

After 9/11 The Past And Future Of American Foreign Policy

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Abstract

American foreign policy based on geographical, historical consideration, political and social system, economic strength and military power in this content there were mistaken that were utopianism, Legalism, Sentimentalism and neo-isolationism. Because in domestic, there minorities were called hyphenate organizations. The ethnic and religious groups playing important role in forming the foreign policy with national interest, they wanted to conform their interest. In First World War US faced new changing in political order and American policy transformed from divorced to realty. Later American foreign policy changed and alliances with allied forced against axis powers. After Second World War US faced two main problems, Soviet power challenged US in every were in the world, After end of colonial power 60 new nations and US entered in military alliances with old friends in Western Europe and Latin America and found new friends in Asia to bring peace and security in the world. After Korean War the American foreign policy was reexamined in western European and Far East. in this time US faced problem in Germany, japan and Austria, Furthermore, in Asia revolution, the communist aim was struggle against western, colonial and imperialism and thought communist are the native.

Keywords: *Alliances, Communist. Development, Foreign policy, Non Communist, Peace, Relations*

Introduction:

American foreign policy is shaped from the geographical historical consideration, political and social system, economic strength and military power, over position, from the politics of other states and world environment. In order to correctly comprehend “the post-Cold War global hegemonic foreign policy by the US Administration, it is necessary to realize the very nature of the US as a state. Basically, the US foreign policy of global hegemony is shaped by two most important internal processes, which exist from the very beginning of the US independence and statehood declared in 1776, A mass consumerist mentality of its citizens that is deeply permeated throughout American (sub) culture. Corresponding policy of maintaining the world military supremacy for the sake of ensuring the privileged possession of the global goods, energy, natural resources and credit, for example, there are 800 US military bases across the globe and one of the biggest of them is located in Kosovo Bond steel one of the richest regions in Europe according to its reserves of the natural resources at least 500 billion \$US”. (Almond, Gabried,1950)

The American strategy of global hegemony “after the WWII was not only to compete with the Soviet military power and political influence, but it was and still is much more important - to establish the world that is going mandatory to be hospitable for the growth of the US economy. Therefore, the American military-political global dominance has ideologically been justified by anti-communism and the US alleged leading role in defending the free world. However, after the end of the European communism, dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and dismemberment of the USSR, Washington simply justified the continuation of its Cold War policy of global hegemony by defending Europe (and probably the rest of the world) from the Russian aggression. The free world was identified with the full acceptance of the American values, norms, political and economic systems and culture”. (Cambell, John,1965)

According to such geopolitical project, “all those governments which rejected to dance according to the American playing” were proclaimed the enemies of the free world and threatened to be bombed and occupied. Nevertheless, the fundamental allegory of the American promotion of independence and democracy (the basic components of the free world is that this country is not either really independent, being the West Bank of Israel from 1948 onwards nor fully democratic (not being even among the first 30 democratic states in the world). The numerous US military interventions after 1945, as an instrument for the conduct of the geopolitical project of global hegemony, however, have very much undermined the very meaning of democracy, leading at the same time to large-scale human rights abuse”. The crucial strategy of the concept of Pax Americana is “to maintain cheap supplies of raw materials, especially the cheap supply of oil as the crucial energy source for the US consumerism economy. Therefore, immediately after the WWII, the basic US strategy was to establish the American hegemony in the oil-rich countries in the region of the Middle East, supporting there all kinds of non-democratic and even dictatorial regimes that expressed the political loyalty to Washington such as the regimes of Iran (Persia) from the CIA/M16-sponsored coup in 1953 up to the Islamic Revolution in 1978–1979, Kuwait, Bahrein, Qatar and above all Saudi Arabia”. (Feis, Herbert, 1964)

Historical roots

The Bush administration prides itself on marrying power and values. There is an old argument, emphasized Condoleezza Rice, between realists and idealists. “To oversimplify, realists downplay the importance of values. Idealists emphasize the primacy of values, as a professor, she went on to say, recognize that this debate has won tenure for many generations of scholars. As a policy-maker, can tell that these categories obscure reality. The history of American foreign relations is not about the struggle between power and ideals, as it is so often portrayed, but about their intermingling. America's ideals have always encapsulated its interests. America's ideology has always been tailored to correspond with its quest for territory and markets. In short, power, ideology and interests have always had a dynamic and unsettled relationship with one another. But these relationships are more nuanced and complex than most people think. Power sometimes has been constrained by legislative-executive battles and the spectra of a garrison state, expansion has been circumscribed by the exigencies of domestic politics, racial attitudes and republican ideology, unilateralism has been tempered by the realization that alliances and multilateral strategies could be adopted if they advanced American interests”. (Jacobson, Harold, 1960)

Observation of American Foreign Policy in 1949

1. The American foreign policy consisted on aspirations and reactions of American people with world
2. When public sentiment
3. changes in USA it changes the American policy
4. Diplomacy operated in a fluid medium
5. Some objectives could not be attended and some problems could not be solved (C.I. Sulzberger, 1949)

But there were some mistakes which were observed which are under below

1. Utopianism
2. Legalism

3. Sentimentalism
4. Neo-isolationism

In domestic, there are some minorities which are called hyphenate organizations. They were member of congress, the ethnic and religious groups also playing important role in forming the foreign policy and they are sincerely concerned with national interest , the bankers, farmers, manufacturers, labour organizations and veterans are very famous and key elements to form foreign policy with other leaser groups, professional, educational economic, cultural because they wanted to conform their interest. (Jacobson, 1970)

Constitutional Handicaps

American became federal states under presidential form of government, a democratic states .the constitution and supreme courts after decision of controversial foreign commitment in this situation the president is the main key handle the situation. (Edwards, s, corwin, 1917)

Principles of American Foreign Policy

1. Sovereignty
2. Independence
3. Continental expansion
4. Avoidance of the ordinary vicissitude and ordinary combination and collision of European politics
5. The non-colonization
6. The no-transfer principles (no transfer by one European power to another of any possession in the western hemisphere
7. Freedom of international trade
8. Self-determination
9. Freedom of seas for neutral ships in time of war and freedom of navigation of internal rivers
10. Non- intervention
11. A feeling of anti- imperialism. (Samuel flag benies,1948)

The strategy

The most striking aspect of “the 22-page national security document is not the emphases on military power, military superiority and military pre-emption. Those features are there, to be sure, but they do not dominate. In fact, the document emphasizes the quintessential American values of freedom and democracy. It begins 'Our nations because has always been larger than the Nation's defense, always fight, for a just peace-a peace that favors liberty What is interesting about this framework is the scant attention paid to US interests. In the first section of the paper, the authors state that The US national security strategy will be based on a distinctly American internationalism that reflects the union of our values and our national interests. But there is no careful elucidation of interests. Instead, attention is focused on America's 'core beliefs' the rule of law; free speech; equal justice; respect for women. Ideals subsume interests. 'Our principles', the document emphasizes, 'will govern our government's decisions. After these prefatory remarks, the authors of the document set out their national security strategy. Many observers believe that the gist of the document is about power, unilateralism and domination, but the titles of each section suggest a more complex and even conflicted agenda. The national security strategy emphasizes that, in order to tackle these grievances, the United States must engage with the world to promote higher productivity and sustained economic growth. Unabashedly, the Bush administration declares. They think they know how to exercise power more wisely and, if necessary, unilaterally. In fact, the most striking feature of the national security strategy of the Bush administration is its marriage of democratic idealism with the exercise of pre-emptive power”. (Arie Bloed, Peter van Dijk, 1985)

American Foreign Policy before World War Two

The American foreign policy formed by the American secretary of state john Quincy Adam (1817-25), he said “the USA must remain aloof from the power struggle in European , the prime aim of foreign policy was promotion and participate in world affairs . In 1898, united states started speak on

Far East and Latin America specially open door diplomacy and Indian destiny was manifested. Furthermore, Admiral Mahan described American foreign policy in 20th century on the bases of

1. Participation in Asia
2. Influence u in Caribbean and non-participation in Europe

In First World War US faced New Changing in Political Order.

The American president windrow Wilson gave 14 points and American policy transformed from divorced to reality. In 1930, the American foreign policy changed and alliances with allied forced against axis powers.

American Foreign Policy after Second World War

After Second World War US faced two main problems

1. Soviet power challenged US in every were in the world
2. After end of colonial power 60 new nations came into being in Asian and African for the friends or foe

Due to this US entered in military alliances with old friends in Western Europe and Latin America and found new friends in Asia to bring peace and security in the world and divided American foreign policy into five different period

1. After one year of V-J Day united states tried to maintain peace in the world against the armed hostility and developed cooperation for rehabilitation and reconstruction
2. The true man doctrine policy was adopted with help of marshal plan and north Atlantic treaty
3. In reaction the soviet-union exploded atomic bomb and communist got victory in Czechoslovakia and china, after Korean war the American foreign policy was reexamined in western European and far east
4. After demise of Stalin the new trend peace full co-existence changed the old statuesque and reduced the tension in the world
5. The new leadership in USA he created personal relations with other leader of states of world and faced soviet confrontation in Cuba missiles but very soon he was assassinated once again the new leader ship faced problems, in Vietnam and Dominican Republic. (Arie Bloed, Peter van Dijk, 1985)

During these periods two main aspects were also discussed which are under below

1. The emerging patterns of security and military assistance programs were started for friendship states
2. The third world nation developed in Asia and Africa to attend special economic assistance (Cordell hull,1948)

Post War Illusion and Frustrations

The US policy after world war was only for peace in the world and started agreement with other allied powers speedily western European, in this time US faced problem in Germany, japan and Austria, due to this started direct loan, grants and other assistances to other states to rebuild the economic rehabilitation in the world. In shape of European economic programme other side US took part in UN and made many organs and agencies of UN and controlled on atomic energy. In Germany, US worked with help of Great Britain, Soviet Union, France against the back ground Casa Blanca declaration for the unconditional surrender, the future of Germany was discussed in two Yalta conference and Potsdam agreement and got victory against the following

1. Soviet aggressive in Europe
2. Revolution in Asia
3. Disagreement and deadlock in eastern Europe

Furthermore, in Asia revolution, the communist aim was struggle against western, colonial and imperialism and thought communist are the native, in china the communist got victory, in Korea there

were frustration to be single state, these issues were discussed in Cairo declaration and Philippine case was also solved in Cairo declaration and Philippines got independence. (David Rhode, 2012)

The New Departure

The foreign policy of America changed when Truman pronounced aid and assistance to Greece and Turkey and declared "to support free people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure" main aim of foreign policy was "containment of Soviet power" and Truman doctrine was shifted only for western Europe communist world, started signed treaties like, Rio Treaty of 1947, Brussels Pact in 1948, Vandenberg Resolution in 1948, Berlin Airlift in 1948-49, NATO formation 1949 with military and economic assistance for political integrity in western Europe with help of Britain and France. In Far East, the situation was different because American forces in Indo-China where France was engaged in war with communists there communists were called Vietnam's nationalists. In China the American continued to support nationalist but failed and nationalist got refugees in Formosa. (Douglas Valentine, 2017)

The Korean War was the main center of two blocks to show its strength and also felt a fear of third world war, when Chinese communists entered in war. In this situation American once changed its foreign policy and started mutual security programme, in this programme US provided military aid to friend states in Far East Asia and signed security pact with Japan, Philippines, Australia and New Zealand, with other status. After long history about 24 years, republicanism entered in White House, people said that republic was more warlike than democratic in initially the republic brought two main changes

1. The seventh fleet would not prevent the Chinese nationalist from Communist China in Formosa
3. The mutual security aid for western Europe will be conditioned upon the earnestness of the European states to effect a closer integration

But when Stalin died in the peace full coexistence started between two blocks, later the Korean War was ended, in Geneva conference the future of Indo-China was decided but US did not be the party. After Geneva a conference was called at Manila and SEATO was signed this treaty was denounced from Russian China and also disapproved from India and other neutral nations

Further in CENTO was signed for more cooperation in this Middle East

In western Europe when French national assembly rejected the European defense community treaty the American with help of British maintained troops in Europe content, for this 09 nations signed a London accord for in this accord some other decisions were discussed.

1. West Germany was supported with economic and military assistance
2. West Germany and Italy was included with western European union
3. Sovereignty for West Germany was insured in future.

In this accord thirty separate treaties and agreements were also signed the Paris treaty was one of them signed after nations. In 1956, the new general election took place in US and once again Republican Party won and President Eisenhower re-elected, now he faced two problems.

1. Hungarian crises in Europe
2. Suez canal crises in middle East

In Hungarian, US condemn the Soviet despotism and provided assistance to refugees of Hungarian. In Suez canal, when American secretary Dulles offer Egypt to build the Aswan high dam, the Nassir nationalized the Suez Company. In reaction British France and Israel forces attacked on Egypt, very soon president Eisenhower with help of UN succeeded to cease fire and withdraw Anglo-French Israel force from Egypt, the American marines were sent in Lebanon to prevent civil war. In 1957, a peace treaty was signed by nine nations with included Soviet Union. In same year their achievement were recorded in Soviet Union.

1. Anti-ballistic missiles
2. First man made earth satellite (sputnik)
3. Heaver earth satellite carrying a live Dog

In this, 1960, Democratic Party came back in power under the leadership of Kennedy, in this period china communist became strongly and Laos and Congo were unrest condition and American faced communist pressure, in lain America due to Cuba problem, because this pressure was 90 miles away from American in Cuba crises soviet missile were with draw. In Europe communist built berlin war, in 1963, three states, US-UK and Soviet Union met art Moscow and signed nuclear test ban treaty (NTBT). (Henry Kissinger, 1994)

In south East Asia

The unrest in Laos and disturbance in Vietnam Lyndon .B. Johnson he ordered bombing attack on north Vietnamese because south Vietnam attacked on American warship in the gulf of Tonkin.

Fears and threats

Many great debates rage in “the literature on international relations. One debate focuses on whether nations act to balance power or whether they act to balance threats. Another controversy asks whether power shapes policy or whether the perception of threat determines the accretion of power.’ In the case of the Bush administration, the evidence that we now have suggests the salience of threat perception. Fear has shaped policy”. Dick Cheney and Paul Wolfowitz might have long desired “to assert American hegemony, but there is no reason to believe they would have gained the degree of influence that they now possess had it not been for the events of 9/II and the impact those events have had on all top officials in the administration, including the president himself, his secretary of state”, Colin Powell, and his national security advisor, Condoleezza Rice. “It is not the fascination with power, but fear for survival, that has shaped the strategic decisions of the Bush administration.’ Before 9/II, President Bush and his advisers feared terrorism, but they did little to deal with it. Upon taking office, they were informed by intelligence analysts that terrorism was a great threat to national security that a mass casualty event in the United States was a possibility, that Al-Qaeda had the intention and was developing the capability to strike inside the United States. Between 1993 and 1998, fifty-four Americans had been killed in terrorist attacks. Then, in February 1998, Osama bin Laden issued his instruction to kill Americans: 'To kill Americans and their allies-civilians and military-is proclaimed an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it.’ In 1998, twelve more Americans were killed in terrorist attacks; in 1999, five more; in 2000, another nineteen. Inside Afghanistan under the protection of the Taleban, al-Qaeda was training more than 15,000 terrorists in the late 1999. Bush, Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz and their colleagues were altogether aware of the dangers posed by Al-Qaeda, of the threats to kill Americans, and of the plethora of terrorist groups operating around the world and in the United States itself”. The CIA knew “that these groups were now nurturing one another; that they were increasingly adept at exploiting new technology and taking advantage of porous borders; that they sometimes shared intelligence and logistics, trained together, and collaborated in planning and executing attacks. Yet despite their knowledge, Bush's advisers were unable to thwart the impending catastrophe. It was a failure of imagination, a failure to put the dots of information together, as Rumsfeld and Wolfowitz ruefully acknowledged. The events of 9/ II therefore, did not change everything; 'most fundamentally,' explained Condoleezza Rice, '9/II crystallized our vulnerability. A new reality was born' on September said Secretary of State Powell, a reality that linked terrorists, weapons of mass destruction, and rogue or failed states”. (Henry Kissinger,2010)

9/11 and the past and future of American foreign policy

Thereafter,” fear shaped strategy, elevating pre-emption to a new degree of importance. When the stakes and consequences appear small, explained former CIA director Robert Gates, policy-makers

seek a high degree of assurance before acting. But if one expects another major attack on the United States, the 'risk calculus' changes dramatically. The events of 9/II demonstrated to officials that terrorists who declare their intent to kill Americans and attack the United States would plan for years, stealthily assemble their assets and take action when opportunity allowed. There would be no warnings. 'Where's the evidence of imminent threat' exclaimed Wolfowitz before a joint congressional inquiry into the events leading up to 9/II". After September he stressed "we have a visceral understanding of what terrorists can do with commercial aircraft, in a way that seemed remote and hypothetical before. We cannot afford to wait until we have a visceral understanding of what terrorists can do with weapons of mass destruction, before we act to prevent it". (James C. Van Hook, 2017)

As a result, Rumsfeld and Wolfowitz argued "the case for pre-emption. It is difficult, acknowledged Rumsfeld, 'for all of us who have grown up in this country, and believe in the principle that unless attacked, one does not attack' to accept the notion of pre-emption. The question', he then went on to muse, 'is in the 21st century, with biological weapons, that could kill hundreds of thousands of people, what does one do Does one wait until attacked, or does one look at a pattern of behavior, a fact pattern and draw a conclusion, 'Pre-emption was the inescapable conclusion, but pre-emption alone did not dictate the new military posture of the Bush administration. Defense officials also wanted new military capabilities to reassure allies and deter enemies. Should deterrence fail, they wanted to be able to wage war swiftly and defeat adversaries decisively. Of course, they preferred not to fight, not even to be challenged. US forces, the strategy statement emphasized, should be 'strong enough to dissuade potential adversaries' from even trying to equal or surpass American power. Power was not an end in itself. Bush's advisers wanted to mobilize power to thwart threats, foster peace and build freedom". (John Rees, 2006)

After 9/II' Condoleezza Rice stated "there is no longer any doubt that today America faces an existential threat to our security-a threat as great as any we faced during the Civil War, World War II, or the Cold War. The threat emanates from the nexus of terrorism, weapons of mass destruction and aggressive tyrants in command of rogue states. Faced with this threat, Bush's national security strategy is said by its spokespersons to offer a bold vision' that captures new realities and new opportunities'. American power, they conclude, 'must be used to promote a balance of power that favors freedom". (Michael Chossudovsky,2005)

Conclusion

American foreign policy is shaped from the geographical, historical consideration, political and social system, economic strength and military power, over position, from the politics of other states and world environment. But there were some mistaken that were observed as utopianism, Legalism, Sentimentalism and neo-isolationism. In domestic, there are some minorities which are called hyphenate organizations. They were member of congress, the ethnic and religious groups also playing important role in forming the foreign policy and they are sincerely concerned with national interest , the bankers, farmers, manufacturers, labour organizations and veterans are very famous and key elements to form foreign policy with other leaser groups, professional, educational economic, cultural because they wanted to conform their interest. American became federal states under presidential form of government, a democratic states .the constitution and supreme courts after decision of controversial foreign commitment in this situation the president is the main key handle the situation. The American foreign policy formed by the American secretary of state john Quincy Adam (1817-25).

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In Europe communist built berlin war, in 1963, three states, US-UK and Soviet Union met art Moscow and signed nuclear test ban treaty (NTBT). The unrest in Laos and disturbance in Vietnam Lyndon .B. Johnson he ordered bombing attack on north Vietnamese because south Vietnam attacked on American warship in the gulf of Tonkin.

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