime example of Christian compassion as well as the founder of Massachusetts Bay colony and puritanical chief. He depicted this phrase in 1630, and it seems as a metaphor for the notion that America has a unique destiny. All eyes will be on us since we will be a city on a hill as he regarded that (Bouabdallah&Berkane, 2019).

Figure.6 *John Winthrop's Quotes*



6

Note. Adopted from *inspiringquotes.us* .<https://www.inspiringquotes.us/author/2177-john-winthrop>

Puritans agreed into a covenant for this job and if they displayed the God, their sins and mistakes would be made public for all around the world to see(Bouabdallah&Berkane, 2019). According to Winthrop, America will be a model nation leading other countries toward liberty and democracy. This was reflected in his famous phrase "A City upon a Hill" , which has since become popular among proponents of American Exceptionalism.

1.3.Types of Exceptionalism:

American Exceptionalism has become a popular topic in academic writing; many scholars have used this term to describe the uniqueness of the cultural aspect of America and how America is different from the rest of the world. According to Desai (2014) human rights academics have identified four distinct varieties of American Exceptionalism.

The first type, *messianic Exceptionalism*; goes back to Winthrop's sermon, this category focuses on how the US carries out a divine purpose. Presidents who practice this kind of Exceptionalism therefore emphasize the unique principles of the US and advance a messianic view of the American role in advancing democracy and freedom overseas. This type uses religious language to claim that the United States is carrying out a divine purpose and playing a crucial role in the global dissemination of certain ideologies(Desai,2014).

The second category is *global Exceptionalism* which is similar to the first type in that it acknowledges the distinctiveness of America and the idea that the US has a purpose in the world. Yet, Exceptionalism varies in that presidents who exhibit it concur that America plays a crucial role in the world—but not because of a messianic destiny, rather because of its "exceptional global leadership" .This type highlights the rich culture and traditions, the size of the economy, and the power of the military that make America unique. This type also focuses on the U.S.'s willingness to establish international institutions, which is advantageous for the advancement of US interests as well as America's mission and ideals(Desai, 2014)..

The third form of American Exceptionalism recognizes that the US plays a leadership role in the globe but varies in that it does not fully accept the notion of American Exceptionalism. Presidents who support this type may not think of the US as wholly exceptional, but they may recognize the US's problems. However, they hold the US in high regard as a democracy-promoting leader who understands the value of international cooperation. These presidents are more likely to view other nations as equals can acknowledge that America is not the only superpower in the globe. The internationalist approach is preferred in this category over the unilateralist one. This type is referred to as *internationalist Exceptionalism* (Desai, 2014).

The last type that has been suggested builds on Stephen Walt's approach to the idea rather than categorizing it as an instance of Exceptionalism. The uniqueness of America, whether in terms of its history, culture, or place in the world, is still acknowledged by presidents who fall under this category. However, they reject the idea that the US is more unique than any other nation. Although this group denies the notion of American Exceptionalism, it acknowledges the US as a strong and distinctive leader, but is no more potent or exceptional than any other superpower. The proposed type is called *rejectionist Exceptionalism* (Desai, 2014).

Overall, American Exceptionalism is divided into four types: messianic Exceptionalism, global Exceptionalism, internationalist Exceptionalism and rejectionist Exceptionalism. Each type describes America's uniqueness differently. Which is summarized in the following table (table 1).

Table.1 *Types of Exceptionalism*

Type of Exceptionalism	Characteristics
<i>Messianic Exceptionalism</i>	The U.S. is a unique nation Religious rhetoric is used The US has a specific destiny from God
<i>Global Exceptionalism</i>	The US is a unique nation US are exceptional due to their 'global leadership' Rhetoric that promotes their strong economy, military, history, culture & population

<i>Internationalist Exceptionalism</i>	Not a complete rejection of American Exceptionalism Still considers America a leader in promoting democracy Recognize other countries as equals
<i>Rejectionist Exceptionalism</i>	Rejection of the concept of American Exceptionalism The US are still unique and powerful, but no more than any other world leading nation Rhetoric that portrays the US. as equal to other nations

Note. From *The Greatest Nation on Earth 'The different types of American Exceptionalism articulated in presidential rhetoric* by Desai. M.(2014). [Research paper]

1.4The Relationship between American Exceptionalism and U.S Presidency

Over the last decade, American Exceptionalism has become widespread. Some contend that the idea highlights God's unique favor on America's special position in the world. In contrast, others dismiss it as an extreme type of nationalism or a pretext for imperialism. Nonetheless, the idea of American Exceptionalism has played a significant role in forming American identity. As a result, American Exceptionalism has become a cornerstone of the American presidency by US leaders to forge and preserve a sense of unity inside the country. Presidents like John F. Kennedy, Ronald Regan, George W. Bush and Barack Obama interpreted the idea of American Exceptionalism differently and adopted various positions about it throughout their presidential speeches, campaign and policies. According to Desai (2014),the use of the rhetoric of American Exceptionalism by these presidents invokes different forms of the concept.

Figure.7 *John Kennedy the 35th U.S President*



Note. Adopted from *The White House*. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/john-f-kennedy/>

Firstly, Kennedy discussed the role that America must play in preserving freedom and liberty globally, showing America as a force for good, defending those in need, and battling the evil that threatens freedom, Kennedy also frequently used religious rhetoric, asserting that the US's role of protecting freedom was one that God had assigned them. The use of religious rhetoric and the assertion that the US has a definite destiny illustrates *messianic Exceptionalism* (Desai, 2014).

Figure.8 Donald Reagan The 40th U.S President



Note. Adopted from *Encyclopedia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/RonaldReagan>

Secondly, Ronald Reagan was firm in his speech that America would once again be exceptional under his presidency. He frequently referred to the US as a "fortunate nation" and a "shining city upon a hill", similar to how Kennedy had spoken. As a result, this type of rhetoric conveys the idea of messianic Exceptionalism, much like Kennedy did. Yet, Reagan's speech heavily emphasized the American people's will, which he credited for much of the success the US had encountered. In this manner, Reagan had advocated *global Exceptionalism* as he constantly highlighted both the distinctiveness of America and its demonstrated leadership on a global scale (Desai, 2014, p.22).

Thirdly, George W. Bush was also quite vocal about the specific duty the US has in promoting freedom and liberty around the world, much like Kennedy was. This view is consistent with *messianic Exceptionalism*. Bush also asserted that the US is unique due to its "global leadership" which is clear from the language Bush used to highlight the strength of the American military and economy as well as the bravery and tenacity of the American people. Moreover, Bush was firm in making it appear in many of his speeches that ensuring the safety of the US nation is his top priority. This displays the same notion of *global Exceptionalism* as it did with Reagan (Desai, 2014)

Figure .10 *Barack Obama the U.S President*



Note. Adopted from *Encyclopedia Britannica*.<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Barack-Obama>.

Finally, Obama along with Kennedy, Reagan, and Bush, firmly believed that the US plays a crucial role in ensuring freedom and liberty around the world. Obama often reflected on the principles outlined by the Founding Fathers, arguing that these are what distinguish America from other countries. Unlike other leaders, Obama did not rely heavily on religious language. Instead, Obama emphasized that the ideals outlined in the constitution were the source of their unique destiny in the world. All of this reflects *global Exceptionalism*. Nevertheless, he was quite vocal in emphasizing that the US could not promote freedom around the world on its own and needed the assistance of other countries. Obama still regarded the US as a pioneer in advancing democracy. Yet, he admitted its shortcomings and promoted international cooperation, consistent with *internationalist Exceptionalism*. Moreover Obama's rhetoric also appears to be *rejectionist Exceptionalism*. Obama asserted that all countries are great in their ways and that the US is no more exceptional than any other superpower. He acknowledges that other nations may have good ideas and that the US is equal to other nations (Desai, 2014).

To sum up, one can note that messianic *Exceptionalism* is the dominant type of American Exceptionalism expressed by the different presidents. Kennedy, Reagan, and Bush all used language that included *messianic Exceptionalism*; Reagan and Bush also expressed *global*

Exceptionalism. However, the most notable distinction was with Obama, whose rhetoric represented a *global, internationalist, and rejectionist Exceptionalism*.

1.5. The Impact of the Exceptional National Identity on USA Foreign Policy

According to Huntington (2004), national identity is an overarching system of collective characteristics and values in a nation; in other words, American identity has been based historically upon: “race, ethnicity, religion, culture and ideology. In addition, Smith (2003 as cited in Restad,2012), noted that:

National identity can be defined as the “maintenance and continual reinterpretation of the pattern of values, symbols, memories, myths, and traditions that form the distinctive heritage of the nation and the identification of individuals with that heritage and its pattern. (P.4)

National identity is therefore not a fixed concept but one that is in constant motion circles the concept of American Exceptionalism has been consistently prevalent throughout American history, deeply ingrained in both elite and popular circles (McCracken 2003,p.2-4-17; as cited in Patman,2006, 965).Scholars who study US Exceptionalism classified it as a fundamental part of American identity, with terms such as "manifest destiny," "exemplar," and "missionary" used to describe this Exceptionalism. As a result, American national identity has greatly influenced American foreign policy in various ways.

According to Edwards (2018), the USA has long been considered distinct from the rest of the world as it has been described as a city upon a hill .Furthermore, he stated that American Exceptionalism includes three basic concepts: it is a society free from the problems of the Old World; it can overcome all the problems that countries faced previously and has a special destiny. All these characteristics suggest that the American intention to interfere in all foreign dealings is good because they are more experienced in knowing what is best for the world. Two

essential dichotomies—an identity dichotomy and a superpower foreign policy dichotomy—are the foundation of the conventional understanding of how the American identity as unique has shaped American foreign policy.

This suggests the U.S may have viewed itself in two different ways - either as an independent New World that sets an example for the rest of the world without direct interaction, or as a missionary actively promoting its beliefs in democracy and capitalism worldwide.

Exceptionalist governments can see their moral superiority as a demand for a missionary or an exemplary foreign policy. The exemplary identity is typically said to inspire an “isolationist” foreign policy (more recently, “aloof” has become the preferred term). Isolationism or aloofness was exemplified by Puritan John Winthrop’s “City upon a Hill” speech and George Washington’s warning against “permanent alliances” in his farewell address of 1796. Yet, it is asserted that the missionary identity motivates an internationalist foreign policy. A common example of missionary internationalism is Woodrow Wilson's goal of ensuring that democracy is secure throughout the world. According to some scholars, the link between the two descriptions is cyclical (i.e., due to its identity dilemma, American foreign policy has swung back and forth between internationalism and isolationism (Hoffmann 1968; Klingberg 1983; Schlesinger 1986). On the other hand, according to the most recent edition of the Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy, the exemplary strand of Exceptionalism predominated in the early years of US foreign policy, and the missionary strand of Exceptionalism only definitively won out in the debate after the attacks on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 (McCracken 2002, as cited in Patman, 2006).

Political scholar Trevor McCracken asserts that as a result of the missionary component of the American identity, which leads to "U.S. expansion or intervention in the affairs of other nations," scholars have identified the idea of American Exceptionalism as the driving force behind it (2002, as cited in Patman, 2006).

American exceptional national identity has contributed to spreading American values virally. Subsequently, any country that opposes American values or tries to spread its own ones the

United States of America will intervene and work to make a change in the system of this country. This attitude is seen in the 1947 Truman Doctrine, which outlined the United States' strategy for stopping the development of Communism and averting regime changes, particularly those that would move away from American-style democracy (Current History, 1947).

The impact of the American national identity on foreign policy may also be seen in reactions to challenges to religion in other countries. It is well represented in the American responses to the challenges of religiosity in foreign countries. American foreign policy showed its commitment to its religious beliefs Judeo-Christian. This is demonstrated by Eisenhower's support of the Christian administration in Lebanon (Gunn & Slighoua, 2011, p. 40). Moreover, Eisenhower's supposed religious interventionism exhibits Exceptionalism in the cases of the Guatemala coup and the conspiracy to overthrow Mossadeq in Iran. Democratic elections were used to elect both governments. Nonetheless, the United States of America intervened to overthrow them on religious grounds and throughout the Cold War, both administrations were leftist (Gunn & Slighoua, 2011). This confirms the impact of American Exceptionalism on the religious field.

American foreign policy has been influenced by both ethnic and cultural principles. This influence may be seen in that the US recognizes itself as a western superpower (Aysha, 2003). American foreign policy was significantly influenced by Anglo-Saxon factors. The of expelling and assimilation "non-White others" from North America has been influenced by these factors since 19th century (Cha, 2015). Ethnic and cultural values have a significant impact on foreign policy. Because of Cuba's high population of black people, the US decided not to annex it (DeConde, 1992). As a result of the considerable black population there, the decision to annex Cuba to the USA was rejected. All these principles serve as a justification for global interaction.

To conclude, U.S foreign policy is significantly influenced by American national identity. The US is made to believe that all of its foreign policy decisions are justified and that it has pure intentions. This can be seen in the way the US views itself as a leader, either as an isolated new

world or as an active missionary promoting democracy and capitalism globally. Thus, the US is under pressure to disseminate its principles throughout the world by whatever means, including war, due to the now-dominant interventionist Exceptionalism. This Exceptionalism also motivates the US to behave differently from other nations and engage with those who have opposing viewpoints while forming alliances with those who share its values of democracy, individual liberty, religion, and free markets. The exceptional nature of the American identity shines through. It has been acceptable for the US to proselytize and intervene in the name of its values until now.

Conclusion

This chapter provides an overview on the concept American exceptionalism. First, it discussed the diverse perspectives and meaning on American Exceptionalism. Second, it scrutinized its historical origins which passed through four stages in addition to its religious roots which are related to the phrase "City upon a Hill". Third, it examined the four types of American exceptionalism and how each president employs it in his rhetoric. Finally, it highlighted that this conviction in American uniqueness has played an important role in shaping American identity as well as impacting American foreign policy as a result of its evolution.

CHAPTER TWO

The Myth of American Exceptionalism in US Foreign Policy: The Case of the War in Afghanistan

Chapter Two: The Myth of American Exceptionalism in US Foreign Policy: The Case of the War in Afghanistan

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Introduction

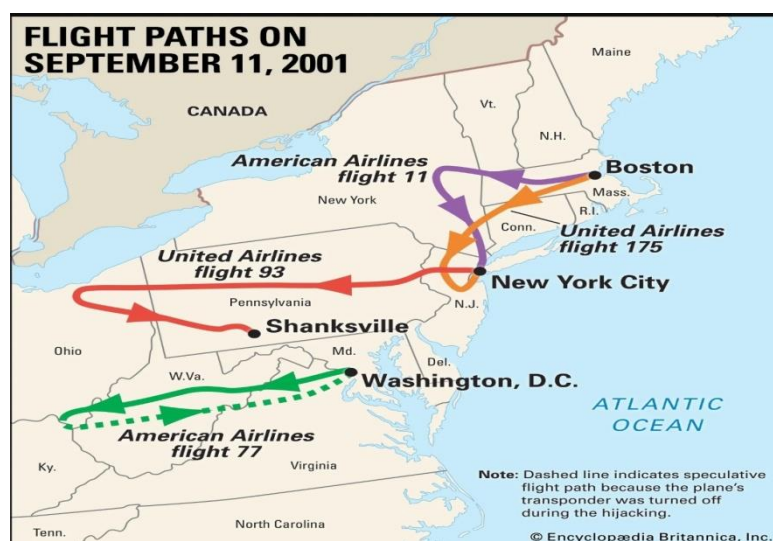
The USA links the concept of American Exceptionalism within its foreign policy , and this belief of uniqueness provides it with the superpower , authority and domination to control the world and interfering in the affairs of other nations and no one can attack America . But soon , it has been faced a terrorist attacks that shock the entire globe and expose the real face of U.S . The Chapter discusses first the horror suicide strike against the U.S on September 2001, carried out by the militant Islamic extremist organization al-Qaeda from Afghanistan .Secondly, how the U.S invaded Afghanistan as a response to the attacks . In addition, it examines how the United States argues that war of Afghan is a self- defense and how it uses the American Exceptionalism on War on Terror as a justification .Finally, this chapter emphasizes the fake of American Exceptionalism clearly and discusses the conducted survey on the American opinion about the US's withdrawal troops from Afghanistan.

2.1. American Invasion Afghanistan

2.1.1. 9/11/2001 Terrorist Attack

On 11th September terrorist strike started that ‘shocked the world ‘ . Four commercial airlines leaving from three airports in Boston , New York and Washington , DC, were almost hijacked by 19 assailants or attackers (Barnett,2016,p.13).

Figure.1 *flight paths on September 11,2001 in U.S*



Note. Adopted from *Britannica*. [https:// www.britannica.com/event/september-11-attacks](https://www.britannica.com/event/september-11-attacks)

Besides, The main reasons for these attacks that the Iranian Revolution Reed (2021), stated that:

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and the killing of Egypt's president all fuelled Islamic fanaticism. Because of the United States' support for Israel and repressive and secular Arab regimes, this radicalism has turned anti-American (n.d.).

Social pressures were created as a result of rising birth rates and restricted economic prospects. Because local governments left no other possibilities for peaceful, democratic reform, extremist ideas embraced violence (n.d.).

In addition, the expansion of weapons provided activists with the tools to cause harm, and advancements in communications permitted worldwide publicity about their actions all of which served the psychological warfare goal of disturbing western people(Reed,2021).

At 08 :47 a.m. ,the first plane in this attack American Airlines 11,was smashed into the north of the WTC complex . Less than 20 minutes ,terrorists from al-Qaeda crashed US Airlines Flight 175 into the WTC complex's South Towers. The Twin towers fell soon after the collision. Then, at 09 : 39 a.m. American Airlines Flight 77 crashed outside of Washington ,D.C ,into Pentagon . After passengers appeared to oppose the hijacking attempt the fourth hijacked aircraft crashed into a field in Pennsylvania at 10 :03a.m. Around 3,000 people were killed across three states in the deadliest terrorist attack in history ,which targeted centers of American economic and military powers(Barnett,2016,p.15).

Figure.2 *World Trade Center and Pentagon attacked in 2001*



Note. Adopted from *Los Angeles Time* .<https://www.latimes.com/travel/la-xpm-2001-sep-12-na-sep-11-attack-201105-01-story.html>.

The US is establishing a double standard since designing suspected terrorists as ‘enemy combatants’ withholding the death Penalty from terrorists who have been found guilty of terrorism, and refusing to grant Taliban detainees full Geneva Convention rights(Koh ,2003,p.1509).

Furthermore, to maintaining the prospect of the death penalty for terrorists it catches , The US has been defending the denial of Geneva Convention rights to American prisoners of war and soldiers seized during the Iraq war(Koh, 2003,p.1509) .

9/11 attacks and the anthrax assaults of 2001 electrified the American people's security consciousness. A focus on "homeland security" led to the creation of a White House office and, later, a cabinet department of the same name(Reed,2012).

Also, citizens were advised to remain alert report unusual activities, and prepare for calamities through public service announcements. The Patriot Act of 2001 allowed previously regarded excessive domestic monitoring and security measures(Reed,2021).

As a result , the US officially launched a war and invaded Afghanistan to overthrow the Taliban as it had refused to comply with US requests to evacuate al-Qaeda from Afghanistan and deport its chief Osama Bin Laden.

2.1.2. An Overview on the U.S Invasion in Afghanistan

America has participated in numerous wars, such as WWII, Iraq War, Vietnam War and Afghan War. The latter is considered the longest war in American history, as it lasted for 20 years , from 2001 to 2021. The American invasion topped the Taliban- ruled Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan to prevent al Qaeda from a safe haven for operations in the country. This war caused many material and human losses.

After the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001,the USA launched a war in Afghanistan. The attacks were orchestrated by terrorists from Afghanistan which was under the control of Taliban, a militant political movement in Afghanistan. The attacks were led by Osama bin Laden who is the founder of militant Islamic Organization al-Qaeda. It was believed that the Taliban was harboring Osama Bin Laden in Afghanistan. The Taliban refused to deliver him to the USA. As a result, the USA together with the UK started *operation Enduring Freedom* on 7th October 2001(Afghanistan War,2021).

Figure.3*Taliban defend on Osama bin Laden insist 'no proof'he was behind attacks*



Note. Adopted from *NewYorkPost* .<https://nypost.com/2021/28/26/Taliban-insists-osama-bin-laden-wasn't-behind-9-11-attacks/>

The operation began with a five day bombing spree and airstrike campaign on military targets and essential infrastructure belonging to al-Qaida and the Taliban including *Kandahar*, *Kabul* and *Jalallabad*. With the help of *Northern Alliance* forces, the US quickly took over Taliban strongholds, including the capital city of Kabul on 13 November. On December 6, Kandahar was overthrown, officially signaling the end of the Taliban's control in Afghanistan leading Al-Qaeda to escape. Shortly after on 20 December, the *International Security Assistance Force* (ISAF) was established by the United Nations to help maintain stability in the capital (Ibid).

Figure.4 AB-52 droops a load of bombs in Afghanistan

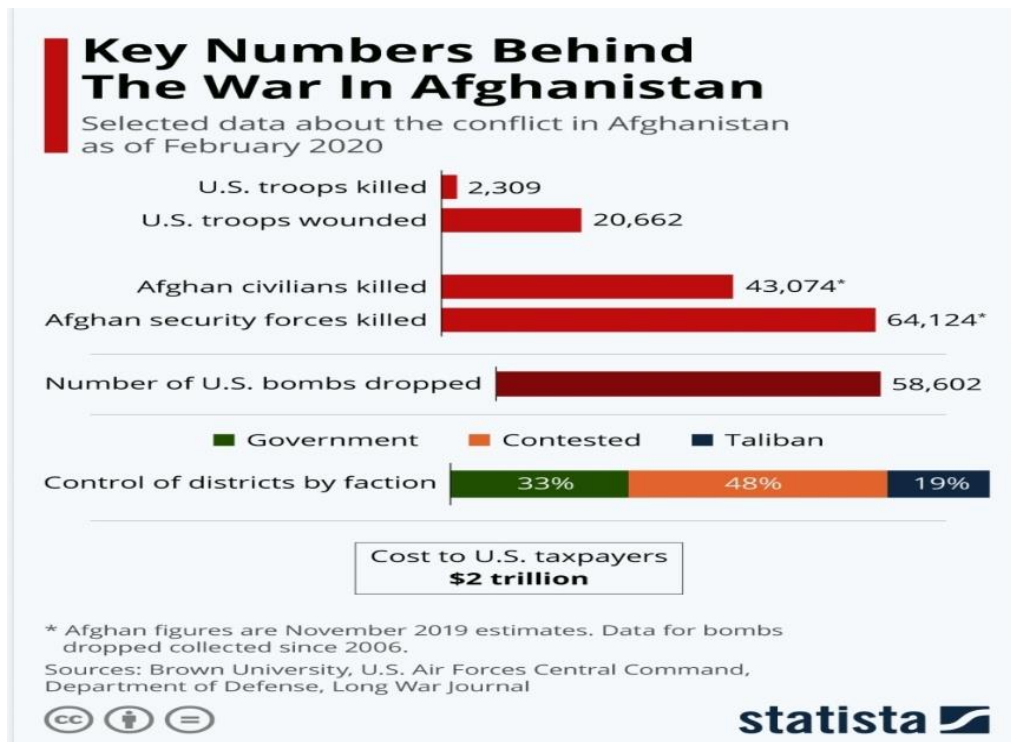


Note. Adopted from Council in Foreign Relations. <https://www.cfr.org/timeline/US-war-afghanistan>

After Kabul fell, many Taliban fighters fled into the neighboring Pakistan, while some groups of Taliban resistance remained in other parts of Afghanistan. In *Kandahar*, significant battles took place at *Tora Bora*. The latter was protracted in the mountainous eastern region of the country, where the US believed that there is a headquarters of al Qaeda where Osama Bin Laden hid. Al Qaeda forces' ability to take cover in the area's cave complex caused the battle to be extended. Yet, By December 17 the final pockets of resistance had been suppressed. However, neither Osama bin Laden nor any other prominent Al-Qaeda leaders were identified. Conflicts intensified once more in 2003 as the Taliban remnants were reconstituted under *Mullah Omar*.

The Taliban under the new leadership of Omar began to engage in guerilla warfare against ISAF and the newly established government. The Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) had already taken leadership of ISAF which included troops from 43 different nations. Some rural parts in the country's Eastern and Southern regions came and the Taliban control as the Taliban made resurgence and civilian casualties increased as a result of the Taliban's extreme use of suicide bombs (Ibid). Joe Biden, the war's fourth president, established a symbolic deadline for the full withdrawal of American forces from Afghanistan. Overall, the conflict resulted in tens of thousands of deaths and a \$2 trillion price tag (Ibid).

Figure.5*Key Numbers behind the war in Afghanistan*



Note. Adopted from Statista. <https://www.statista.com/chart/20995/data-about-the-conflict-in-afghanistan>

On May 1 2001, Osama Bin Laden was killed by US Navy Seals in Abbottabad, Pakistan, marking a significant success for the US in *war on terror*. The struggle in Afghanistan still exists today despite the fact that the majority of the 9th 11 perpetrators was murdered or arrested (Ibid).

Figure.6 The compound where killed Osama bin Laden in Abbottabad



Note. Adopted from Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/event/september-11-attacks>

To sum up, the longest war in American history, which lasted 20 years, came to an end with the withdrawal of American troops and citizens in addition to the return of the Taliban to power. Over these years, the mission of the American forces has revolved around acts of revenge on the one hand and extending security on the other. This war left estimated total of 241,000 dead.

2.2. American Exceptionalism as a War justification on Afghanistan

2.2.1. War on Terror

Terrorism is the random killing of innocent people in the hope of creating pervasive fear. The fear can serve many different political purposes. As a response to September 11 attacks, the US initiated an ongoing global counterterrorism military campaign called the war on terror, officially the Global War on Terrorism (GWOT) (Gunn & Slighoua, 2011) in order to build partnerships with other countries to promote stability and security in regions where terrorism is a threat with a focus on preventing future attacks on American soil. Armed groups like Al Qaeda were the campaign's primary targets, which led to the invasion of Afghanistan. American exceptionalism has played a significant role in shaping the War on Terror. The idea that the US is a special nation with a unique destiny has been used to justify the use of military force and other aggressive tactics in the fight against terrorism.

The War on Terror, which began in the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, has been a defining moment in American history. The Washington Post (2001), stated that:

The "war on terror" uses war as a metaphor to describe a variety of actions which fall outside the traditional definition of war. President of the United States George W. Bush indicated the enemy of the war on terror as "a radical network of terrorists and every government that supports them. (p.4)

Furthermore, Lazar (2004), stated that:

The exceptionalism myth typically leads to the out-of-hand dismissal of all adversaries as evil. This means that the US "depoliticize (es)" the violence of terrorists, automatically

pointing to their evilness (not their political beliefs) as both the cause and effect of their action.(P.13)

Afghanistan on Dec. 1, 2009. (P.9)

Thus, both individuals and policymakers can disregard US policies in Afghanistan and recognize it as a justification of the use of military force and other aggressive tactics in the fight against terrorism .Furthermore, by incorporating the War on Terror debate into the greater political myth of American exceptionalism, which reflects untouchable, cherished, and bipartisan American values, counter-narratives cannot take hold.

However, the War on Terror has also been criticized for its negative impact on civil liberties and human rights, both in the US and abroad. The use of torture, indefinite detention, and other controversial tactics has raised questions about the compatibility of the War on Terror with American values.

In conclusion, the War on Terror has been closely linked to the concept of American exceptionalism, which has been used to justify the use of military force and other aggressive tactics in the fight against terrorism. While the US has made significant progress in combating terrorism, the negative impact on civil liberties and human rights has raised important questions about the balance between security and freedom in a democratic society.

2.2.2. Counterterrorism policies under the administrations of George Bush and Barack Obama

Barnett (2016) , analyses and describes two fundamental administrations for two American presidents ‘Washington G. Bush ‘and ‘ Barack Obama ’how each president contributed to the implementation of CT policies by regularly and using the idea of American Exceptionalism in the ‘ War on Terror’ discourse (Barnett,2016,p.21).

The USA was in a state of democracy in peaceful situation ,but soon everything changed due to horror and terrorist attacks against Washington .D.C, New York in the most common regions, that time it was under the Bush’s administration who changed policies .

Correspondingly, Bush looked to previous language for inspiration after the shock and horror of the 9/11 attacks through the discourse that would aid in development of the CT policy response to the events. Bush started building a framework on the day of the attacks to first explain the incident and then to help the general public comprehend how the government defined the attacks. Bush expressed that the attacks were terrorist acts and the beginning of the construction of the war on terror(Barnett,2016,14).

In other hand, US President Barack Obama tried to put an end to the war on terrorism , he promised to make his counterterrorism policies greater agility , transparent , more ethical peaceful and different from the George W. Bush administration (Stern ,2015).

He was profoundly impacted by the 9/11 story , Barnett(2016), stated that :

Obama opposed the war on Iraq ,he was a firm believer in the war on terror supporting and increasing military operations here as well as US. troops presence in 75 countries , 15 more than under the Bush administration . Obama recycled (p.3).

The ‘war on terror ‘phrase but this change was primarily cosmetic as other rhetoric flourishes and policy remained unchanged policy remained unchanged (Barnett,2016,p.3).

Therefore, the American Exceptionalism served as the foundation for the rhetoric of two administration , which promoted the idea that America had been given the task of eradicating evil. Due to the rhetoric based on the concept of exceptionalim , extremely particular counterterrorism broadly were adopted. The war on terror and American Exceptionalism together depoliticized terrorism , making it nearly impossible for a counter-narrative to gain traction (Barnett,2016,p.3.4).

2.3. The Myth of American Exceptionalism

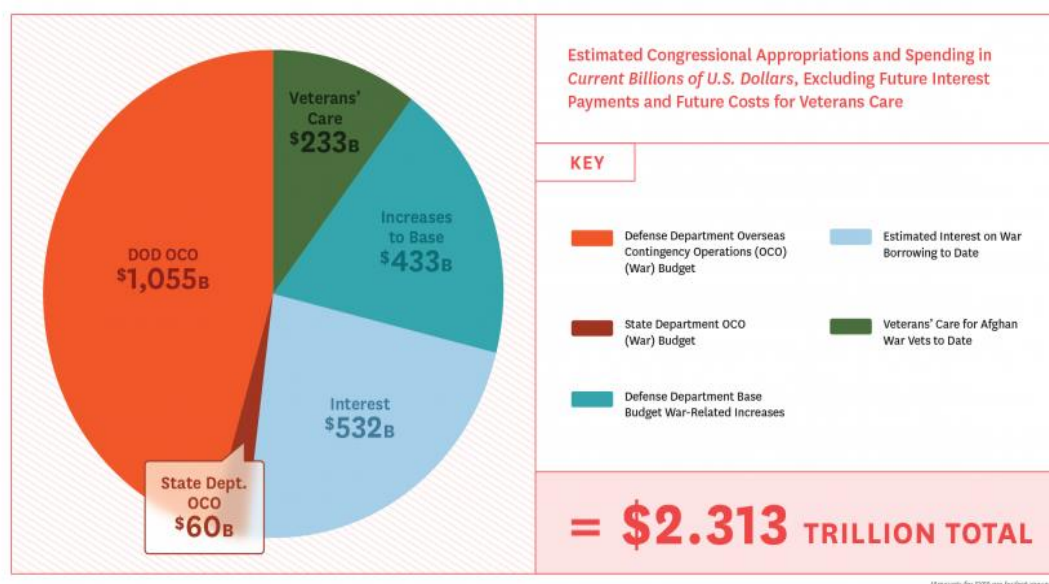
America's involvement in Afghanistan has come to an end following a decades-long war. As the war has ended, many have questioned the reality of the concept of American exceptionalism and how this war's outcome will affect it.

American exceptionalism has long been a part of the American identity. It is based on the idea that the US is a special nation, with a unique national identity and a unique sense of purpose and destiny. This idea has been used to explain why America has been successful in many aspects, and has provided a sense of national pride and unity.

However, The war in Afghanistan has thrown this concept into doubt. After more than two decades of war, the US has failed to achieve its desired outcome. This has caused many to question about the reality of the concept of American exceptionalism, wondering if it is possible for the US to remain a special nation in the face of such a costly and unsuccessful war.

Additionally, the cost of the war in Afghanistan was immense, both in terms of money and in terms of human lives. According to the Watson Institute at Brown University (2021), the Afghanistan war cost the US over \$2 trillion, with over 2,400 American soldiers killed and over 20,000 injured as indicated in Figure 11. This has caused many to question the concept of American exceptionalism, as this costly and unsuccessful war has taken its toll on the American people.

Figure.7 *Costs to Date of the U.S. War in Afghanistan, 2001-2022*



Note. <https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/figures/2021/human-and-budgetary-costs-date-us-war-afghanistan-2001-2022>

According to U.S. Department of State (2009), the protection of fundamental human rights was a foundation stone in the establishment of the United States over 200 years ago. Since then, a central goal of U.S. foreign policy has been the promotion of respect for human rights, as embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Therefore, the US has been an example for the world in terms of freedom, democracy, and human rights.

According to White House(2021) , the President Biden said on the end of the war in Afghanistan that:

We completed one of the biggest airlifts in history, with more than 120,000 people evacuated to safety. That number is more than double what most experts thought were possible. No nation-no nation has ever done anything like it in all of history. Only the US had the capacity and the will and the ability to do it, and we did it today. (para.1)

It means that even the US withdraw its soldiers from Afghanistan it provides a service to them by migrating the refugees huge and unexpected number and no country worldwide can do it neither the US because it exceptional and the American Exceptionalism is it is national identity .

He also stated that," the extraordinary success of this mission was due to the incredible skill, bravery, and selfless courage of the US military and our diplomats and intelligence professionals". In other words, its army forces is fundamental and powerful one. But the question here is that if it is powerful why the US retreated its troops from Afghanistan !! So, the American Exceptionalism is myth and fake because it lose the war and asked for a military help from their allies and NATO(The White House,2021).

Hence, the end of the war in Afghanistan is an evidence of the myth of American exceptionalism. The US is a superpower in terms of policy, economics and military, but it is also subject to limits and can be stymied by global complexities and the costs of war. Going forward, the US must recognize the limits of its exceptionalism and be mindful of the costs of its power project.

2.3. Public opinion questionnaire on the exit of American army from Afghanistan

Katherine Schaeffer is a research analyst at Pew Research Center who conducts a survey with American citizens in 2022 after a year from the end of US invasion in Afghanistan, which the US military exit from there. So she designed a questionnaire to discover the reactions and different opinions on the American sudden decision.

Figure.8 *US Air Force plane takes off from Kabul International Airport on August*



Note. Adopted from *Pew Research Center*.<https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2022/08/17/a-year-later-back-at-public-opinion>

In 2021, the US lost the war in Afghanistan and embedded its military forces there, by the removing the last of its troops. The Taliban took back control of the nation, leading to a refugee recession crisis as many Afghans fled. In addition, it raised concerns that more terrorists would use Afghanistan as a safe haven as Ayman Al-Zawaliri, the commander of al-Qaeda who was killed in US drone attack last month in Kabul (Schaeffer, 2022).

A year after the end of war in Afghanistan by the US, a questionnaire was designed to discover how people in US and other nations have observed the troops withdrawal and its effects

,as well as their older sentiments toward the conflict . From Pew Research Center based on earlier studies and findings have been reached(Schaeffer,2022).

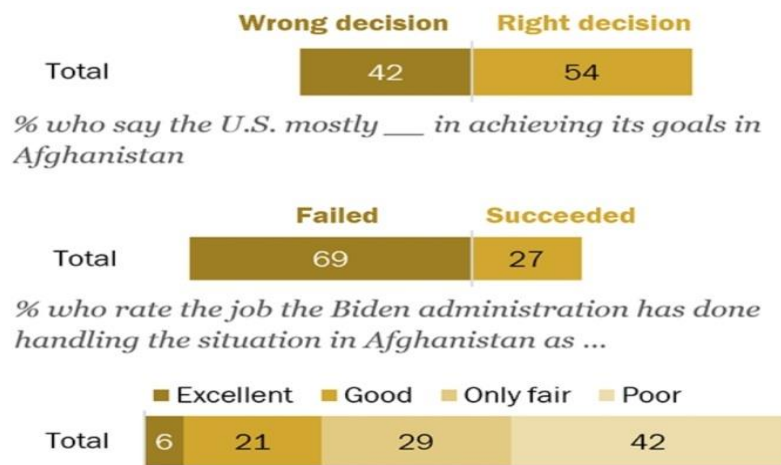
1 According to a survey taken in August 2021,54% of American believed the decision to retreat US soldiers from Afghanistan was the right one.

42% American argued the decision was incorrect. On this subject, there was a clear partisan device. About 50% of Democrats and independents who lean Democratic believed the decision to retire troops was correct one. Republicans and GOP students 34% held this opinion. Republican believed the ruling was incorrect by a margin of 64%(Schaeffer,2022).

Figure.9Public support withdrawal of Afghan troops by giving Biden low scores

Public backs Afghan troop pullout, gives Biden low marks for handling situation

% who say the U.S. decision to withdraw troops from Afghanistan was the ...



Note: No answer responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 23-29, 2021.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Note. Adopted from *Pew Research Center*.<https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2022/08/17/a-year-later-back-at-public-opinion>

A partisan debate occurred , 69% adults in the US reported that its goals were not achieved, while 27% indicated that they had been(Schaeffer,2022).

According to a spring 2019 survey, 59% of US teenagers believed that the American invasion in Afghanistan had more costs than benefits . A supposed to 36% argued the Afghan war was worthwhile . Veterans of US army had a roughly equal distribution of views (Schaeffer,2022).

2 The administration of Biden handling of the situation in Afghanistan was criticized by

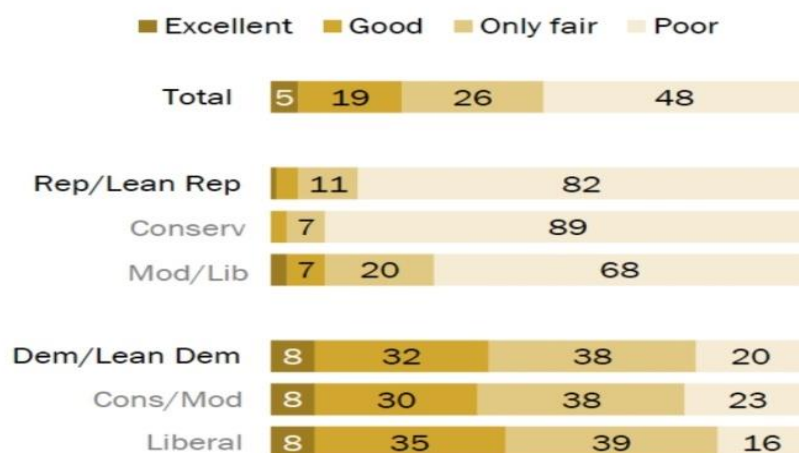
huge majority of Americans both before and after troops departure

About 7to 10 or more expressed that administration had done perfect job in both surveys such as 24% reported this(Schaeffer,2022).

Figure.10 *The majority of Democrats said that Biden has handled Afghanistan just poorly*

Majority of Democrats say Biden administration has done only fair or poor job of dealing with Afghanistan

% who rate the job that the Biden administration has done handling the situation in Afghanistan as ...



Note: No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 13-19, 2021.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Note. Adopted from *Pew Research Center*.<https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2022/08/17/a-year-later-back-at-public-opinion>

In September 2021, a substantial majority of Republican(82%) argued that the administration handled the Afghan issue poorly. Conservative Republicans were 21 percentage points more inclined to say this(89%vs68%) than Republican moderates and liberals (Schaeffer,2022).

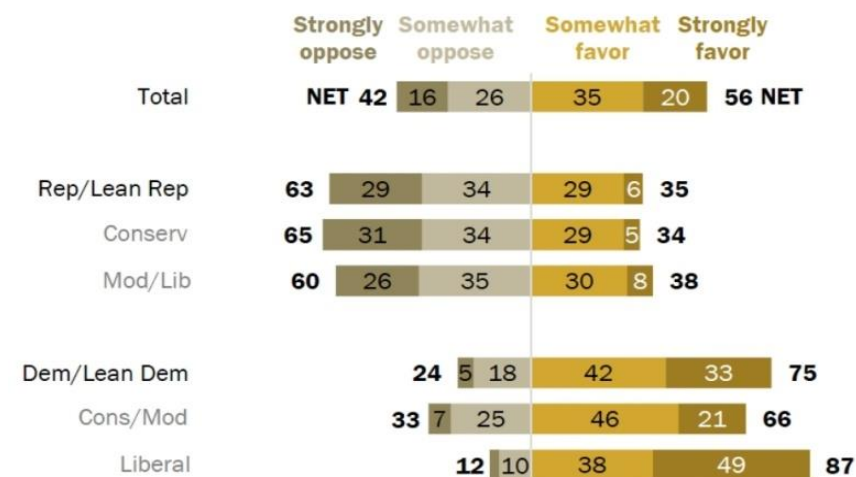
3 More than half of Americans(56%) last September, supported inviting thousands of Afghan refugees into the country .

In the same survey, after the US migrated thousands of Afghan from the country, four out Of ten people (42%)rejected the move(Schaeffer,2022).

Figure.11 Afghan refugee admission is most likely to be supported by liberal Democrats

Liberal Democrats most likely to favor admitting refugees from Afghanistan

% who ____ the U.S. admitting thousands of refugees from Afghanistan into the country



Note: No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 13-19, 2021.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Note. Adopted from *Pew Research Center*. <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2022/08/17/a-year-later-back-at-public-opinion>

Partisanship severely separated these perspectives. At the time, 63% of Republicans were either highly (29%) or moderately (34%), against the United States accepting thousands of Afghan migrants. A third (35%) indicated they supported accepting these people(Schaeffer,2022).

On the contrary, three-quarters of Democrats supported accepting refugees, with a third strongly supporting it. Liberal Democrats (87%) were more inclined to support it than Conservative and moderate Democrats (66%). Almost half of liberal Democrats (49%) stated they supported accepting Afghan refugees(Schaeffer,2022).

Although widespread support for accepting refugees, Americans had different opinions concerning if the government was undertaking sufficient safety inspections for Afghans entering the country. Approximately four-in-ten Americans (43%) indicated they were extremely or somewhat sure that the government was carrying out proper security assessments, whereas 55% said they were not overly trusting or were not at all confident. Democrats were more comfortable with the government's security screenings than Republicans(Schaeffer,2022).

4 People in a spring 2022 study of 18 countries thought the US decision to remove all soldiers from Afghanistan was correct, yet several stated the pullout itself was badly executed.

A majority of 52% respondents in the asked countries believed the troop withdrawal was the correct decision, as opposed to a median of 39% who said it was incorrect. Whenever it came to how the United States departed from Afghanistan, the public's reaction in those nations was more hostile(Schaeffer,2022).

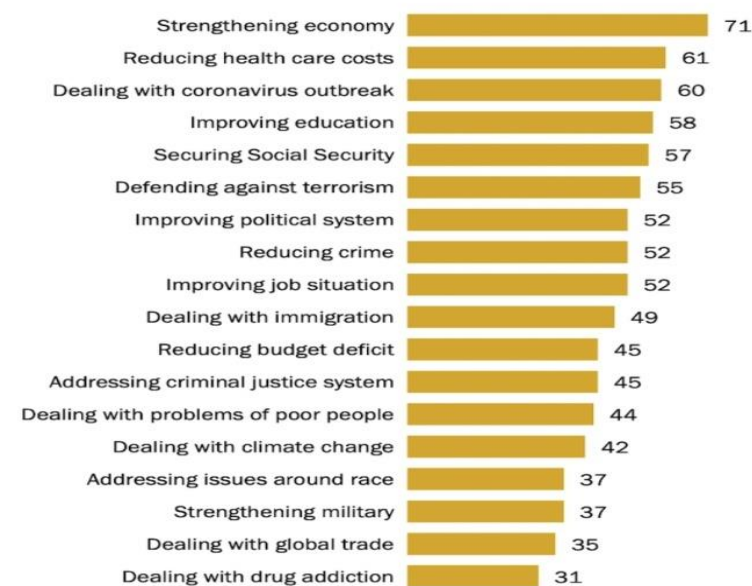
The average of 56% thought it wasn't managed well, however , 33% thought it was. Neither in Poland and Malaysia were half or more of adults satisfied with how the situation in Afghanistan was treated(Schaefer,2022).

5 In August 2021, the majority of Americans stated that Taliban dominance of Afghanistan is a danger to US security.

Almost half (46%) claimed Taliban dominance posed a big threat to the US, while the remaining 44 thought it posed a slight concern. Republicans were more inclined than Democrats to regard a Taliban-controlled Afghanistan as a significant security danger (61 vs. 33)(Schaeffer,2022).

Figure.12*The public concern in strengthening the economy and reducing health care with tackling Covid-19*

Strengthening the economy is public's top concern, followed by cutting health costs, addressing COVID-19
% who say ____ should be a top priority for the president and Congress to address this year



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 10-17, 2022.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Note. Adopted from *Pew Research Center*.<https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2022/08/17/a-year-later-back-at-public-opinion>

6 According to a January 2022 questionnaire, 55 percent of Americans believe that guarding against terrorism should be an important goal for the president and Congress to tackle this year.

Fighting against terrorism was one of the top importance highlighted among the 18 issues inquired about. In July, the US military used a drone to kill al-Qaeda leader Ayman al-Zawahiri in Kabul(Schaeffer,2022).

Americans evaluate terrorism significantly depending on characteristics such as age and political affiliation. Defending against terrorism should be a high priority for the president and Congress, according to nearly three-quarters of individuals aged 65 and older (76%), as opposed to 32% of those under 30. And, contrary to 48% of Democrats, roughly two-thirds of Republicans (65%) believe it should be an important concern(Schaeffer,2022).

To sum up, according to a Pew Center survey conducted by the analyst Katherine Schaeffer as noticed from the results and the statistics obtained , majority of US public favors Afghanistan troop withdrawal and argued that it is the right decision and it is time to end this longest war. However, others didn't support the decision and was wrong by expressing that US still has capacity to fight and exceptional nation .

Conclusion

As a result, in this practical chapter we have discussed many aspects. Bin laden's powerful blow to U.S through the terrorist attacks of 11th September,2001 which caused a damage on the economic side so that one of the suicidal airplanes headed towards the World Trade Center. Second, the impact of the terrorist strike that promoted the U.S declaration of war on Afghanistan that lasted two decades the longest war in American history .Third, how was the war under the 'war on terror' and using the American Exceptionalism as a justification .In other

words, the U.S is unique, democratic nation, protect , respect rights and rules then to spread peace but it launched a war on Afghanistan ,So the last element, to discuss is the myth of American Exceptionalism as is noticed through the consequences of the Afghan war, that U.S exaggerates within the American Exceptionalism and must be limited particularly in foreign policy and explain the reaction and views of the citizens on US withdrawing its troops .

General conclusion

This research has successfully answered the primary research question: Is American exceptionalism a reality or solely a myth that has been passed through history? The results of this research show that American exceptionalism is a myth due to the failure war in Afghanistan which confirms the validity of the first hypothesis.

Over the decades, the USA saw itself as a global leader and international partner to achieve security and stability in the world. The study aimed to provide a background about American exceptionalism using the qualitative approach in order to examine its historical and religious origins so as to clarify its development as a belief in American uniqueness and thus point to its important function as a national identity and its significant role in foreign policy of the US. On the other hand, the research revealed that the US has not succeeded in achieving permanent stability and democracy in Afghanistan. The war witnessed enormous human and economic costs, in addition to the exacerbation of tensions and security challenges in the region. This highlighted the contradictions between the truth associated with American exceptionalism and the actual application of foreign policy during the war in Afghanistan, which proves the myth of American exceptionalism through the failure of the US to implement its objectives.

The work has provided deeper insights about the impact of American exceptionalism on foreign policy to inform future studies on this topic and serves to highlight to what extent American exceptionalism has been applicable in the war of Afghanistan.

The research discussed in this study provides several implications for researchers who can use these findings to inform their research about the fake face of American exceptionalism

This study is a subject to some limitations, such as data selection and collection since the topic is broad and extensive.

Furthermore, the study should be repeated using different case studies. Doing so would validate the myth of American Exceptionalism.

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ملخص

ما يجعل أي بلد في العالم يستحق التعلم منه هو تاريخه الطويل المتنوع والفريد، إرثه الثري، الأحداث البارزة، الحضارة المتقدمة والسياسة الاقتصادية القوية والفعالة. ومن المسلم به أن الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية تفي بجميع هذه المتطلبات وأنها دولة استثنائية. الاستثناء الأمريكي هو مصطلح يعرّف الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية كدولة مختلفة عن بقية العالم، والتي تتميز برسالة القيادة العالمية وتتحمل على عاتقها مسؤولية نشر الديمقراطية والحرية في جميع أنحاء العالم. تم إنشاء المصطلح لأول مرة من قبل الكاتب الفرنسي Alexis de Tocqueville عام 1835. تهدف هذه الرسالة الحالية إلى دراسة مفهوم الاستثناء الأمريكي، وشرح تأثير الاستثنائية الأمريكية على السياسة الخارجية للولايات المتحدة والتحقق من مصداقية الاستثنائية الأمريكية خلال الحرب في أفغانستان تحت عنوان «السياسة الأمريكية الاستثنائية في السياسة الخارجية بين العقل والواقع». تستخدم الدراسة الحالية المنهج النوعي الذي يستخدم المنهج الوصفي التحليلي والتاريخي. كشفت نتائج الدراسة عن أسطورة الاستثناء الأمريكي نتيجة فشل الحرب الأمريكية في أفغانستان. ومع ذلك، لا يمكن تجاهل حقيقة أن الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية قوة عظمى عالمية.

الكلمات المفتاحية : الاستثنائية الأمريكية، السياسة الخارجية، الأسطورة، الواقع، الحرب في أفغانستان