Dear Reader:

Hoping that it's of interest, I'm including, along with this article, my recently published essay, "How did the World Become Global?" on the meanings of transnational and global history and their relationship to the birth of "globalization" discourse.

Specifically, the essay discusses the ways that early, influential calls for transnational and global history picked up on the concepts, narratives, and tropes of "globalization" talk, specifically its emphasis on flows, linkages, and exchanges: in brief, on "connections."

If globalization meant a connected world in the present, transnational and global history would study the dynamics of connection in the past (in part, in order to reveal that connections had existed for far longer than most present-oriented social scientists and public commentators presumed.)

While this is often understood to be the defining purpose of transnational and global history, I argue that it is better thought of as just one vision, one that can be called "connectionist." In it, connections were what transnational historians studied, a decision which organized the questions they asked. But connections also took on normative value. A connected world was often a better world: dynamic, modern, cosmopolitan, and less prone to intolerant nationalisms.

In the course of reviewing Isaac Kamola's excellent recent book, *Making the World Global*, an intellectual history of "globalization" discourse, the essay explores where this "connectionist" scholarship came from, and argues for the possibility of other visions of transnational and global history, rooted in other intellectual and political histories. In particular, it argues for reorienting transnational history around the project of critically historicizing transnational and global inequalities. Here it draws on themes from the book I am completing on the transnationalizing of modern U. S. history.

I hope you find both pieces that follow compelling and useful. – Paul A. Kramer

Review Essay

Power and Connection: Imperial Histories of the United States in the World

PAUL A. KRAMER

WHEN U.S. HISTORIANS BEGIN TO TALK about empire, it usually registers the declining fortunes of others. The term's use among historians in reference to the United States has crested during controversial wars, invasions, and occupations, and ebbed when projections of American power have receded from public view. This periodicity—this tethering of empire as a category of analysis to the vagaries of U.S. power and its exercise—is one of the striking aspects of empire's strange historiographic career. When it comes to U.S. imperial history, one might say, the owl of Minerva flies primarily when it is blasted from its perch.[1]

Yet despite recurring claims to the contrary, the imperial has long been a useful concept in work that attempts to situate the United States in global history, and it continues to be so, as demonstrated by a wealth of emerging scholarship. To be sure, its use has varied from the superficial and invocatory to the substantive and analytical. In the latter category, two broad clusters of research stand out. First was the "New Left" school of U.S. foreign relations history, which dramatically critiqued inherited interpretations, identifying the United States' role in the world as imperial, and defined primarily by the global pursuit of export markets. A second, later body of work on the "cultures of United States imperialism," based in American studies and literary criticism, treated imperial meaning-making, particularly with respect to the politics of racialized and gendered difference. The pathbreaking research carried

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[1] Throughout this essay, I use "U.S." and "American" interchangeably to avoid repetition, while recognizing the problems involved in using a hemispheric designation for a national one.

out under each of these banners has made possible a new and exciting imperial historiography that overcomes some of its limitations.

The imperial is a necessary tool for understanding the United States' global history, with both prospects and limits. It is best approached pragmatically: while debates have generally centered on questions of semantics—what the imperial "is"—we should instead emphasize what it does, what kinds of analyses it enables and forecloses. Specifically, the imperial facilitates the pursuit of very specific historiographic ends essential, in this case, to the placement of the United States in the world; it is those ends that are most critical, and not the use or non-use of the words "imperial" and "empire" themselves. Exploring the United States' imperial histories can be productive for historians of other societies both because of the possibilities an imperial analytic opens for the writing of national, and non-national, histories more generally, and because the United States' powerful and varied presence has mattered in the unfolding of many—and, by the late twentieth century, arguably all—other national histories.[2]

Here the imperial refers to a dimension of power in which asymmetries in the scale of political action, regimes of spatial ordering, and modes of exceptionalizing difference enable and produce relations of hierarchy, discipline, dispossession, extraction, and exploitation.[3] Five components of this definition are worth highlighting. First, it emphasizes what can be called scalar power, whether exercised in military, economic, political, or cultural terms.[4] Second, it hinges on the material, institutional, and discursive organization of space; where traditional definitions often narrow the imperial to the state control of territory, this definition remains open to

[2] The historical and social science scholarship on empire is massive. Foundational essay collections include Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997); Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley, Calif., 2005); Antoinette Burton, ed., *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking With and Through the Nation* (Durham, N.C., 2003); Gyan Prakash, ed., *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements* (Princeton, N.J., 1995); Nicholas B. Dirks, ed., *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1992). For political science approaches, see Michael Doyle, *Empires* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1986); Herfried Münkler, *Empires: The Logic of World Domination from Ancient Rome to the United States* (Malden, Mass., 2007); Alexander Motyl, *Revolutions, Nations, Empires: Conceptual Limits and Theoretical Possibilities* (New York, 1999); Motyl, *Imperial Ends: The Decay, Collapse, and Revival of Empires* (New York, 2001). For a magisterial comparative history of empire over the *longue durée*, see Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, N.J., 2010). For a sweeping global history of empire centered on Eurasia, see John Darwin, *After Tamerlane: The Global History of Empire since 1405* (New York, 2007).

[3] Definitions of empire and imperialism have been and remain highly contested in both scholarship and public life. For a perceptive review of major thematics in the scholarship of imperialism, see Patrick Wolfe, "History and Imperialism: A Century of Theory, from Marx to Postcolonialism," *American Historical Review* 102, no. 2 (April 1997): 388–420. Other useful reviews of the theories and historiographies of imperialism include Frederick Cooper, "The Rise, Fall, and Rise of Colonial Studies, 1951–2001," in Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*, 33–55; Bernard Semmel, *The Liberal Ideal and the Demons of Empire: Theories of Imperialism from Adam Smith to Lenin* (Baltimore, 1993); Jürgen Osterhammel, *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Princeton, N.J., 1997); Norman Etherington, *Theories of Imperialism: War, Conquest, and Capital* (London, 1984); Wolfgang J. Mommsen, *Theories of Imperialism* (Chicago, 1982); Richard Koebner, *Imperialism: The Story and Significance of a Political Word, 1840–1960* (Cambridge, 1964). For other valuable definitions, see Mrinalini Sinha's concept of an "imperial social formation": *Specters of Mother India: The Global Restructuring of an Empire* (Durham, N.C., 2006), 16–18; and Ann Laura Stoler and Carole McGranahan's discussion of "imperial formations," "Refiguring Imperial Terrains," in Ann Laura Stoler, Carole McGranahan, and Peter C. Perdue, eds., *Imperial Formations* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 2007), 3–42.

[4] On scale, see Andrew Herod and Melissa W. Wright, "Placing Scale: An Introduction," in Herod and Wright, eds., *Geographies of Power: Placing Scale* (Oxford, 2002), 1–14.

non-territorial, networked forms of spatial order.[5] Third, it stresses the importance of exceptionalizing difference: imperial power promotes and is generated through distinctions among populations that lend shape to its vertical gradations of sovereignty. Not for nothing are race and gender among the most well-used analytic categories when it comes to empire; the process of building and defending imperial projects has involved enlisting and transforming divisions that possess naturalizing and hierarchizing power, such as those that work through protean notions of physical or cultural essence or constructions of the feminine and masculine.[6] Fourth, the imperial is defined by its effects: where conventional measures of the imperial often fall back on the motivations of historical actors or a set of formal characteristics, this definition comprehends the imperial in part through its consequences, intended or not.[7]

A fifth and overarching feature of this definition is that it names a category of analysis, not a kind of entity, something to think with more than think about: to draw an analogy, it is gender rather than patriarchy.[8] A language of the "imperial" rather than "empire" can help avoid connotations of unity and coherence—thingness—that tend to adhere to the latter term, and move to the side the mostly unproductive question of whether the United States is or has "an empire"—and if so, what type it is, and whether or not it measures up to the rubrics built to account for other empires. Far more is to be gained by exploring the imperial as a way of seeing than by arguing for or against the existence of a "U.S. empire"; the question of whether or not the United States is or has "an empire" has nothing to do with the question of whether it needs an imperial historiography.

Most importantly, thinking with the imperial facilitates inquiries about three key historical themes: the way that power resides in and operates through long-distance connections; the mutual and uneven transformation of societies through these connections; and comparisons between large-scale systems of power and their histories. It is not that imperial history holds a monopoly on these avenues of inquiry, but it does aid their pursuit. It is this particular set of questions—about power, connection, and comparison—that makes imperial history an indispensable tool in the kit of any historian of the United States.[9]

[5] On the distinction between "surface" and "network" imaginaries, see Barney Warf, "From Surfaces to Networks," in Barney Warf and Santa Arias, eds., *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (London, 2009), 59–76.

[6] The literature on race, gender, and colonialism is colossal. For a sophisticated, influential example at the intersection of British imperial and Indian histories, see Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The "Manly Englishman" and the "Effeminate Bengali" in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester, UK, 1995).

[7] Here I draw on Fernando Coronil's emphasis on effects rather than logics or formal characteristics in "After Empire: Reflections on Imperialism from the Américas," in Stoler, McGranahan, and Purdue, *Imperial Formations*, 241–271.

[8] Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (December 1986): 1053–1075.

[9] For an enlightening discussion of empire as a viable descriptor of the United States (if not a concept for apprehending it), see Anders Stephanson, "A Most Interesting Empire," in Lloyd C. Gardner and Marilyn B. Young, eds., *The New American Empire: A 21st Century Teach-In on U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York, 2005), 253–275. For accounts that approach twentieth-century U.S. foreign relations using the category of empire, see Robert J. McMahon, "The Republic as Empire: American Foreign Policy in the 'American Century,' " in Harvard Sitkoff, ed., *Perspectives on Modern America: Making Sense of the Twentieth Century* (New York, 2001), 80–100; Frank Ninkovich, *The United States and Imperialism*

First, there is the matter of power. Both a strength and a weakness of the imperial as historical concept derive from its Latin root word, *imperium*: "command." The imperial has long connoted the exercise of extreme power: commands issued, enforced, and obeyed. At this point, suffice it to say that the imperial expresses not only power but the political: there was no empire in history that was not also a polity, a structured but indeterminate system of domination and consent. Given entrenched post-sovereignty discourses of redemptive flows and technocratic discourses of rational, apolitical management, the capacity of the imperial to foreground the political is a significant advantage.

Second, imperial histories can be connecting histories that narratively and analytically enmesh the societies that imperial forces bring into interaction. This connecting ability is, ultimately, what has drawn many historians to the "transnational," and rightly so: it is by now a commonplace that the nation-state as historical "container" was and is both a function of and a participant in nation-building programs, and insufficient for tracking and resolving the threads that bind a tangled world. Imperial histories have not always been especially connective; traditionally, scholars restricted their attention to metropolitan actors, dynamics, and decisions. And even when imperial histories bridge metropole and colony, they can easily fall prey to the illusion of one-way streets: of force and change moving outward without refluxes, intended or otherwise. That said, one of the cognitive advantages of thinking with the imperial is that it represents a large-scale, non-national space of historical investigation that frames questions about long-distance connection and interaction. Specific accounts may err in charting its vectors, but the imperial invites the charting enterprise. It is not alone in this. But, paradoxically, the transnational reified and reinforced the nation-state by rendering it the chief historical (and historiographic) obstacle to be overcome.

Third, the concept of the imperial facilitates comparison. One of the principal costs (and, indeed, the functions) of exceptionalist terms for describing the United States' role in the world has been its derailing of symmetrical comparison. This is not to say that the United States' imperial history is any less unique than any other nation's. Nor is it to say that all comparisons are equally valid: exceptionalisms are

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(Malden, Mass., 2001). For a historical narrative over the *longue durée*, see Frank Schumacher, "The United States: Empire as a Way of Life?" in Robert Aldrich, ed., *The Age of Empires* (New York, 2007), 278–303. For historiographic overviews, see Frank Ninkovich, "The United States and Imperialism," in Robert D. Schulzinger, ed., *A Companion to American Foreign Relations* (Malden, Mass., 2003), 79–102; Alfred W. McCoy, Francisco A. Scarano, and Courtney Johnson, "On the Tropic of Cancer: Transitions and Transformations in the U.S. Imperial State," in Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano, eds., *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State* (Madison, Wis., 2009), 3–33; Ian Tyrrell, "Empire in American History," ibid., 541–556. Emily Rosenberg discusses U.S. diplomatic historians' debates over the term "empire" in " 'The Empire' Strikes Back," *Reviews in American History* 16, no. 4 (1988): 585–590. On the category "empire" within American studies, see Shelley Streeby, "Empire," in Bruce Burgett and Glenn Hendler, eds., *Keywords for American Cultural Studies* (New York, 2007), 95–101. For a work that situates U.S. empire, particularly since World War II, in a macrohistorical, comparative framework, see Charles S. Maier, *Among Empires: American Ascendancy and Its Predecessors* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006). For a history of evolving ideas of U.S. empire, particularly as they intersect with ideas of "liberty," as reflected in the thought of six key figures, see Richard H. Immerman, *Empire for Liberty: A History of American Imperialism from Benjamin Franklin to Paul Wolfowitz* (Princeton, N.J., 2010).

skewed and homogenizing exercises in comparison, after all.[10] But the imperial offers potentially fruitful lines of comparative inquiry. Most promising may be comparisons not between imperial systems taken as "wholes," but between carefully selected dimensions of multiple systems, the choice of dimension dictating the comparison. Questions of Protestant ideology, corporate-capitalist modes and ends, or the realization of global scales of power make comparison between U.S. and British imperial histories appealing.[11] A discussion of republican empire suggests comparisons between the United States and France. An exploration of world-historic timing situates the United States alongside Germany, Japan, and the Soviet Union, all in different ways self-conscious late arrivals to global empire. The best results may be achieved by more tightly focused comparative histories of the discursive, practical, and institutional technologies of empire, such as state-building projects, labor and migration controls, and organized violence.

In advancing these comparisons, historians need to beware the forceful undertow of prior comparisons, especially those generated by historical actors. Throughout history, empire-builders have been acutely preoccupied with other empire-builders: networks of modern empire bound rivals together in competitive and cooperative exchange, emulation, and adaptation. These exchanges could occur only where actors perceived a degree of commonality, but they should also be seen as highly charged sites in which ideological accounts of national-imperial difference were born. Indeed, it was often at precisely the places where imperial situations converged and overlapped that actors felt compelled to shore up exceptionalist comparisons that emphasized decreasingly perceptible differences between themselves and others.[12]

While drawing attention to power, connection, and comparison, the imperial also has at least four other distinct benefits: it helps scholars avoid the traps of post-sovereignty and technocracy, while facilitating new approaches to temporality and spatiality in history. Transnational scholarship often unconsciously partakes in a lan-

[10] For reflections on the possibilities of comparative history, see George M. Fredrickson, *The Comparative Imagination: On the History of Racism, Nationalism, and Social Movements* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997). For cautions that comparative histories can easily tend toward exceptionalisms and the reification of national difference, see Ian Tyrrell, "American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History," *American Historical Review* 96, no. 4 (October 1991): 1031–1055; Micol Seigel, "Beyond Compare: Comparative Method after the Transnational Turn," *Radical History Review* 91 (Winter 2005): 62–90.

[11] For comparisons of the U.S. and the British Empire, see Julian Go, *Patterns of Empire: The British and American Empires, 1688 to the Present* (Cambridge, 2011); Bernard Porter, *Empire and Superempire: Britain, America and the World* (New Haven, Conn., 2006); Patrick Karl O'Brien and Armand Clesse, eds., *Two Hegemonies: Britain 1846–1914 and the United States 1941–2001* (Aldershot, 2002); Phillip Darby, *Three Faces of Imperialism: British and American Approaches to Asia and Africa, 1870–1970* (New Haven, Conn., 1987); Tony Smith, *The Pattern of Imperialism: The United States, Great Britain, and the Late-Industrializing World since 1815* (New York, 1981).

[12] For a discussion of changing American perceptions of the British Empire in the context of post-1898 debates about U.S. colonialism, see Paul A. Kramer, "Empires, Exceptions and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule between the British and United States Empires, 1880–1910," *Journal of American History* 88, no. 4 (2002): 1315–1353. For the interwar period, Mrinalini Sinha explores the impact of Katherine Mayo, an American author moving between U.S. and British imperial contexts, in *Specters of Mother India*. For U.S. visions of French colonial rule in Vietnam, see Mark Bradley, *Imagining Vietnam and America: The Making of Postcolonial Vietnam, 1919–1950* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000). On U.S. images of the Dutch East Indies/Indonesia, see Frances Gouda with Thijs Brocades Zaalberg, *American Visions of the Netherlands East Indies/Indonesia: U.S. Foreign Policy and Indonesian Nationalism, 1920–1949* (Amsterdam, 2002). For European reactions to U.S. colonialism in 1898, see Sylvia L. Hilton and Steve J. S. Ickringill, eds., *European Perceptions of the Spanish-American War of 1898* (Bern, 1999).

guage of post-sovereignty—of flows, exchanges, connections, and interactions—that closely resembles social-scientific, journalistic, and corporate narratives of capitalist globalization since the early 1990s. In the space left by the imploded Soviet sphere, this ideological language of emancipatory capitalist borderlessness was launched against the critics of universal neoliberalism. Adapting nineteenth-century ideologies of civilizing, *laissez-faire* commercial intercourse and mid-twentieth-century theories of modernization, the heralds of post-sovereignty represented the birth of a "globalized" world as inevitable and apolitical. The only obstacles were nation-states themselves, imagined to be locked in an antagonistic contest with the global.

It was a sign of this language's enormous drawing power that it attracted historians with varying commitments to capitalist globalization itself, who imported many of its metaphors into their calls for transnational history. They mapped the obstructionist nation-states of globalization discourse onto ideologies of American exceptionalism, which were contrasted with accounts of liberated and liberating flows of peoples, goods, discourses, practices, and institutions. There was a strong and not-coincidental affinity between talk of unblocked capital flows and talk of unbounded histories.[13] Whatever else it is, and whatever its limitations, the imperial is not a language of post-sovereignty: it comprehends the interconnected world as wrought in hierarchy and power, even as that power is bounded and contested. Rather than contrasting emancipatory flows and oppressing borders, it includes among its subjects flows of violence and coercion, and borders that exercise power by permitting, regulating, and directing rather than merely blocking global flows.

The imperial also helps historians steer clear of technocratic thinking, in this case the measurement of U.S. global power against an ahistorical standard of expertise, efficiency, management, effectiveness, and yield. This hazard can be found most commonly in the fields of international relations, political science, and foreign relations history, where the boundary between analyst and practitioner is traditionally loose. In such settings, actors' categories—forged in State Department talking points, for example—spill easily into the academic realm, carrying with them the glow and authority of state power. Historical subjects are permitted to define, and constrain, historical interpretation.[14]

The imperial is not immune from technocracy, as shown by the early twenty-first century's normative critiques of U.S. imperial management.[15] But foregrounding power and politics makes it more difficult to think of imperial formations as governed by technical, apolitical, and unchanging rules. Ideally, scholars will be able to historicize imperial technocracy itself: one of the most telling dimensions of any imperial formation may be the way that its agents measure their instruments' functioning, success, and failure, a question that cannot be asked when universalizing, ahistorical criteria are in play.[16]

[13] For an incisive critique along these lines, see Louis A. Pérez, Jr., "We Are the World: Internationalizing the National, Nationalizing the International," *Journal of American History* 89, no. 2 (2002): 558–566.

[14] Marilyn Young criticizes history that "reproduces U.S. ideology" in "The Age of Global Power," in Thomas Bender, ed., *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002), 275.

[15] See, for example, Niall Ferguson, *Colossus: The Rise and Fall of the American Empire* (New York, 2005).

[16] On the need to historicize technocracy, see Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002). On the central role of engineering and technocratic thinking

The imperial also allows fresh approaches to temporality. The imperial, of course, already features prominently in scholarship treating a number of historical periods, but it usually does so in ways that reinforce conventional chronological divides based on nation-centered criteria (a late-eighteenth-century transition from "colony" to "nation," for example) or territorially defined ones (a late-nineteenth-century shift from "continental" to "overseas" empire). Approaching the imperial as an interpretive category that cuts across these divisions may invite new periodizations and richer questions about continuity and change. Among the arcs that it might help to trace would be North America's evolving status from the contested rim of European colonialism to the seat of the United States, a state whose imperial power has global reach; the shifting and, over time, declining challenge presented by transatlantic empires on the North American continent relative to the United States as rising imperial power; the changing spatial scale of imperial projection relative to the United States' political-institutional and technological capacities; the changing material logics of U.S. commercial, industrial, and labor systems; mid-nineteenth-century sectional conflict as the struggle between rival, slave, and free labor empires; the varying abilities of subordinated groups in the United States—especially indigenous peoples, slaves, women, migrants, racialized others, and the poor—to leverage imperial rivalries and vulnerabilities; and the historically developing meanings, norms, and practices of sovereignty and legitimacy in the U.S. context relative to a global field.[17]

Thinking with the imperial also enables new conceptualizations of space. It may, for example, provide tools for rethinking region. One literature links "the West"—the traditional terminus of "continental" empire before its separately imagined "overseas" leap—to the United States' transpacific or Latin American imperial histories. Coastal regions such as the Pacific Northwest, for example, are being mapped

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in U.S. global encounters, see Michael Adas, *Dominance by Design: Technological Imperatives and America's Civilizing Mission* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006). On technocratic thinking in early-twentieth-century debates about U.S. colonialism, see Paul A. Kramer, "Reflex Actions: Colonialism, Corruption and the Politics of Technocracy in the Early 20th Century United States," in Bevan Sewell and Scott Lucas, eds., *Challenging US Foreign Policy: America and the World in the Long Twentieth Century* (New York, 2011), 14–35.

[17] For a brisk, durable account that crosses these chronological divides, see Richard W. Van Alstyne, *The Rising American Empire* (New York, 1960). The concept of empire has a complex trajectory in North American colonial history, both in exploring transatlantic systems of rule, labor, enslavement, and commerce and in making sense of the territorial ambitions and conquests of the early U.S. republic. On empire in the historiography of the colonial period and the early republic, see Richard R. Johnson, "Empire," in Daniel Vickers, ed., *A Companion to Colonial America* (Malden, Mass., 2003), 99–117; Joyce E. Chaplin, "Expansion and Exceptionalism in Early American History," *Journal of American History* 89, no. 4 (March 2003): 1431–1455; Karen Ordahl Kupperman, "International at the Creation: Early Modern American History," in Bender, *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, 103–122; Jack P. Greene, "Colonial History and National History: Reflections on a Continuing Problem," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 64, no. 2 (2007): 235–250; Trevor Burnard, "Empire Matters? The Historiography of Imperialism in Early America, 1492–1830," *History of European Ideas* 33, no. 1 (2007): 87–107; "*AHR* Forum: Entangled Empires in the Atlantic World," *American Historical Review* 112, no. 3 (June 2007): 710–799. On the need to examine the emergence of new states in the Atlantic world within an imperial framework, see Jeremy Adelman, "An Age of Imperial Revolutions," *American Historical Review* 113, no. 2 (April 2008): 319–340. On slaveholders' engagements with Caribbean slaveries and hopes for imperial influence to the south, see Matthew Pratt Guterl, *American Mediterranean: Southern Slaveholders in the Age of Emancipation* (Cambridge, Mass., 2008); Robert E. May, *The Southern Dream of a Caribbean Empire, 1854–1861* (Baton Rouge, La., 1973).

as both a destination for Asian migration and the gathering point for westward-moving industrial and agricultural products bound for Asian markets, both processes shaped by U.S. military, colonial, and commercial power.[18] Another scholarship accounts for the spatial reconfiguration of the West by military-industrial complexes, from the fort system of the nineteenth century, to the coastal navy and army bases of the post-1898 period, to the region's wholesale reinvention through federal investment in military and civilian technologies during the Cold War.[19]

Simultaneously, an imperial analytic will promote innovative approaches to urban history by allowing historians to explore the relationships between metropoles and metropolitans; the root word is common to both urban history and imperial history, but not yet a hinge between them in U.S. historiography.[20] An imperial-urbanist scholarship would allow historians to see American cities as the hubs of imperial systems, centers of rule-making, consumption, and productive power defined both by their capacity to incorporate hinterlands of widely varying breadth—from the subregional to the global—and by struggles over the terms of that incorporation. Founded as vulnerable outposts of European power, Atlantic urban centers shifted in their relationships to imperial crossings of commerce, migration, and governance over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, evolving into centers of capital and command with peripheries of their own. As Euro-American settler colonialism advanced across North America, inland cities grew as technologies of conquest and territoriality, rivaling each other for control of regional markets, resources, prestige, and labor power.[21]

By the early twentieth century, U.S. cities were becoming woven into increasingly global grids of capital and colonialism; as was true across Europe's empires, migrants from the pressure points of U.S. global power rode imperial circuits toward the

[18] For a compelling call to integrate the themes of "Western" history as traditionally defined with those of international and diplomatic history, see Paul Sabin, "Home and Abroad: The Two 'Wests' of Twentieth-Century United States History," *Pacific Historical Review* 66, no. 3 (1997): 305–335. On Asian American immigration and the Pacific Northwest, see, for example, Kornel Chang, "Circulating Race and Empire: Transnational Labor Activism and the Politics of Anti-Asian Agitation in the Anglo-American Pacific World, 1880–1910," *Journal of American History* 96, no. 3 (2009): 678–701; Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, *Claiming the Oriental Gateway: Prewar Seattle and Japanese America* (Philadelphia, 2010).

[19] See especially William A. Dobak, *Fort Riley and Its Neighbors: Military Money and Economic Growth, 1853–1895* (Norman, Okla., 1998); Thomas T. Smith, *The U.S. Army and the Texas Frontier Economy, 1845–1900* (College Station, Tex., 1999); Bruce Cumings, *Dominion from Sea to Sea: Pacific Ascendancy and American Power* (New Haven, Conn., 2009); Roger W. Lotchin, *Fortress California, 1910–1961: From Warfare to Welfare* (New York, 1992); Ann Markusen, ed., *The Rise of the Gunbelt: The Military Remapping of Industrial America* (New York, 1991).

[20] The bridging of urban and imperial history is far more developed in the case of European colonial historiographies that trace the imprint of empire in the metropole, the politics of colonial-urbanist design and planning, and local contestations over space. See, for example, Felix Driver and David Gilbert, eds., *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display and Identity* (Manchester, UK, 1999); Jonathan Schneer, *London, 1900: The Imperial Metropolis* (New Haven, Conn., 1999); Swati Chattopadhyay, *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism, and the Colonial Uncanny* (London, 2005); Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989); Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago, 1991); Zeynep Çelik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers under French Rule* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997). For exciting movements in the direction of an imperial history of U.S. urbanism, see the exchange "Imperial Cityscapes: Urban History and Empire in the United States," *Neoamericanist* 5, no. 1 (2010), http://www.neoamericanist.org/imperial-cityscapes.

[21] William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York, 1992); Adam Arenson, *The Great Heart of the Republic: St. Louis and the Cultural Civil War* (Cambridge, Mass., 2011); Eugene P. Moehring, *Urbanism and Empire in the Far West, 1840–1890* (Reno, Nev., 2004).

United States' many metropoles, challenging neighborhood, regional, and national boundaries: Puerto Rican and Dominican New York and Filipino Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle are only a few of the many spaces that call for scholarship at the confluence of urban, migration, and imperial histories.[22] But the landscapes of U.S. imperial urbanism were in no sense confined to actual or aspirational U.S. territory: across the twentieth century, Americans reshaped the urban landscapes of other societies, from the racial-authoritarian hygienic regimes of American-governed Manila and Santiago de Cuba to the capture of urban real estate in London, Berlin, and Istanbul for Hilton hotels. They also engineered new landscapes such as industrial enclaves, globalized company towns that coupled together corporate discipline, the exploitation of distant labor and natural resources, and the installation of American-style built environments.[23] Whether constructed at empire's fragile edges or its imposing seats, U.S. cities have had critical infrastructural and administrative roles to play, but they have also been invested with massive discursive power: monumental architecture, exhibitions of wealth, and displays of technological sophistication have consistently drawn the ever-elusive dividing lines between civilization and savagery, modernity and backwardness.[24] It is for this reason that real and imagined threats to cities—from frontier fort towns to the headquarters of global trade and finance—have been mobilized to mark enemies and friends, and to register the relative power or weakness of the imperial formations that they express and anchor.

Finally, an imperial lens might make possible a U.S. historiography of spatial exceptions: extraordinary power exercised at and through the interstices of sovereignty, often underwritten by essentialisms of race, gender, and civilization. These were sites where the enclosure and isolation of populations and the formal or effective decoupling of territory from local jurisdiction, combined with intense linkages at the level of rule-making, command, and violence, made possible extreme relations of dominance and subordination. Many of the landscapes associated with modern empire—gulag, concentration camp, extraterritorial sector, export-processing zone—can be approached in different ways as spatial exceptions, islands of connectivity that fasten together larger imperial structures; at scales large and small, they are all "strategic hamlets" in their molding of space and power. While the separation of these enclaves is physical and legal, it is also conceptual and moral: cast as wrinkles in an otherwise seamless fabric of sovereignty, rights, and the rule of law, they shield imperial formations whose proponents insist upon their liberalism and

[22] Among the few historical works that have connected these histories to date are Dorothy Fujita-Rony, *American Workers, Colonial Power: Philippine Seattle and the Transpacific West, 1919–1941* (Berkeley, Calif., 2003); Jesse Hoffnung-Garskof, *A Tale of Two Cities: Santo Domingo and New York after 1950* (Princeton, N.J., 2008).

[23] Warwick Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race, and Hygiene in the Philippines* (Durham, N.C., 2006); Ron Robin, *Enclaves of America: The Rhetoric of American Political Architecture Abroad, 1900–1965* (Princeton, N.J., 1992); Jane C. Loeffler, *The Architecture of Diplomacy: Building America's Embassies* (New York, 2011); Annabel Jane Wharton, *Building the Cold War: Hilton International Hotels and Modern Architecture* (Chicago, 2001); Greg Grandin, *Fordlandia: The Rise and Fall of Henry Ford's Forgotten Jungle City* (New York, 2009).

[24] As in the European context, expositions were the most spectacular sites for this cultural work in the United States. See Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876–1916* (Chicago, 1984).

universality. It is through this moral politics of anomalization that spatial exceptions preserve the rule.[25]

Ultimately, by historicizing imperial space in these ways and others, historians may be able to see the externalization of empire itself—the sense that whatever empire there is, it is "out there," beyond the border—as a spatial ideology of impressive durability, rather than as a viable point of departure. Ideally, an imperial analytic will allow scholars to see the very terms "domestic" and "foreign" as actors' categories forged in struggles over space, sovereignty, and boundary-making, the work of cartographers and border guards, the tremendous power of which can only be apprehended if they are discarded as terms of art.

Six issues are central in accounting for the existing uses, prospects, and problems of the imperial in U.S. historiography. The first is exceptionalism, specifically the denial of the relevance of the imperial to U.S. history as a longstanding element of scholarship that seeks to detach the United States' history from comparable pasts. The second is methodological nationalism, the bounding of historical questions and answers by the territorial borders of nation-states, a framework to which imperial histories provide a possible alternative. The third is the interpretive status of nation-states: while nation-states are often seen as the antithesis of imperial formations, it is more useful to approach U.S. global history through the concept of nation-based empire, manifested in the United States' settler colonialism in North America, its nation-building colonialisms overseas, and its global project of international empire. The fourth is the distinction between "formal" and "informal," used to divide both imperial practices and types around the issue of state or corporate control; while it opened an imperial analytic to new phenomena, it also abstracted the relationship between state and capital and introduced new problems of exceptionalism. The fifth is the dichotomy of structure and agency, unwittingly mapped onto the historiography of the U.S. in the world, with empire playing the role of structure (made possible by its traditional association with coercion) and transnationalism standing in for agency. The sixth is the peculiar periodicity of the imperial in U.S. historiography relative to alternative ways of rescaling scholarship, especially international and global history: a rhythm characterized by persistent appearances and noteworthy vanishing acts.

[25] For an investigation into the long history of fragmented sovereignties in European colonial histories, see Lauren A. Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400–1900* (Cambridge, 2010). On late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century colonial concentration camps, see Iain R. Smith and Andreas Stucki, "The Colonial Development of Concentration Camps (1868–1902)," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 39, no. 3 (2011): 417–437. On export-processing zones, see Ronen Palan, *The Offshore World: Sovereign Markets, Virtual Places, and Nomad Millionaires* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2003). On the archetypal spatial exception of the recent past and present, see Amy Kaplan's insightful "Where Is Guantánamo?" *American Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (2005): 831–858. These exceptional spaces have also existed on U.S. soil as conventionally defined, blurring the boundaries between "offshore" and "onshore." On foreign trade zones within the United States, see Dara Orenstein, "Foreign-Trade Zones and the Cultural Logic of Frictionless Production," *Radical History Review* 109 (Winter 2011): 36–61. On immigration prisons, see Mark Dow, *American Gulag: Inside U.S. Immigration Prisons* (Berkeley, Calif., 2004).

THE NECESSARY STARTING POINT for any discussion of the imperial in U.S. historiography is the politics of exceptionalism, asymmetrical comparison that sets apart and immunizes one case from the rules and features of other, diverse cases, which are homogenized for this purpose.[26] The problem of empire has always been a particularly raw one when it comes to the larger effort to set the United States and its history apart, comparable only to the fraught question of class: both categories press in from the other side of a delicate membrane separating the United States from a corrupt world.[27] How, then, were exceptionalist historians to deal with the glaring fact of U.S. global power in the past and present without sullying themselves with the categories used to apprehend "the empires"? The traditional solutions can be gathered into nominal and adjectival exceptionalisms. The former exempts the United States' global history from empire through alternative nouns, classic examples being "frontier" and "superpower." The latter names the United States as empire but sets it apart through modifiers, especially "democratic," "benevolent," and "ambivalent." Both nominal and adjectival modes bracket the global history of the United States, while flattening the vast diversities of other states' imperial histories.

Why this sensitivity in the first place?[28] First, there was the prominence of "imperialism" in Cold War discourse, a term of opprobrium that appeared somewhat symmetrically in the political languages of the United States and the Soviet Union, ironically belying the polar opposition it was meant to express. But the roots of this unease go far deeper, traceable to the vital and complex role played by empire in republican political discourse. If the tension between republic and empire could be managed—Jefferson's "empire of liberty" being the foremost solution–empire also figured in American republican thought as caution, premonition, and moral boundary.[29] Empire was the tragic fate of republics that, in pursuit of expansionary power, crushed their own definitional freedom and virtue. The republic that became an empire had congealed irreversibly into something fundamentally unlike itself.

[26] On exceptionalism, see Daniel T. Rodgers, "Exceptionalism," in Anthony Molho and Gordon S. Wood, eds., *Imagined Histories: American Historians Interpret the Past* (Princeton, N.J., 1998), 21–40.

[27] For insightful accounts of the shifting exceptionalist grounds in U.S. imperial histories, see Anders Stephanson, *Manifest Destiny: American Expansion and the Empire of Right* (New York, 1995); Serge Ricard, "The Exceptionalist Syndrome in U.S. Continental and Overseas Expansionism," in David K. Adams and Cornelis A. van Minnen, eds., *Reflections on American Exceptionalism* (Staffordshire, 1994), 73–82; Mary Ann Heiss, "The Evolution of the Imperial Idea and U.S. National Identity," *Diplomatic History* 26, no. 4 (2002): 511–540; Albert K. Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny: A Study of Nationalist Expansionism in American History* (Baltimore, 1935).

[28] For an older but still highly illuminating critique of U.S. historians' ambivalence about empire as a historical category, see Robin W. Winks, "The American Struggle with 'Imperialism': How Words Frighten," in Rob Kroes, ed., *The American Identity: Fusion and Fragmentation* (Amsterdam, 1980), 143–177. This ambivalence is notably absent among many historians working on regions other than the United States, especially Latin America, where the utility of the imperial for making sense of U.S. global histories has long been recognized. For a diverse cross-section of cultural histories of U.S.-Latin American interactions along these lines, see Gilbert M. Joseph, Catherine C. LeGrand, and Ricardo D. Salvatore, eds., *Close Encounters of Empire: Writing the Cultural History of U.S.-Latin American Relations* (Durham, N.C., 1998).

[29] On the "empire of liberty," see especially Peter S. Onuf, *Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood* (Charlottesville, Va., 2000); Robert W. Tucker and David C. Hendrickson, *Empire of Liberty: The Statecraft of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1990). On the constitutional working-out of ideologies of "republican empire," see James G. Wilson, *The Imperial Republic: A Structural History of American Constitutionalism from the Colonial Era to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century* (Aldershot, 2002). On republicanism as a theme in U.S. historiography, see Daniel T. Rodgers, "Republicanism: The Career of a Concept," *Journal of American History* 79, no. 1 (1992): 11–38.

This republican anxiety about empire was not hegemonic in the nineteenth century; especially prior to the Civil War, public figures used the term affirmatively to denote a large and impressive domain, often infusing it with a strong whiff of sublimity.[30] But fears and denials of American empire became more salient at the dawn of the twentieth century, as the last residues of republican society were swept aside by the industrial-capitalist order, and as the United States emerged as an extracontinental power. It was precisely the moment when the U.S. began to behave like other global imperial systems, in other words—mobilizing state power to achieve territorial footholds and access to the commodities, markets, and labor power needed for industrial-capitalist competition—that "empire" retreated as description and hardened as admonition.[31]

The widening rhetorical gap between "the empires" and the U.S. other-than-empire need not have influenced U.S. historians, who elsewhere proved capable of escaping the magnetic pull of actors' categories. But this was often not the case; indeed, it became a staple of exceptionalist history that the word "empire" did not apply to the United States because Americans did not use the category in their self-conception (except, perhaps, as a point of push-off). This made imperial self-consciousness the litmus test of empire, and use of the term "empire" the litmus test of imperial self-consciousness.

Strangely, this relinquished conceptual control to historical actors themselves. A few lateral comparisons to other sites of scholarship heighten the oddness of this move. Did historical patriarchies need to speak of "gender" to make it a useful category of analysis?[32] Historians discovered long ago that the relative absence of a language of "class" in the United States was, in fact, one of the aspects of the U.S. class structure most worthy of scrutiny, rather than a reason for dispensing with it. The same might be said of empires that do not say their name: the boundaries and dynamics of an imperial formation's idiolect—the patchwork of terms its participants use and do not use to characterize it—ought to be a key arena for investigation in any imperial history. But, as in other domains of historical research, accurately tracing the contours of these languages necessarily requires resisting their authority.

What would a post-exceptionalist account of U.S. imperial history look like? It would purposively engage in dialogue with other societies' globalizing historiographies, which have often involved imperial turns. One of the most striking and unremarked developments of the late 1990s and early 2000s was a serious misalignment between U.S. transnational history and a diversity of new imperial histories, richly informed by postcolonial studies, gender analysis, and cultural history, within British, French, German, Spanish, Russian, and Japanese historiographies.[33] Except where

[30] For examples of the positive invocation of "empire," see Wilson, *The Imperial Republic*; Van Alstyne, *The Rising American Empire*; Thomas M. Fröschl, "American Empire—British Empire—Holy Roman Empire: The Meaning of Empire in Late Eighteenth-Century Political Discourse in the Atlantic World," *Wiener Beiträege zur Geschichte der Neuzeit* 24 (2000): 38–60.

[31] It was William Appleman Williams who first noted that many of the most ardent "anti-imperialists" of the 1890s were in fact imperialists who had defined down "imperialism" to signify colonialism; Williams, "Imperial Anticolonialism," in Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (Cleveland, 1959), 23–44.

[32] Scott, "Gender."

[33] This is a venerable problem. As Robin Winks pointed out in 1980, the New Left historians, even as they asserted the relevance of "empire," largely neglected European developments in the histori-

it referred to European colonial empires in the Americas, or to 1898, "empire" was almost entirely absent from the manifestos calling for a new transnational U.S. history, ironically reproducing an exceptionalism that was ostensibly its chief target. Perhaps, unlike everybody else, U.S. historians could venture outward from nation-based historiography without "empire."

A post-exceptionalist history of the United States in the world, by contrast, employs categories used in non-U.S. histories precisely to align them for purposes of non-exceptionalist comparison. One concrete example involves the reframing of the "U.S. West," which, incarnated as the "frontier," long lived at the center of U.S. exceptionalist narratives. Rigged with impressive explanatory—and exceptionalist—power *vis-à-vis* the virtues of democracy, Frederick Jackson Turner's "frontier" parachuted U.S. history safely away from a universe of potential counterparts.[34]

By contrast, some recent scholarship situates the United States within broader

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ography of empire. "Assuming ourselves to be an exception," he wrote of fellow U.S. historians, "we have concluded that the historical formulations relevant to other nations' imperialisms had little relevance for an understanding of our own." Winks, "The American Struggle with Empire," 145. The new colonial history has taken a wide variety of forms, some within metropolitan-historical traditions and some within colony-centered scholarship. The following works discuss distinct approaches to empire from within British, German, French, Spanish, Russian, and Japanese historiographies. For Britain, see Mrinalini Sinha, "Britain and the Empire: Toward a New Agenda for Imperial History," *Radical History Review* 72 (Fall 1998): 163–174; Catherine Hall, "Thinking the Postcolonial, Thinking the Empire," in Hall, *Cultures of Empire: Colonizers in Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries—A Reader* (New York, 2000), 1–33; Antoinette Burton, "Who Needs the Nation? Interrogating 'British' History," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 10, no. 3 (1997): 227–248; Sarah Stockwell, ed., *The British Empire: Themes and Perspectives* (Malden, Mass., 2008). For Germany, see Geoff Eley and Bradley D. Naranch, eds., *German Cultures of Colonialism: Race, Nation, and Globalization, 1884–1945* (Durham, N.C., forthcoming); Lora Wildenthal, "Notes on a History of 'Imperial Turns' in Modern Germany," in Burton, *After the Imperial Turn*, 144–156; Wildenthal, "The Places of Colonialism in the Writing and Teaching of Modern German History," *European Studies Journal* 16, no. 2 (1999): 9–23; Uta Poiger, "Imperialism and Empire in Twentieth-Century Germany," *History and Memory* 17, no. 1/2 (2005): 117–143. For France, see Alice Conklin, "Histories of Colonialism: Recent Studies of the Modern French Empire," *French Historical Studies* 30, no. 2 (2007): 305–332; Gary Wilder, "Unthinking French History: Colonial Studies beyond National Identity," in Burton, *After the Imperial Turn*, 125–143. For Spain, see Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, "Introduction: Interpreting Spanish Colonialism," in Christopher Schmidt-Nowara and John Nieto-Phillips, eds., *Interpreting Spanish Colonialism: Empires, Nations, and Legends* (Albuquerque, 2005), 1–18; Schmidt-Nowara, "After 'Spain': A Dialogue with Josep M. Fradera on Spanish Colonial Historiography," in Burton, *After the Imperial Turn*, 157–169. For Russia and the Soviet Union, see Mark Von Hagen, "Empires, Borderlands, and Diasporas: Eurasia as Anti-Paradigm for the Post-Soviet Era," *American Historical Review* 109, no. 2 (April 2004): 445–468; Ronald Grigor Suny, "The Empire Strikes Out: Imperial Russia, 'National' Identity, and Theories of Empire," in Ronald Grigor Suny and Terry Martin, eds., *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin* (Oxford, 2001), 23–66; Dominic Lieven, "The Russian Empire and the Soviet Union as Imperial Polities," *Journal of Contemporary History* 30, no. 4 (1995): 607–636. For Japan, see Andre Schmid, "Colonialism and the 'Korea Problem' in the Historiography of Japan: A Review Article," *Journal of Asian Studies* 59, no. 4 (2000): 951–976.

[34] Frederick Jackson Turner, *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner: The Significance of the Frontier in American History, and Other Essays* (New York, 1994). The critiques of Turner's frontier paradigm are numerous. For a discussion of Turner, his critics, and the "new Western history," see John Mack Faragher, "The Frontier Trail: Rethinking Turner and Reimagining the American West," *American Historical Review* 98, no. 1 (February 1993): 106–117. For influential post-Turnerian and counter-Turnerian narratives, see Richard White, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A History of the American West* (Norman, Okla., 1991); Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York, 1987). On the need to broaden the spatial and temporal definition of the West beyond the traditional trans-Mississippi region, and to redefine rather than abandon the "frontier" as concept, see Stephen Aron, "Lessons in Conquest: Towards a Greater Western History," *Pacific Historical Review* 63, no. 2 (May 1994): 125–147.

histories of modern settler colonialism. This concept, first used within Australian geography, has emerged as the hub of a comparative and inter-imperial history. Defined as the seizure of land and natural resources from indigenous populations, the politico-legal production of "territory," and governance through the rule of colonial difference, settler colonialism has been identified by historians as a fundamental process in the making of numerous modern societies.[35]

Understanding the U.S. West as the setting for a particular (that is, a unique but unexceptional) instance of settler colonialism raises comparative questions that were not easy to ask about Turner's frontier: questions about comparative colonial violence, about economic exploitation and environmental management, about legal categories and the claims of subjects and citizens (particularly with regard to land), and about the balance of power between core and periphery during processes of territorial incorporation. Placed in this context, the U.S. West appears as a variation on a global theme, alongside Australia, Argentina, and Algeria.[36]

Historians writing from post-exceptionalist perspectives can also draw inspiration by studying historical interactions between U.S. and non-U.S. actors that expressed a sense of belonging to a common world rather than to exceptional ones.[37] Here we must be cautious: the principle of non-surrender to actors' categories must pertain to non-exceptionalists as well as exceptionalists. Still, it may be more difficult (al-

[35] On settler colonialism, see Caroline Elkins and Susan Pedersen, "Introduction: Settler Colonialism—A Concept and Its Uses," in Elkins and Pedersen, eds., *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century: Projects, Practices, Legacies* (New York, 2005), 1–20; Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London, 1999); Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 387–409; Daiva Stasiulis and Nira Yuval-Davis, "Introduction: Beyond Dichotomies—Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class in Settler Societies," in Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis, eds., *Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class* (London, 1995), 1–38; *Settler Colonialism*, Special Issue, *South Atlantic Quarterly* 107, no. 4 (2008).

[36] For calls to include the United States within a comparative history of settler colonialisms, see Frederick E. Hoxie, "Retrieving the Red Continent: Settler Colonialism and the History of American Indians in the U.S.," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31, no. 6 (2008): 1153–1167; Ian Tyrrell, "Beyond the View from Euro-America: Environment, Settler Societies, and the Internationalization of American History," in Bender, *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, 168–191; Michael Adas, "From Settler Colony to Global Hegemon: Integrating the Exceptionalist Narrative of the American Experience into World History," *American Historical Review* 106, no. 5 (December 2001): 1692–1720. For accounts of Native American history that employ colonial-historical frameworks, see Ned Blackhawk, *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006); Jeffrey Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee* (Cambridge, 2004). Historians have also begun to use the concept of empire to examine Native American polities; see Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven, Conn., 2008). For comparative histories, see Lisa Ford, *Settler Sovereignty: Jurisdiction and Indigenous People in America and Australia, 1788–1836* (Cambridge, Mass., 2010); Margaret D. Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880–1940* (Lincoln, Neb., 2009). For a comparative collection on the rationalization of settler colonialisms across the Americas, see David Maybury-Lewis, Theodore Macdonald, and Biorn Maybury-Lewis, eds., *Manifest Destinies and Indigenous Peoples* (Cambridge, Mass., 2009).

[37] See, for example, Daniel T. Rodgers's exploration of transatlantic social-political reformers, Dirk Bönker's treatment of German and U.S. naval officers' transatlantic dialogues on the organization of naval power, and Anne Foster's work on U.S. engagements with European colonialisms in Southeast Asia: Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998); Bönker, *Militarism in a Global Age: Naval Ambitions in Germany and the United States before World War I* (Ithaca, N.Y., forthcoming); Foster, *Projections of Power: The United States and Europe in Colonial Southeast Asia, 1919–1941* (Durham, N.C., 2010).

though not impossible) to write exceptionalist histories of actors who did not exceptionalize themselves.

Finally, post-exceptionalist histories might undertake a comparative history of imperial exceptionalisms themselves. There is nothing unique about the fact that Americans have understood their state's global power in exceptionalist terms; particularly in its public-political projections, no empire constitutes itself as generic. There is, indeed, nothing exceptional about American ambivalence about the word "empire": historical actors in other empires, even the paradigmatic British Empire, shifted in their use of the term.[38] Understanding that the defenders of all modern empires were compelled to justify them before national and international publics in a densely interactive global environment, historians can ask what idioms and traditions were chosen and why, and how they were deployed and challenged, in ways that would place "American exceptionalism" itself in an unexceptional frame.

Importantly, post-exceptionalist histories need not dispense with a sense of uniqueness: U.S. imperial histories are unique in the same way that all imperial histories are unique. It can be helpful to specify some of the distinctive traits of U.S. imperial history. While other settler colonial societies became regional hegemons, for example, the United States was the only settler colonial state that eventually became capable of exercising power on a worldwide scale. It was far from the only imperial state in history with global aspirations, but it was the only one to ultimately approximate them, however temporarily, in the wake of the Soviet collapse. Like other imperial systems, it was politically pluralistic, but it was one of the few in which a diversity of state form, particularly in the post-1945 period, tended toward a preference for the nation-state. Finally, while other modern imperial systems brought together government and capital, U.S. policy in the twentieth century was distinctly oriented toward capital accumulation and the universal commodification of the natural and social worlds as primary goals, even where they were pursued by means of territorial seizure and control. Indeed, the United States' global ambitions were realizable only because of its predominant liberation from sovereignties defined in terms of territorial possession and state incorporation.[39] None of these features makes the U.S. case exceptional, only idiosyncratic: uniqueness curdles into exception only through the isolation of a single case from homogenized others, and the identification of a single, unifying rule that brings a welter of differences to heel.

It is important to recognize that the widespread delegitimating of exceptionalism has not, in and of itself, dismantled the frameworks built to do its work. Exceptionalism, in other words, remains wired into historical analysis of the United States in ways that have survived anti-exceptionalist criticism. To overcome the exceptionalisms that surround the question of U.S. imperial history, we must probe the ways that scholars' choices have set the United States apart, and discover alternative formulations that align its history with those of other societies.

[38] On the evolution of British imperial terminology, see David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 2000), 1–23.

[39] For an astute analysis and survey of U.S. imperial history into the early twentieth century that explores this history's unique features, see Gareth Stedman Jones, "The Specificity of US Imperialism," *New Left Review* I/60 (1970): 59–86.

Some of the most influential attempts to widen the frame of U.S. history reflect an underlying methodological nationalism, manifested in a number of ways.[40] It has appeared in historiographic arguments that the point of broadening the frame of U.S. history is to "enrich" accounts of the United States' past: even as these histories venture out into "the world," the nation remains the object in view.[41] It is also built into the architecture of research that stakes its claims for the significance of the "international" or "imperial" on its "domestic" impact, or into comparative histories in which lopsided terms produce accounts of American exceptionality. It is reflected in narratives that envision the world outside the United States as a blank space into which U.S. actors "export" their histories, imaginaries, and institutions. Symptomatic is the use of the term "expansion" to resolve the untidy intersections of the United States' "insides" and "outsides": U.S. history just gets bigger, expanding into a vacuum where investigators feel unobliged to tread.[42]

Two prominent calls for a more globalized scholarship on the United States deserve special attention here. The first is Amy Kaplan's 1993 " 'Left Alone with America,' " a call to address three "absences" in existing research: the absence of imperialism from the study of American culture, the absence of culture from the study of U.S. imperialism, and the absence of U.S. imperialism from the broader study of modern imperialism.[43] This was a compelling summons that organized a diverse scholarship on imperial meaning-making that has illuminated as never before the centrality of empire to American self-identity, the importance of meaning in the making of empire, and the complex ways in which Americans have made discursive sense of U.S. imperial projects, especially with respect to the politics of racialized and gendered difference.[44] But the essay's ultimate goal was a better American stud-

[40] I adapt the term "methodological nationalism" from Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller, "Methodological Nationalism and Beyond: Nation-State Building, Migration and the Social Sciences," *Global Networks* 2, no. 4 (2002): 301–334. They define it as "the assumption that the nation/state/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world" (302). For my purposes, it also refers to a set of scholarly practices that center on the nation, even in the absence of this assumption, or in the process of critiquing it.

[41] This national "enrichment" mode of understanding the purposes of larger-than-national history is one variant of the "destabilization of the self by the other" in globalizing scholarship, trenchantly analyzed by Fernando Coronil in "Beyond Occidentalism: Toward Nonimperial Geohistorical Categories," *Cultural Anthropology* 11, no. 1 (1996): 51–87.

[42] For a typical contrast between "expansion" and "imperialism," see Dexter Perkins, "Is There an American Imperialism?" in Perkins, *The American Approach to Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), 30–45.

[43] Amy Kaplan, " 'Left Alone with America': The Absence of Empire in the Study of American Culture," in Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, eds., *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham, N.C., 1993), 3–21.

[44] See especially Amy Greenberg's work on the importance of gender in the ideology and practices of Manifest Destiny in the mid-nineteenth century; Kristin Hoganson's work on the importance of debates over masculinity during the Spanish-Cuban-American and Philippine-American Wars; Allison Sneider's work on the role played by both continental and overseas empire in the U.S. women's suffrage movement; Mary Renda's work on the paternalist character of the interwar U.S. occupation of Haiti; Naoko Shibusawa's work on discourses of gender and maturity in the remaking of U.S.-Japan relations after World War II; and Melani McAlister's work on American popular-cultural representations of the Middle East: Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (Cambridge, 2005); Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, Conn., 1998); Sneider, *Suffragists in an Imperial Age: U.S. Expansion and the Woman Question, 1870–1929* (New York, 2008); Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915–1940* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2001); Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally: Reimagining the Japanese Enemy* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006); McAlister, *Epic Encounters:*

ies: one that was more critically aware of the imperial dimensions of its founding, of its implication in the production of American exceptionalism, and of the need to open itself to a multicultural canon. Similar to Edward Said's *Orientalism*, Kaplan's essay called for a better account of how Americans imagined themselves and how those visions shaped their imperial actions elsewhere, the worlds, histories, actions, and voices of others notwithstanding.[45] Both the piece itself and much of the scholarship it inspired took scholars into "the world," only to leave them "alone with America."[46]

A second essay, Thomas Bender's introduction to the 2002 volume *Rethinking American History*, convincingly critiqued the nation as the traditional (and ideological) container of U.S. historical narrative and analysis, and persuasively called upon scholars to write histories at subnational, national, and global scales. But curiously, the nation still hovered at the center of this critique of methodological nationalism. The nation should no longer be the exclusive border of history, but the goal of internationalization was to produce a "thickening" of the nation's history: if the United States was no longer the destination, it was still the reason for the journey. Discordant with Bender's call for a cosmopolitan ethos, the "we" in the piece—hailing its presumed audience—referred not to historians but to Americans. Also notable was the absence of simultaneous efforts by historians of other countries, such as Britain, France, and Germany, to widen their historical frames, often through imperial turns. Bender enlisted Frederick Jackson Turner as an American ancestor to the internationalizing effort, but left out present-day counterparts elsewhere, leaving America, once again, "alone."[47]

That two such leading calls for a broadened scholarship remained subject to methodological nationalism suggests just how much stronger its gravitational pull is than that exerted by the once formidable but now battered and undefended "American exceptionalism." There are structural reasons for this: whatever scope they

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Culture, Media, and U.S. Interests in the Middle East, 1945–2000 (Berkeley, Calif., 2001). Other key works include Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002); Shelley Streeby, *American Sensations: Class, Empire, and the Production of Popular Culture* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002); David Kazanjian, *The Colonizing Trick: National Culture and Imperial Citizenship in Early America* (Minneapolis, 2003); Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876–1917* (New York, 2000); Sharon Delmendo, *The Star-Entangled Banner: One Hundred Years of America in the Philippines* (New Brunswick, N.J., 2004); Benito M. Vergara, Jr., *Displaying Filipinos: Photography and Colonialism in Early 20th Century Philippines* (Quezon City, 1995); Timothy Marr, *The Cultural Roots of American Islamicism* (Cambridge, 2006); Christian G. Appy, ed., *Cold War Constructions: The Political Culture of United States Imperialism, 1945–1966* (Amherst, Mass., 2000); Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945–1961* (Berkeley, Calif., 2003); Gretchen Murphy, *Hemispheric Imaginings: The Monroe Doctrine and Narratives of U.S. Empire* (Durham, N.C., 2005); Murphy, *Shadowing the White Man's Burden: U.S. Imperialism and the Problem of the Color Line* (New York, 2010).

[45] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978). Marilyn Young warns against "writing about U.S. engagement with other nations as if it were a monologue"; "The Age of Global Power," 277.

[46] Kaplan draws the phrase "left alone with America" from Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), 15.

[47] Thomas Bender, "Introduction: Historians, the Nation, and the Plenitude of Narratives," in Bender, *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, 1–21. For Bender's previous position, which emphasizes the nation as the necessary frame for a synthetic "whole" in U.S. history, see Bender, "Wholes and Parts: The Need for Synthesis in American History," *Journal of American History* 73, no. 1 (1986): 120–136.

adopt, globalizing historiographies must grapple with the fact that core academic structures—professional organizations, graduate seminars, journals, and, most decisively, job advertisements—remain cropped in national terms. However these boundaries skew scholars' accounts of connected histories, there are many incentives for annexing the global to the national past.

Thinking with the imperial does not itself resolve this problem. Indeed, imperial history traditionally meant the history of the metropolitan state writ large: it reflected the expansive provinciality of all nation-centered research that proceeds "outward" into "the world." But an imperial approach makes possible one version of what Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann call *histoire croisée*, crossed history that avoids some of the pitfalls of nation-framed pasts, and the site and subject of which is the space "between metropole and colony," in Ann Stoler's and Frederick Cooper's powerful framing.[48]

What do such crossed imperial histories look like? They integrate their accounts of historical actors, processes, and institutions based inside and outside the nation on a symmetrical, analytically equal footing. They are multi-sited, taking what might be called a localizing turn toward global history by showing the ways that imperial connections bridge and transform specific locations, paying careful attention to the histories, agency, and voice of actors outside the metropole. They attend to the multidirectional and uneven character of cause and effect within imperial systems.[49] Where they track the transfer of discourses, practices, and institutions, they do so with an attention to the ways in which they mutate in motion, along with the contexts to which they are attached. They also link historiographies as well as histories, posing questions that do not simply depart from the inquiries that one nation-based historiography asks of the world, but that engage analyses by historians of other societies.[50]

For an imperial history of the United States in the world to realize its potential, it will need to resist the pull of methodological nationalism, to which imperial history itself has often been subject, posing questions that are situated between, and which shed different, defamiliarizing light on, the national (and non-national) histories they entwine. In pursuit of a past that was and is not divided along the lines of academic job listings, historians of the United States in the world must be willing to risk their work's being virtually unrecognizable to those operating strictly within the

[48] Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Beyond Comparison: *Histoire Croisée* and the Challenge of Reflexivity," *History and Theory* 45, no. 1 (2006): 30–50; Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, "Between Metropole and Colony: Toward a Research Agenda," in Cooper and Stoler, *Tensions of Empire*, 1–56.

[49] In his history of Cuban-American interactions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, for example, Louis Pérez, Jr., does not simply analyze U.S. discourses about Cuba, but demonstrates the dialectical formation of both Cuban and U.S. identities in highly specific encounters. In his account of Vietnamese-American relations in the decades prior to war, Mark Philip Bradley goes beyond a conventional critique of "Orientalism" by exploring mutual imaginations and their roots in distinct histories of colonialism and anticolonialism. Pérez, *On Becoming Cuban: Identity, Nationality, and Culture* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1999); Bradley, *Imagining Vietnam and America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000). For this approach applied to the history of U.S. colonialism in the Philippines, see Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2006).

[50] This last feature has been elusive to date: it is proving easier to introduce non-U.S. actors and sources to conventional U.S. historical questions than to re-engineer the questions themselves. For criticism along these lines, see Ron Robin, "The Exhaustion of Enclosures: A Critique of Internationalization," in Bender, *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, 367–380.

boundaries of national history. Only in this way will historians succeed in exploring the United States' power without, in Marilyn Young's words, "reinstating its own centered sense of itself."[51]

Traditional historiography often starkly opposes empires and nation-states, whether as logics (the former as vertical and/or inclusive, the latter as horizontal and/or exclusive) or as periods (the "age of empires" giving way to an "age of nation-states"). In fact, the intersections of empire, nation, and state were and are intensely complex and variable. They include nationalizing empires (premodern empires that reconstituted themselves as national polities), empire-building nations (self-constituted nations possessing imperial aspirations, projects, and domains), empires of nationalities (empires that constructed and worked through official, plural nationalities in their "internal" space, often in the form of ethnicizing federalisms), and nation-building colonialisms (empires that pursued "external" power through the cultivation, sponsorship, and ordering of other peoples' nations). There was also what can be called international empire: an imperial project in which order was produced through the coordination of multiple, "legitimate" nation-states, the promotion, management, and disciplining of flows and connections between them, and disproportionate power within multilateral bodies.[52] At least three of these categories apply to the United States, an empire-building nation in the nineteenth century and beyond, which embarked on projects of both nation-building colonialism and international empire from the early twentieth century forward.

The sense that empire and nation-state are antithetical has made these historical conjugations hard to see; it has also played a vital role in U.S. exceptionalism.[53] It allows the narrative of a formative U.S. "national" break with "empire" in the eighteenth century; it establishes the exceptionality of U.S. overseas colonialism in the early twentieth century on the basis of its nation-building practices and discourses; it facilitates the erasure of post–World War II empire—American power at its apogee—through an emphasis on Americans' support for formally independent nation-states.

Moving beyond the opposition of empire and nation-state requires thinking about the boundaries of U.S. state power in ways that place the politics of sovereignty at the center of inquiry. It is for this reason that legal history is developing as one

[51] Young, "The Age of Global Power," 275.

[52] For a powerful critique of the world-historical teleology that narrates a transition from "empire" to "nation-state," see Burbank and Cooper, *Empires in World History*. On the late arrival and twentieth-century rise of the category of the "nation-state" itself, see John D. Kelly and Martha Kaplan, " 'My Ambition Is Much Higher than Independence': US Power, the UN World, the Nation-State, and Their Critics," in Prasenjit Duara, ed., *Decolonization: Perspectives from Now and Then* (London, 2004), 131–151; Kelly and Kaplan, *Represented Communities: Fiji and World Decolonization* (Chicago, 2001).

[53] This opposition has also played a key role in some criticisms of empire's relevance to U.S. history. John Kelly, for example, defines empire traditionally (as one state's formal territorial control of an outside region), contrasting it with early-twentieth-century concepts of a post-territorial global domain, such as those of Alfred Thayer Mahan; "anti-imperial" opposition directed at such a formation, he maintains, inevitably reifies and affirms the principle of national self-determination, for him a more fundamental object of criticism. Kelly, "U.S. Power, after 9/11 and before It: If Not an Empire, Then What?" *Public Culture* 15, no. 2 (2003): 347–369. I maintain that embarking from a different conceptual starting point—that empires and nation-states are not always antitheses—helps address this problem.

of the most generative methodologies and arenas of U.S. imperial historiography. It is doing so across periods and topical areas, within a set of discrete but overlapping literatures. One explores the relationships between constitutional law and continental empire-building through the early twentieth century.[54] Another, related literature discusses the importance of law to North American settler colonial projects and the ways that legal decisions regarding the status of Native Americans drew upon and reinforced racialized subordination, while forging definitions of sovereignty and social membership.[55] Another looks at the role of law in extending U.S. state power beyond North America, whether in settler colonial Hawaii, zones of extraterritoriality, extradition treaties, or the "status of forces" agreements between the United States and the governments that "host" its military bases.[56] A related sub-literature

[54] On empire's impact on U.S. constitutional law and ideology, see James G. Wilson, *The Imperial Republic: A Structural History of American Constitutionalism from the Colonial Era to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century* (Aldershot, 2002). For a normative account of the constitutionality of U.S. territorial acquisitions through 1900, see Gary Lawson and Guy Seidman, *The Constitution of Empire: Territorial Expansion and American Legal History* (New Haven, Conn., 2004). On the relationship between continental "intra-territoriality" and overseas "extra-territoriality," see Kal Raustiala, *Does the Constitution Follow the Flag? The Evolution of Territoriality in American Law* (Oxford, 2009). On the plenary power doctrine in Indian policy, immigration policy, and territorial governance, see T. Alexander Aleinikoff, *Semblances of Sovereignty: The Constitution, the State, and American Citizenship* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002); Sarah H. Cleveland, "Powers Inherent in Sovereignty: Indians, Aliens, Territories and the Nineteenth Century Origins of Plenary Power over Foreign Affairs," *Texas Law Review* 81, no. 1 (2002): 1–284.

[55] The literature on law, sovereignty, and Indian policy is wide-ranging: Ford, *Settler Sovereignty*; Frank Pommersheim, *Broken Landscape: Indians, Indian Tribes and the Constitution* (Oxford, 2009); Paul Finkelman and Tim Alan Garrison, eds., *Encyclopedia of United States Indian Policy and Law* (Washington, D.C., 2009); John Harlan Vinzant, *The Supreme Court's Role in American Indian Policy* (El Paso, Tex., 2009); Deborah A. Rosen, *American Indians and State Law: Sovereignty, Race, and Citizenship, 1790–1880* (Lincoln, Neb., 2007); Patrick Wolfe, "*Corpus Nullius*: The Exception of Indians and Other Aliens in U.S. Constitutional Discourse," *Postcolonial Studies* 10, no. 2 (2007): 127–151; Vanessa Ann Gunther, *Ambiguous Justice: Native Americans and the Law in Southern California, 1848–1890* (East Lansing, Mich., 2006); Stephen G. Bragaw, "Thomas Jefferson and the American Indian Nations: Native American Sovereignty and the Marshall Court," *Journal of Supreme Court History* 31, no. 2 (2006): 155–180; Lindsay G. Robertson, *Conquest by Law: How the Discovery of America Dispossessed Indigenous Peoples of Their Lands* (Oxford, 2005); Tim Alan Garrison, *The Legal Ideology of Removal: The Southern Judiciary and the Sovereignty of Native American Nations* (Athens, Ga., 2002); David E. Wilkins and K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *Uneven Ground: American Indian Sovereignty and Federal Law* (Norman, Okla., 2001); James H. Lengel, "The Role of International Law in the Development of Constitutional Jurisprudence in the Supreme Court: The Marshall Court and American Indians," *American Journal of Legal History* 43, no. 2 (1999): 117–132; Vine Deloria, Jr., and David E. Wilkins, *Tribes, Treaties, and Constitutional Tribulations* (Austin, Tex., 1999); David E. Wilkins, *American Indian Sovereignty and the U.S. Supreme Court: The Masking of Justice* (Austin, Tex., 1997); John R. Wunder, *Native American Law and Colonialism, before 1776 to 1903* (New York, 1996); Wunder, *Constitutionalism and Native Americans, 1903–1968* (New York, 1996); Wilcomb E. Washburn, *Red Man's Land/White Man's Law: The Past and Present Status of the American Indian*, 2nd ed. (Norman, Okla., 1995); Sidney L. Harring, *Crow Dog's Case: American Indian Sovereignty, Tribal Law, and United States Law in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1994); Blue Clark, *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock: Treaty Rights and Indian Law at the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Lincoln, Neb., 1994); Robert A. Williams, *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought: The Discourses of Conquest* (New York, 1990); G. Edward White and Gerald Gunther, *The Marshall Court and Cultural Change, 1815–35* (New York, 1988); Charles F. Wilkinson, *American Indians, Time, and the Law: Native Societies in a Modern Constitutional Democracy* (New Haven, Conn., 1987); Vine Deloria, Jr., and Clifford M. Lytle, *American Indians, American Justice* (Austin, Tex., 1983).

[56] Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton, N.J., 2000); Winfred Lee Thompson, *The Introduction of American Law in the Philippines and Puerto Rico, 1898–1905* (Fayetteville, Ark., 1989); Eileen P. Scully, *Bargaining with the State from Afar: American Citizenship in Treaty Port China, 1844–1942* (New York, 2001); Teemu Ruskola, "Canton Is Not Boston: The Invention of American Imperial Sovereignty," *American Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (2005): 859–884; Christina Duffy Burnett, "The Edges of Empire and the Limits of Sovereignty: American Guano Islands," *American Quarterly*

discusses the Insular Cases specifically, and the legal boundaries between the United States and its colonies and between Americans and non-citizen "nationals."[57] Finally, there is work on Americans' role in the making of international law, understood as a way of extending as well as bounding state power.[58]

With greater distance from the empire/nation-state dichotomy, it becomes clear that, particularly during the twentieth century, U.S. policymakers' preferred state apparatus and ideological form, within a broad promiscuity, was the nation-state. By 1945, Americans had long sought to achieve imperial ends by working through the states of others. Some of these were colonies: from the mid-nineteenth through the mid-twentieth century, Americans constructed what can be called a low-overhead empire in other peoples' colonial empires, even as they built their own in the Caribbean, the Pacific, and Southeast Asia. But they also proved to be partial to the nation as a versatile imperial form. This was partly due to their defining self-narrative of "national" birth in rebellion against "empire," but arguably more significant was timing: the United States' advent as a world power coincided with the opening of the second wave of decolonization, when the nation emerged as an insurgent category, and ultimately as the only legitimate state form in the "international" order. Indeed, many nationalist movements in the pre-1945 period looked to the United States as the model of a successful non-imperial nation, minimizing its colonialisms, which raised the specter of "empire."[59]

Americans were not exceptional in building empires that were unafraid of the nation. Imperial federation in the early-twentieth-century British Empire was a calculated effort to accommodate white settler colonial nationalism to an integrative, imperial framework. Wide variants on a nation-building mode characterized three

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57, no. 3 (2005): 779–803; Daniel S. Margolies, *Spaces of Law in American Foreign Relations: Extradition and Extraterritoriality in the Borderlands and Beyond, 1877–1898* (Athens, Ga., 2011); Raustiala, *Does the Constitution Follow the Flag?*; Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic* (New York, 2004).

[57] Christina Duffy Burnett and Burke Marshall, eds., *Foreign in a Domestic Sense: Puerto Rico, American Expansion, and the Constitution* (Durham, N.C., 2001); José A. Cabranes, *Citizenship and the American Empire: Notes on the Legislative History of the United States Citizenship of Puerto Ricans* (New Haven, Conn., 1979); Bartholomew H. Sparrow, *The Insular Cases and the Emergence of American Empire* (Lawrence, Kans., 2006); Christina Duffy Burnett, " 'They say I am not an American . . . ': The Noncitizen National and the Law of American Empire," *Virginia Journal of International Law* 48, no. 4 (2008): 659–718; Sam Erman, "Meanings of Citizenship in the U.S. Empire: Puerto Rico, Isabel Gonzalez, and the Supreme Court, 1898 to 1905," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 27, no. 4 (2008): 5–33.

[58] Benjamin Allen Coates, "Transatlantic Advocates: American International Law and U.S. Foreign Relations, 1898–1919" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2010).

[59] The literature on U.S. foreign policy and global decolonization is growing in depth and richness. See especially David Ryan and Victor Pungong, eds., *The United States and Decolonization: Power and Freedom* (New York, 2000); Gary R. Hess, *America Encounters India, 1941–1947* (Baltimore, 1971); Robert J. McMahon, *Colonialism and Cold War: The United States and the Struggle for Indonesian Independence, 1945–1949* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1981); Andrew J. Rotter, *Comrades at Odds: The United States and India, 1947–1964* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2000); Cary Fraser, *Ambivalent Anti-Colonialism: The United States and the Genesis of West Indian Independence, 1940–1964* (Westport, Conn., 1994); Jason C. Parker, *Brother's Keeper: The United States, Race, and Empire in the British Caribbean, 1937–1962* (Oxford, 2008); William Roger Lewis, *Imperialism at Bay: The United States and the Decolonization of the British Empire, 1941–1945* (New York, 1978); Ebere Nwaubani, *The United States and Decolonization in West Africa, 1950–1960* (Rochester, N.Y., 2001); Nick Cullather, *Illusions of Influence: The Political Economy of United States–Philippines Relations, 1942–1960* (Stanford, Calif., 1994); Bradley, *Imagining Vietnam and America*; Matthew Connelly, *A Diplomatic Revolution: Algeria's Fight for Independence and the Origins of the Post–Cold War Era* (Oxford, 2002).

of the four latecomers to empire: Japan, the Soviet Union, and the United States. Japan's Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere was self-conceived as an anti-imperial campaign to liberate Asian nationalities from white imperial suppression beneath an overarching Japanese dominion. In a very different way, the Soviet Union was structured as a federal empire of ethnographically engineered nationalities. These three late arrivals diverged widely in their geographic scales, regime designs, ideological matrices, and balances of violence and consent. They also varied in the degrees of state power and autonomy exercised by the nations they contained. But in all, the national components of their empires became fundamental to their exceptionalist self-conceptions as anti-empires.[60]

Imperial formations that worked through the nation possessed numerous ideological and institutional advantages. Ideologically, they profited from both the presence and the disintegration of older, European colonial worlds: their proponents depicted them as radical, modernist breaks with a homogenized Western European "imperial" past and present characterized by repression, corruption, and decadence. They were cast as liberatory, anti-imperial polities that preserved and encouraged their subjects' nationalities. The chief institutional benefit of working through the nation was political and moral insulation. Empires organized in this way employed the fiction of discrete and autonomous nations to insulate themselves from the claims and movements of the majority of their subjects: residents and citizens of other peoples' countries. Nation-based empires are limited-liability empires.[61]

Two particular problems are pushed to the foreground by nation-based empire. The first is border control. It is through bordering regimes that such empires regulate internal flows of power and accountability and define them as crossings between the "domestic" and "foreign" realms. It is for this reason that one of the core U.S. imperial institutions since the late nineteenth century has been the national-territorial border.[62] Moral claims, military force, rule-making authority, and American citizens

[60] On British imperial federation, see Mark Mazower, *No Enchanted Palace: The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations* (Princeton, N.J., 2009). For Japan, see Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999); Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (Lanham, Md., 2003). For the Soviet Union, see Francine Hirsch, *Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2005); Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923–1939* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2001); Suny and Martin, *A State of Nations*. Duara presents an illuminating account of Japanese-controlled Manchukuo as exemplary of a broader "imperialism of 'free nations' " in "The Imperialism of 'Free Nations': Japan, Manchukuo, and the History of the Present," in Stoler, McGranahan, and Perdue, *Imperial Formations*, 211–239.

[61] John Kelly applies the concept of "limited liability" to the nation-state, but I believe it is equally applicable to imperial formations that contain nation-states. Kelly, "Who Counts? Imperial and Corporate Structures of Governance, Decolonization, and Limited Liability," in Craig Calhoun, Frederick Cooper, and Kevin W. Moore, eds., *Lessons of Empire: Imperial Histories and American Power* (New York, 2006), 157–174.

[62] On U.S. border-making in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see especially Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton, N.J., 2004); Adam M. McKeown, *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration and the Globalization of Borders* (New York, 2008); Rachel St. John, *Line in the Sand: A History of the Western U.S.-Mexico Border* (Princeton, N.J., 2011); Patrick Ettinger, *Imaginary Lines: Border Enforcement and the Origins of Undocumented Immigration, 1882–1930* (Austin, Tex., 2009); Joseph Nevins, *Operation Gatekeeper and Beyond: The War on "Illegals" and the Remaking of the U.S.-Mexico Boundary*, 2nd ed. (New York, 2010); Kelly Lytle Hernández, *Migra! A History of the U.S. Border Patrol* (Berkeley, Calif., 2010). For a review of conceptualizations of the U.S.-Mexico "borderlands" across the twentieth century, see Ramón A. Gutiérrez and Elliott Young, "Transnationalizing Borderlands History," *Western Historical Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (2010): 26–53. On the customs

move outward across that boundary, while inward flows are policed and filtered in the name of "national" sovereignty.

Second is the problem of measuring sovereignty. For both nation-building colonialism and international empire, legitimacy and invisibility rest on both realities and images of "local" control. Both enterprises proceed by cultivating interlocutors that are as legible, nationally legitimate, and aligned with imperial priorities as possible—the Cold War's elusive Third Forces between European colonialism and radical nationalism in the decolonizing world, for example.[63] The problem of imperial rule becomes, at its most diffuse, establishing the perimeters of legitimate national governance—sometimes in the technocratic name of "compatibility"—and at its most intense, what can be called national selection, nation-building by overthrow.[64] These projects make minimal demands of allegiance—the nation being the locus and container of claims—but intrude further in their regulatory power, harnessing and shaping a recognized nation's capacity to saturate territories and populations with rule-making and fields of force.[65]

U.S. policymakers' criteria for legitimate nationality varied widely across the twentieth century. While the United States did recognize some non-white nation-states, race unsurprisingly mattered a great deal, as evidenced in American backing for the white Cuban elite after 1898, Woodrow Wilson's avoidance of self-determination for non-white peoples, and the United States' lasting support for Afrikaner racial nationalism.[66] Still more enduring criteria—at once minimalist and maximalist—were a capacity to produce political order and a commitment to all-enclosing capitalist social relations: the commodification of land, natural resources, and labor; the securing of private property through legal and regulatory regimes; and the suppression of anti-capitalist counterforces. From the U.S.-sponsored Nacionalista Party of the early-twentieth-century Philippines, to sponsored anti-communist na-

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regime and its evasion, see Andrew Wender Cohen, "Smuggling, Globalization, and America's Outward State, 1870–1909," *Journal of American History* 97, no. 2 (2010): 371–398.

[63] For an account of the Cold War that emphasizes the U.S. pursuit of such "Third Forces" in the decolonizing world, see Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge, 2005).

[64] On the United States and the toppling of states, see Stephen Kinzer, *Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq* (New York, 2006).

[65] One way to approach this process is through Charles Maier's concept of "territoriality": across the twentieth century, the United States exported the means to produce territory in Maier's sense to both colonial empires and nation-states. Maier, "Transformations of Territoriality, 1600–2000," in Gunilla-Friederike Budde, Sebastian Conrad, and Oliver Janz, eds., *Transnationale Geschichte: Themen, Tendenzen und Theorien* (Göttingen, 2006), 32–55; Maier, "Consigning the Twentieth Century to History: Alternative Narratives for the Modern Era," *American Historical Review* 105, no. 3 (June 2000): 807–831. Working on a macro level, Peter J. Katzenstein discusses post–World War II U.S. power as exercised through a regionalization process centered in Western Europe and East Asia, with Germany and Japan as its anchors, in *A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2005).

[66] On Cuba, see Ada Ferrer, "Cuba, 1898: Rethinking Race, Nation and Empire," *Radical History Review* 73 (1999): 22–46; Alejandro de la Fuente and Matthew Casey, "Race and the Suffrage Controversy in Cuba, 1898–1901," in McCoy and Scarano, *Colonial Crucible*, 220–229. On the United States, South Africa, and apartheid during the Cold War, see, for example, Thomas Borstelmann, *Apartheid's Reluctant Uncle: The United States and Southern Africa in the Early Cold War* (New York, 1993); Thomas J. Noer, *Cold War and Black Liberation: The United States and White Rule in Africa, 1948–1968* (Columbia, Mo., 1985).

tionalisms throughout the world after 1945, the problem was not the existence of nationalism, but keeping it "on the reservation."[67]

Despite the use of a post-territorial idiom, U.S. projects in nation-based empire were secured across the twentieth century by an archipelago of militarized territories. Prior to World War II, U.S. power in the Caribbean and Pacific was rooted in large-scale military complexes that left deep and often scarring footprints in local spaces and societies; after the war, this territorial presence became globalized, in the form of both military installations and bombing sites, along with the tensions they frequently provoked. Detailed charts of these military-territorial footholds of U.S. power, and of their irruptions into and intersections with local histories, societies, and cultures, are now emerging as among the most self-conscious sites of an imperial scholarship of the United States, both inside and outside the field of history.[68] An empire of bases allowed the United States the regional and, ultimately, global projection of force, while preserving formal fictions of nation-state sovereignty.

In very rough outlines, a historical arc of U.S. nation-based empire might begin in the nineteenth century. First, the United States in the post–Civil War era was an empire-building nation in which state and settler colonial conquest and the territorializing of the continent were fundamental to an increasingly confident national self-definition. The first manifestations of international empire—imperial power exercised through the nation-states of others—can be witnessed in early U.S. rela-

[67] Dictatorship frequently proved an acceptable path of least resistance; see David F. Schmitz, *Thank God They're on Our Side: The United States and Right-Wing Dictatorships, 1921–1965* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1999); Schmitz, *The United States and Right-Wing Dictatorships, 1965–1989* (Cambridge, 2006). For a survey of twentieth-century U.S. foreign policy that emphasizes the pursuit of capitalist relations at the expense of democracy, see Walter LaFeber, "The Tension between Democracy and Capitalism during the American Century," *Diplomatic History* 23, no. 2 (1999): 263–284. On the U.S. role in the construction of authoritarianism in Indonesia, for example, see Bradley R. Simpson, *Economists with Guns: Authoritarian Development and U.S.-Indonesian Relations, 1960–1968* (Stanford, Calif., 2008). John Kelly and Martha Kaplan emphasize the sharply bounded emancipatory horizons of the American-promoted "UN world" of nation-states in the post-1945 period relative to alternatives in " 'My Ambition Is Much Higher than Independence.' "

[68] See, for example, Chalmers Johnson's exposés of the global impact of U.S. bases and the dynamics of "status of forces" agreements, Harvey Neptune's cultural history of Trinidadian engagements with U.S. military bases in the Caribbean during World War II, and Jana Lipman's labor history of the U.S. naval station in Guantánamo, Cuba. Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire*; Neptune, *Caliban and the Yankees: Trinidad and the United States Occupation* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2007); Lipman, *Guantánamo: A Working-Class History between Empire and Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 2009). Other key works include C. T. Sandaris, *America's Overseas Garrisons: The Leasehold Empire* (Oxford, 2000); Mark L. Gillem, *America Town: Building the Outposts of Empire* (Minneapolis, 2007); David Vine, *Island of Shame: The Secret History of the U.S. Military Base on Diego Garcia* (Princeton, N.J., 2009); Catherine Lutz, *The Bases of Empire: The Global Struggle against U.S. Military Posts* (London, 2009); Alexander Cooley, *Base Politics: Democratic Change and the U.S. Military Overseas* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2008); Steven C. High, *Base Colonies in the Western Hemisphere, 1940–1967* (Basingstoke, 2009); Jonathan M. Hansen, *Guantánamo: An American History* (New York, 2011). Feminist scholarship has rendered critically visible the hierarchical sexual economies of U.S. military bases, and their contestation. See especially Katharine H. S. Moon, *Sex among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S.-Korea Relations* (New York, 1997); Ji-Yeon Yuh, *Beyond the Shadow of Camptown: Korean Military Brides in America* (New York, 2002); Saundra Pollock Sturdevant and Brenda Stoltzfus, *Let the Good Times Roll: Prostitution and the U.S. Military in Asia* (New York, 1992); Paul A. Kramer, "The Military-Sexual Complex: Prostitution, Disease and the Boundaries of Empire during the Philippine-American War," *Asia-Pacific Journal* 9, issue 30, no. 2 (2011), http://japanfocus.org/-Paul_A_-Kramer/3574. For a collection of essays on the global history of U.S. military bases, with special attention to the politics of gender, race, and sex, see Maria Höhn and Seungsook Moon, eds., *Over There: Living with the U.S. Military Empire from World War II to the Present* (Durham, N.C., 2010).

tionships with independent Latin American states. While the United States lacked the capacity to determine outcomes—and while its own nationality remained a work in progress—a sense of the nation as both a liberating form and a less than universal one can be read from its recognition of the independence of Central and South American states and refusal of self-liberated Haiti. By the late nineteenth century, the U.S. state was gathering diplomatic, economic, and military power. U.S. international empire arguably made its first coherent policy appearance in U.S. diplomatic efforts to dominate "Pan-American" organizations from the 1880s onward by defining hemispheric solidarity between formally independent nation-states in terms of U.S. geopolitical and economic preeminence.

The trajectory of international empire overlapped chronologically with that of nation-building colonialism. While the post-1898 occupations are often depicted as an aberrational burst of conventional colonial rule, they can be seen more accurately as involving a collision of decolonization and U.S. imperial projection, which led the United States to accommodate nationalist forces in Cuba (where U.S. occupation gave way to an elite, white, U.S.-dominated republic), Panama (where, in the interest of prospective canal-building, U.S. policymakers supported a national movement seeking to break away from Colombia), and the Philippines (where the most durable collaboration took place with a "nationalist" party rhetorically committed to eventual independence). These nation-building colonialisms abroad, and their differential sovereignties, recast the United States itself as "nation"; the body at the center of the Insular Cases' logic of incorporation—Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines on the "unincorporated" side, Hawaii on the "incorporated" one—was ultimately a national one.

International empire matured technically and ideologically during the first three decades of the twentieth century. Those years' dollar diplomacy agreements and Marine occupations presumed states that would remain both formally independent and subordinate to the United States. Wilson's advocacy of "self-determination" and punitive interventionism in the Caribbean represented two of international empire's non-contradictory faces. The 1930s saw wider openings for subordinated nations. In the Western Hemisphere, Franklin D. Roosevelt sought to accommodate Latin American nationalism and prevent the transatlantic spread of fascism through a "Good Neighbor" retreat from military occupation. Meanwhile, the United States granted the Philippines "Commonwealth" status; Filipinos were permitted to fly a national flag (notably, beneath the Stars and Stripes).[69]

But international empire's global extension and articulation at the level of principle awaited World War II and its aftermath. During the war, Roosevelt's efforts to manage transitions out of colonialism through "trusteeship" assumed the eventuality of national independence in the colonial world, the present-day incapacities of revolutionary nationalists, and the prerogatives of the Western powers in determining "readiness." During the Cold War, American decisions about national legitimacy, recognition, and sponsorship in the decolonizing world were closely if imperfectly matched to Cold War imperatives. With a full spectrum of power at their disposal, from "public diplomacy" to covert action, U.S. policymakers attempted to

[69] Alfred W. McCoy, "The Philippines: Independence without Decolonization," in Robin Jeffrey, ed., *Asia: The Winning of Independence* (New York, 1981), 23–65.

pull stable, anti-communist nation-states from the tumult of war and revolution, whatever their relationship to political freedom. Increasingly, the colonial world's "legitimate"—that is, non-communist—aspirations for national independence were understood to be coterminous with and defining of U.S. national and global power and values.

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, U.S. international empire pressed into the formerly communist world, and the measure of legitimate nationality shifted toward neoliberal criteria: "structural adjustment" to the mandates of globalizing capital and the capacity to sustain political and social order in the face of destabilizing forces that included anti-systemic movements and ethnic nationalisms. The edge of acceptable national governance transmuted from a "loss" to communism to "failed" or "rogue" statehood.

U.S. international empire had its limits. First, it was never the case, even in the post-1945 period, that the nation-state was the only form taken by U.S. imperial power; the United States retained colonial spaces (spaces that sometimes served as the model for its "nation-building" enterprises) and actively supported European colonial control where it was thought to align with U.S. interests.[70] In some instances, this mode of empire worked not through recognized nation-states but through a politics of deferral and eventuality: reachable and sometimes retreating promises of recognition placed on the far side of disciplinary conditionalities.[71] It is also important to note a wide cross-regional variation in the range of acceptable national politics: U.S. officials proved willing to work with social democracies in Western Europe, for example, but far less so in Latin America, Asia, and Africa.[72] It was also not that U.S. mobilizations of national "independence" ever fully contained the horizons of emancipation at national (or non-national) levels; alternative meanings of the nation developed both outside of and in critical reply to U.S.-based articulations.

Nevertheless, it is worth registering the impressive ideological resilience of U.S. nation-based empire in its several forms. Conflating nationality, freedom, and democracy—often through the rhetorical export of the United States' own founding—it allowed even profoundly hierarchical and authoritarian nationalisms to be invested with affirmative, "revolutionary" energy: autocrats cast as their nations' George Washingtons on covers of *Time* magazine. In many cases, it successfully cultivated, enlisted, and channeled "cooperative" nationalist politics that meshed with American goals; inside the fierce parameters of U.S. supremacy and capitalist social relations, languages of autonomy and self-determination were allowed full rein. It justified intrusive and asymmetrical extensions of sovereignty by the United States in the name of cultivating "compatibility" between formally equal nation-states. Enshrouded in linguistic haze by the dichotomy of empire and nation-state, it remained hard to observe.

[70] On the case of Vietnam during the Cold War, see, for example, Mark Atwood Lawrence, *Assuming the Burden: Europe and the American Commitment to War in Vietnam* (Berkeley, Calif., 2005).

[71] For this process at work in U.S.-Philippine interactions, see Kramer, *The Blood of Government*.

[72] For works that treat two poles on this spectrum, see on right-wing dictatorship Schmitz, *Thank God They're on Our Side*; Schmitz, *The United States and Right-Wing Dictatorships*; and on the toleration of postwar European social democratic politics Geir Lundestad, "Empire by Invitation? The United States and Western Europe, 1945–1952," *Journal of Peace Research* 23, no. 3 (1986): 263–277.

Among the readiest tools for understanding U.S. imperial history has been the seductive dichotomy of "formal" and "informal." These can divide specific imperial practices, "formal" indicating state-territorial control and "informal" referring to either forms of economic control or the primacy of private-sector actors. They can also distinguish national-imperial styles, with modern European empires gathered and homogenized as "formal empires" and the United States (and the British Empire, in part) depicted as "informal empires."[73] Both adjectivally and nominally, the pair is crucial to U.S. exceptionalist history-writing.

Historiographically speaking, Britain was the first informal empire, named so by historians trying to capture its pursuit of commercial power outside of politico-military conquest and rule. Britain's exemplary informal empire involved the dominance of its investments and trade in Latin America in the nineteenth century, an empire of capital built in other peoples' nation-states. While invented by British imperial historians, the formal/informal dichotomy was imported by New Left historians of the United States, for whom informal empire was not only a concept but a problem. In their persuasive account of the United States as an "informal empire," they identified the universal pursuit of overseas export markets for American products as the defining feature of U.S. global power, while reframing this process, so often naturalized, as imperial.[74]

But there were problems with the scholarship of U.S. informal empire. It was too static and monocausal to make sense of the multiple and contradictory ideological, practical, and institutional expressions of U.S. imperial power over time. In its admirable effort to overturn an earlier, exceptionalist literature on the "aberration" of 1898, it reduced U.S. "formal" colonialism to a strict function of "informal empire": whatever the conquest of the Philippines, Guam, or Hawaii might have meant to their inhabitants or historians, they were "stepping-stones" to the China market.

[73] Emily Rosenberg, for example, emphasizes the role of some private institutions as "chosen instruments" of U.S. state power in *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890–1945* (New York, 1982).

[74] The term "informal imperialism" was initially coined by Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher in "The Imperialism of Free Trade," *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 6, no. 1 (1953): 1–15. Among the central works of the New Left School were Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*; Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860–1898* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1963); Lloyd C. Gardner, *Economic Aspects of New Deal Diplomacy* (Madison, Wis., 1964); Thomas J. McCormick, *China Market: America's Quest for Informal Empire, 1893–1901* (Chicago, 1967); Marilyn Blatt Young, *The Rhetoric of Empire: American China Policy, 1895–1901* (Cambridge, 1968); William Appleman Williams, *Empire as a Way of Life: An Essay on the Causes and Character of America's Present Predicament along with a Few Words about an Alternative* (New York, 1980). For an anthology dedicated to the work of the New Left school, see Lloyd C. Gardner, ed., *Redefining the Past: Essays in Diplomatic History in Honor of William Appleman Williams* (Corvallis, Ore., 1986). On William Appleman Williams, founder of the New Left school, see Paul Buhle and Edward Rice-Maximin, *William Appleman Williams: The Tragedy of Empire* (New York, 1995). On Williams's scholarship and its legacy, see Bradford Perkins, "The Tragedy of American Diplomacy: Twenty-Five Years After," *Reviews in American History* 12, no. 1 (1984): 1–18. For assessments of his scholarship and politics, see J. A. Thompson, "William Appleman Williams and the American Empire," *Journal of American Studies* 7, no. 1 (1973): 91–104; Richard A. Melanson, "The Social and Political Thought of William Appleman Williams," *Western Political Quarterly* 31, no. 3 (1978): 392–409; "William Appleman Williams: A Roundtable," *Diplomatic History* 25, no. 2 (2001): 275–316. For a collection of Williams's writings, see Henry W. Berger, ed., *A William Appleman Williams Reader: Selections from His Major Historical Writings* (Chicago, 1992). For an account of economic interpretations of U.S. foreign policy, see Emily S. Rosenberg, "Economic Interest and United States Foreign Policy," in Gordon Martel, ed., *American Foreign Relations Reconsidered, 1890–1993* (London, 1994), 37–51.

Like other research on elite subjects, histories of informal empire—as a subset of diplomatic history—were also positioned badly when it came to the social- and cultural-historical turns.[75] The New Left scholarship differed in politics but not in methodology from the "maps and chaps" schools of U.S. diplomatic and British-imperial history. These literatures foregrounded elite, metropolitan actors, voices, and decisions to the exclusion of local actors, intersections, and impacts; privileged agents of the state over what foreign relations historians called (tellingly) "non-state" actors; and valued political-historical over social- and cultural-historical modes. It was partly for such reasons that historians taking these varied turns chose to turn away from the New Left framework.

Most fundamentally, perhaps, the category "informal empire" abstracted the relationship between capitalist social relations and state power.[76] In accounting for the American quest for global commercial dominance, New Left historians turned to actors' categories and tariff metaphors, letting John Hay, secretary of state in the early twentieth century, christen the "Open Door" empire, which defined its domain in terms of access to markets rather than the control of territories.[77] But even as this scholarship rendered this commercial enterprise imperial, it comprehended the outlying world as already disciplined along capitalist lines. It paid little attention to the very political, social, economic, and cultural production and reproduction—and contestation—of capitalist relations on informal empire's varied grounds. Characterizing the U.S. imperial project as informal put off the question of how "open," compatible capitalisms were being secured in the first place, and with what local inflections, variations, and constraints.

Recent historiographies have further explored the political production of U.S.-oriented capitalist relations, both within and outside the New Left rubric. One variant looks at the imperial politics of debt, dealing with the ways that loans served as an entry point for far-reaching regulatory rules and economic controls.[78] Another takes as its subject the material infrastructure and labor regimes that underwrote "informal empire."[79] A third follows specific commodities, tracing trajectories from

[75] For a critique of William Appleman Williams's scholarship for its neglect of cultural analysis, see Kaplan, " 'Left Alone with America.' "

[76] By contrast, Fernando Coronil argues for an account of capitalism and imperialism as "coeval processes" in "After Empire."

[77] As Williams put it, "When combined with the ideology of an industrial Manifest Destiny, the history of the Open Door Notes became the history of American foreign relations from 1900 to 1958"; *Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, 39–40.

[78] See, for example, the works of Emily Rosenberg and Cyrus Veeser on the state-mediated loan arrangements known as "dollar diplomacy," which examine the transfer of economic sovereignty from indebted states to U.S.-based banks and the State Department, with profound implications for the organization of their economies and societies: Rosenberg, *Financial Missionaries to the World: The Politics and Culture of Dollar Diplomacy, 1900–1930* (Durham, N.C., 1999); Veeser, *A World Safe for Capitalism: Dollar Diplomacy and America's Rise to Global Power* (New York, 2002).

[79] See Aims McGuinness's work on transportation regimes across the Panamanian isthmus during and after the California Gold Rush and the contested displacement of Panamanian-controlled routes by a U.S.-corporate railway system; Julie Greene's work on the Panama Canal and the politics of labor control and resistance in the construction of the exemplary architecture of twentieth-century U.S. "informal empire"; Jason Colby's work on the United Fruit Company's labor regimes at the intersection of U.S., Guatemalan, and Costa Rican racial formations; and Robert Vitalis's discussions of U.S. oil companies' racialized residential structures, their contestation, and the mythologies surrounding U.S. oil politics: McGuinness, *Path of Empire: Panama and the California Gold Rush* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2008); Greene, *The Canal Builders: Making America's Empire at the Panama Canal* (New York, 2009); Colby,

production to consumption in order to illuminate uneven, hierarchical relationships between and within states. Both government and corporate actors were involved in generating, managing, sustaining, and regulating these commodity empires, seeking raw materials and export-market monopolies, pursuing and producing the most vulnerable and least expensive labor forces, manufacturing consumer demand, and building the linkages required to bind these elements together. By the late twentieth century, transnational supply chains stretched territories of exploitation beyond territories of accountability and claims-making, driving a geographic wedge between production and citizenship.[80]

A fourth literature derives in complex ways from an older historiography of "Americanization." This term grew from early-twentieth-century European anxieties, some radical (America as unbridled capitalist oppression), some elitist (America as decadent, consumerist "mass culture"). Particularly within the historiography of twentieth-century Europe, "Americanization" shaped a scholarship on European encounters with commodities, discourses, and regimes of production, distribution, and consumption originating from or associated with the United States.[81] Some of

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The Business of Empire: United Fruit, Race, and U.S. Expansion in Central America (Ithaca, N.Y., forthcoming); Vitalis, *America's Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier* (Stanford, Calif., 2007).

[80] See, for example, Sven Beckert's work on the global "empire of cotton," which interlaced the political economies and labor regimes of the U.S. South and the British Empire in the nineteenth century; Gary Okihiro's work on the imperial transits of pineapple between the U.S. and Hawaii; and Mona Domosh's work on the links between the export of U.S.-made commodities and geographic and racial knowledge. Beckert, "Emancipation and Empire: Reconstructing the Worldwide Web of Cotton Production in the Age of the American Civil War," *American Historical Review* 109, no. 5 (December 2004): 1405–1438; Okihiro, *Pineapple Culture: A History of the Tropical and Temperate Zones* (Berkeley, Calif., 2009); Domosh, *American Commodities in an Age of Empire* (New York, 2006). Arguably the original commodity history along these lines is Sidney Mintz's *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York, 1985). For a survey of tropical commodity networks centered on the United States, see Richard P. Tucker, *Insatiable Appetite: The United States and the Ecological Degradation of the Tropical World* (Berkeley, Calif., 2000). On the demand side, Kristin Hoganson's work on the importation of commodities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reveals how they shaped American consumers' sense of imperial privilege: Hoganson, *Consumers' Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865–1920* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2007). Histories of tourism are another promising field at the juncture of commodity history and geopolitical history; see, for example, Christine Skwiot, *The Purposes of Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Cuba and Hawaii* (Philadelphia, 2010); Dennis Merrill, *Negotiating Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Twentieth-Century Latin America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2009); Christopher Endy, *Cold War Holidays: American Tourism in France* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2004); Adria L. Imada, "Hawaiians on Tour: Hula Circuits through the American Empire," *American Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (2004): 111–149. On the exemplary institution of supply-chain capitalism, see Nelson Lichtenstein, *The Retail Revolution: How Wal-Mart Created a Brave New World of Business* (New York, 2009); Lichtenstein, ed., *Wal-Mart: The Face of Twenty-First-Century Capitalism* (New York, 2006); Bethany Moreton, *To Serve God and Wal-Mart: The Making of Christian Free Enterprise* (Cambridge, Mass., 2009).

[81] Frank Costigliola, *Awkward Dominion: American Political, Economic, and Cultural Relations with Europe, 1919–1933* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1984); Richard F. Kuisel, *Seducing the French: The Dilemma of Americanization* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993); Reinhold Wagnleitner, *Coca-Colonization and the Cold War: The Cultural Mission of the United States in Austria after the Second World War* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1994); R. Kroes, R. W. Rydell, and D. F. J. Bosscher, eds., *Cultural Transmissions and Receptions: American Mass Culture in Europe* (Amsterdam, 1993); Rob Kroes and Robert W. Rydell, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869–1922* (Chicago, 2005); David W. Ellwood and Rob Kroes, eds., *Hollywood in Europe: Experiences of a Cultural Hegemony* (Amsterdam, 1994); Rob Kroes, *If You've Seen One, You've Seen the Mall: Europeans and American Mass Culture* (Urbana, Ill., 1996); Mary Nolan, *Visions of Modernity: American Business and the Modernization of Germany* (New York, 1994); Uta G. Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels: Cold War Politics and American Culture in a Divided Germany* (Berkeley, Calif., 2000). For a formidable work on the politics of Americanization, see Victoria de Grazia's account

this literature employs the actors' category of "Americanization" analytically, describing a clash between distinctly American and European ways of organizing capitalism, while other scholars disputed its interpretive purchase: some of the capitalist forms the term embraces, they pointed out, originated in Europe; even those derived from the United States were fundamentally altered in meaning and practice at the "receiving end."[82]

What does the imperial have to offer political-economic histories of capitalism emerging within U.S. historiography?[83] The overlap is not complete: an imperial analytic can be applied to both capitalist and non-capitalist systems. But whether or not it speaks of empire, much of the new political-economic history approaches capitalism in an imperial mode, dealing with questions of power, connection, and comparison on a larger-than-national scale. Conscious attention to the imperial would reward it in at least three ways. First, it would prompt questions about the intersections of scale, space, and power that are indispensable for understanding capitalism's growth and reconstitution. Specifically, it would underline the state and private leveraging of scale in pursuit of exceptional spaces of accumulation, the incorporation of regions with weaker regulatory norms and more vulnerable labor forces, for example, as a foundational process in capitalist development. Second, it would promote methodological pluralism: where the new political-economic history risks ignoring rather than engaging social- and cultural-historical modes, the imperial can provide an intellectual transfer point between cultural, social, political, and economic ways of understanding history and historiography. Third, it would draw attention to the politics of race and gender that, while they are among the most richly articulated analytics within imperial history, are both less developed in and equally necessary to the new histories of capitalism.

In very different ways, these literatures all realize the larger hope of the New Left school—to historicize and politicize U.S.-centered capitalism—by pushing beyond

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of the American "market empire" in mid-twentieth-century Europe, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005). For a discussion, see "A Roundtable on Victoria de Grazia's *Irresistible Empire*," *Passport: The Newsletter of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations* (April 2007), https://kb.osu.edu/dspace/bitstream/handle/1811/30063/Passport?sequence=2.

[82] For criticisms of the Americanization paradigm, see Heide Fehrenbach and Uta G. Poiger, "Americanization Reconsidered," in Fehrenbach and Poiger, eds., *Transactions, Transgressions, Transformations: American Culture in Western Europe and Japan* (New York, 2000), xiii–xl; Mary Nolan, "Americanization as a Paradigm of German History," in Mark Roseman, Hanna Schissler, and Frank Biess, eds., *Conflict, Catastrophe, and Continuity: Essays on Modern German History* (New York, 2007), 200–218; Rob Kroes, "American Empire and Cultural Imperialism: A View from the Receiving End," in Bender, *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, 295–313; Stefan Schwarzkopf, "Who Said 'Americanization'? The Case of Twentieth-Century Advertising and Mass Marketing from a British Perspective," in Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, *Decentering America* (New York, 2007), 23–72. For a fascinating discussion of the ways in which U.S. advertisers in 1920s and 1930s Argentina promoted a commodified vision of national rather than "Americanized" culture, see Ricardo D. Salvatore, "Yankee Advertising in Buenos Aires: Reflections on Americanization," *Interventions* 7, no. 2 (2005): 216–235. Many of the criticisms of the "Americanization" paradigm also pertain to the "cultural imperialism" framework with which it overlaps. See, for example, Ryan Dunch, "Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions and Global Modernity," *History and Theory* 41, no. 3 (2002): 301–325.

[83] For excellent overviews of the new historiography of capitalism, see Sven Beckert, "History of American Capitalism," in Eric Foner and Lisa McGirr, eds., *American History Now* (Philadelphia, 2011), 314–335; Jeffrey Sklansky, "The Elusive Sovereign: New Intellectual and Social Histories of Capitalism," forthcoming in *Modern Intellectual History*.

the dichotomy of formal and informal that hampered New Left scholarship itself. In most instances, capital accumulation by U.S. actors required no extra-national territorial governance by the United States, but there was nothing informal about the threat or actuality of Marine landings in the Caribbean to enforce debt and customs controls, authoritarian labor regimes in Guatemala or Panama, or relentless Commerce Department insistence on the openness of European markets. An imperial-political history of capitalism, in which capitalist relations and state powers are inseparable, is developing to comprehend these and other settings.

WHILE IMPERIAL HISTORIANS MUST ACCOUNT for both structure and agency, empire has long telegraphed totalized, top-down power in both scholarship and public life: alongside a close identification with state institutions, empire means the negation of freedom. This fact owes something to its semantic origins as "command"; it also reflects the legacies of American republicanism, which measured encroaching empire in collapsing liberty. The practical result has been that when historians talk empire, they also tend to talk structure, emphasizing its rigid, determined, and determining character.[84] There were early, Marxist versions of this structuralism; since the 1990s, colonial studies of the United States and other empires have tended toward all-saturating, Foucauldian accounts of power. Both resonated with the older, republican sense of empire as the pinnacle of power.

Remarkably, this association continues to survive despite large historiographies on the contingencies of empire and the varieties of resistance in imperial settings, with negative consequences for the study of the United States in the world. First, it has promoted the thinning of empire to denote only those domains that are seen to be exceptionally repressive, hierarchical, or violent, particularly colonies and military institutions. This fact has significantly shaped the temporality of "empire" in U.S. historiography: the post-1898 seizure of colonies—sometimes, more generously, the entire 1890–1917 period—emerges as an exceptionalist "imperial moment" or "age of empire," silently inoculating all other moments and ages.[85] It has also helped produce a relatively constricted topical range: where scholars use "empire" to refer exclusively to U.S. overseas colonies or military projections, they mistake a part for a whole.

For this reason, an imperial historiography of the United States has, to date, been

[84] It was in part the structural associations of "colonialism" that attracted some scholars of U.S. society to the concept in their efforts to answer scholarship that compared the social mobility of African Americans and Latinos to European immigrants; they countered that processes of "internal colonialism"—in the form of spatial segregation, political disenfranchisement, and labor market segmentation—made these subordinated groups' experiences incommensurable with those of European immigrants. On "internal colonialism" in the U.S. and Latin American contexts, see Ramón A. Gutiérrez, "Internal Colonialism: An American Theory of Race," *Du Bois Review* 1, no. 2 (2004): 281–295. For its use in a broader context, see Robert J. Hind, "The Internal Colonial Concept," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 26, no. 3 (1984): 543–568.

[85] It was Samuel Flagg Bemis who first referred to 1898 and its aftermath as "the great aberration": *A Diplomatic History of the United States* (New York, 1936), 463–475. For two influential versions of the aberration thesis, one of which emphasizes a lapse in policy leadership, and the other of which stresses a generalized "psychic crisis" in the 1890s, see, respectively, Ernest R. May, *American Imperialism: A Speculative Essay* (New York, 1968); Richard Hofstadter, "Cuba, the Philippines, and Manifest Destiny," in Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays* (New York, 1965), 145–187.

most fully elaborated to describe sites of real and imagined coercion: the archipelago of U.S. colonies in the Caribbean and the Pacific and the complex of military installations that constitute the sinews of American power on a global scale. Historians of these imperial situations have provided a more discerning sense than ever before of the building of colonial regimes, the models of difference that shaped them and were shaped by them, their contestation, and their mark on the "domestic" United States.[86] At the same time, a diverse and developing scholarship on "militarization" has focused on the impact of military-building and war-making on U.S. state structures, political economy, and discourses of sacrifice, service, citizenship, and social belonging.[87]

[86] See, for example, Laura Briggs's work on the role of gendered, sexual, and scientific discourses in the making of U.S. colonialism in Puerto Rico; Warwick Anderson's work on disciplinary sanitation regimes in the Philippines; Vicente Rafael's work on the representational politics of U.S. colonialism in the Philippines; and Julian Go's work comparing elite responses to U.S. colonial state-building in Puerto Rico and the Philippines in the early twentieth century: Briggs, *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002); Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies*; Rafael, *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History* (Durham, N.C., 2000); Go, *American Empire and the Politics of Meaning: Elite Political Cultures in the Philippines and Puerto Rico during U.S. Colonialism* (Durham, N.C., 2008). On the historiography of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century U.S. colonialism from a variety of traditions, see Joseph A. Fry, "Imperialism, American Style, 1890–1916," in Martel, *American Foreign Relations Reconsidered*, 52–70; Fry, "From Open Door to World Systems: Economic Interpretations of Late Nineteenth Century American Foreign Relations," *Pacific Historical Review* 65, no. 2 (1996): 277–303; Edward P. Crapol, "Coming to Terms with Empire: The Historiography of Late-Nineteenth Century American Foreign Relations," *Diplomatic History* 16, no. 4 (1992): 573–597; Hugh De Santis, "The Imperialist Impulse and American Innocence, 1865–1900," in Gerald K. Haines and J. Samuel Walker, eds., *American Foreign Relations: A Historiographical Review* (Westport, Conn., 1981), 65–90; Julian Go, "Introduction: Global Perspectives on the U.S. Colonial State in the Philippines," in Anne L. Foster and Julian Go, eds., *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspectives* (Durham, N.C., 2003), 1–42. For an older, critical assessment of this historiography, see James A. Field, Jr., "American Imperialism: The Worst Chapter in Almost Any Book," *American Historical Review* 83, no. 3 (June 1978): 644–668. For a rich collection of essays in the field of U.S. colonial history, see McCoy and Scarano, *Colonial Crucible*. The literatures treating the histories of U.S. colonies are too vast to be treated in full here; instead, I include some of the most recent works. On Hawaii, see Gary Y. Okihiro, *Island World: A History of Hawai'i and the United States* (Berkeley, Calif., 2008); Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, N.C., 2004); J. Kehaulani Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (Durham, N.C., 2008). On the Spanish-Cuban-American War, see Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998). On Cuba, see Marial Iglesias Utset, *A Cultural History of Cuba during the U.S. Occupation, 1898–1902*, trans. Russ Davidson (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2011). On Puerto Rico, see Pedro A. Cabán, *Constructing a Colonial People: Puerto Rico and the United States, 1898–1932* (Boulder, Colo., 1999); César J. Ayala and Rafael Bernabe, *Puerto Rico in the American Century: A History since 1898* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2007); Kelvin A. Santiago-Valles, *"Subject People" and Colonial Discourses: Economic Transformation and Social Disorder in Puerto Rico, 1898–1947* (Albany, N.Y., 1994). On the Philippines, see Kramer, *The Blood of Government*; Alfred W. McCoy, *Policing America's Empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (Madison, Wis., 2009); Michael Salman, *The Embarrassment of Slavery: Controversies over Bondage and Nationalism in the American Colonial Philippines* (Berkeley, Calif., 2001). For comparative colonial histories, see Lanny Thompson, "The Imperial Republic: A Comparison of the Insular Territories under U.S. Dominion after 1898," *Pacific Historical Review* 71, no. 4 (2002): 535–574; Thompson, *Imperial Archipelago: Representation and Rule in the Insular Territories under U.S. Dominion after 1898* (Honolulu, 2010); Go, *American Empire and the Politics of Meaning*. For a late-twentieth-century overview of the United States' remaining colonies, see Peter C. Stuart, *Isles of Empire: The United States and Its Overseas Possessions* (Lanham, Md., 1999).

[87] See, for example, Christopher Capozzola's work on World War I–era transformations in U.S. definitions of state, citizen, and obligation; Catherine Lutz's work on military bases in American small towns; Laura McEnaney's work on the politics and culture of Cold War civil defense programs; and Roger Lotchin's work on the regional transformation of the U.S. West through Cold War defense programs: Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen*

A second consequence of this reduction of "empire" to signify the coercive has been a tendency to describe projects and institutions identified as such in totalizing terms: as fully worked-out and successfully realized plans for social control, from the categorization of populations to the regulation of "bodies" to the mapping of territory. Reading empire from its blueprints rather than its wreckages, historians derive a vision of power that empire-builders could only have dreamed of.

A third outcome of the tight association between empire and structure was that imperial and transnational historiographies were sent off on virtually non-intersecting paths. The metaphors of transnationalism, indebted to the post-sovereignty languages of capitalist globalization, were all about transcendence: the escape from the nation's exceptionalist narratives, on the one hand, and the rupture of constraining national-territorial borders by moving peoples, goods, and ideas, on the other. Such flows, and the historians who would chart them, were understood to be liberated and liberating.

What had happened, without anyone really noticing, was that an earlier dialectic between structure and agency had become coupled to and defining of a division between imperial and transnational histories. This was highly unproductive, driving both arenas of scholarship toward extremes and distortions: transnational works sometimes conveyed a breathless sense of freedom, while historians of the imperial produced grim accounts of domination. At their furthest extremes, the former scholarship was all active verbs; the latter literature was governed by the empire of the passive voice.

A fully realized historiography of the United States in the world will require historians to detach the empire/transnationalism and structure/agency dyads. There are a number of paths toward this goal. One is to insist that accounts of imperial power foreground "agency." But in saying this, it is important to note that agency is not synonymous with resistance (a surprisingly common mistake) but is, rather, a metahistorical principle that refers to the relative power that historical actors have to shape their circumstances.[88] Such accounts of agency will attend to varieties of

(Oxford, 2008); Lutz, *Homefront: A Military City and the American Twentieth Century* (Boston, 2001); McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home: Militarization Meets Everyday Life in the Fifties* (Princeton, N.J., 2000); Lotchin, *Fortress California*. The literature on militarization runs parallel to, but also frequently intersects with, discussions of empire. On militarization generally, see John R. Gillis, ed., *The Militarization of the Western World* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1989). On militarization as a transnational and inter-imperial process, see Bönker, *Militarism in a Global Age*. On "regenerative militarism" in Progressive-era American culture, see Jackson Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877–1920* (New York, 2009). On the impact of Cold War militarization on African Americans, see Michael Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific: Race in the Making of American Military Empire after World War II* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2010). On militarization, war, U.S. state-building, and domestic U.S. politics in the twentieth century, see Michael S. Sherry, *In the Shadow of War: The United States since the 1930s* (New Haven, Conn., 1995); Michael J. Allen, *Until the Last Man Comes Home: POWs, MIAs, and the Unending Vietnam War* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2009); James T. Sparrow, *Warfare State: World War II Americans and the Age of Big Government* (Oxford, 2011); Mary Dudziak, "Law, War, and the History of Time," *California Law Review* 98 (2010): 1669–1710. On the early twenty-first century, see Andrew Bacevich, *The New American Militarism: How Americans Are Seduced by War* (Oxford, 2005).

[88] For illuminating discussions of agency and structure, see William Sewell, Jr., *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (Chicago, 2005); Walter Johnson, "On Agency," *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 1 (2003): 113–124. Questions of agency have played a major role in subaltern studies' writing of colonial histories. For an insightful discussion, see Gyan Prakash, "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism," *American Historical Review* 99, no. 5 (December 1994): 1475–1490.

resistance, but also to forms of collaboration—that is, to the kinds of agency that empire-makers encouraged and relied upon—and to the sea of human activities not easily subsumed in either category.[89]

Second will be the study of explicitly non-coercive modes of imperial power. Precisely because "empire" draws the mind toward invasions and impositions, dynamics of legitimacy remain among the least-studied dimensions of U.S. empire: not simply the buy-off of local elites, but the creation of buy-in, whether through the control of educational systems, the distribution of propaganda, or the politics of production values, the radiance and prestige that attach to asymmetric power and wealth. But there are movements in this direction. One promising literature on "cultural diplomacy" within U.S. foreign relations has revealed far more about the workings of the "cultural" branches of the State Department and the United States Information Agency, among other state and private agencies, than was previously known.[90] Another deals with the global politics of education, with an emphasis on the inculcation and diffusion of authoritative standards, forms, and practices, and their deflection and transformation.[91] By placing an emphasis on legitimacy, intersections between the Cold War and civil rights protest and reform might be reframed as just one moment in the longer effort to square social movement demands, U.S. racial politics, and the pursuit of hegemony in a decolonizing world.[92] So, too, might what one historian calls the "empire by invitation" be revisited as the process by which local elites outside the United States welcomed a U.S. political or military presence or

[89] Outside of the U.S. historiographic context, local agency in the form of collaboration has long been understood as central to the construction and dynamics of imperial systems. See especially Ronald Robinson, "Non-European Foundations of European Imperialism: Sketch for a Theory of Collaboration," in Roger Owen and Bob Sutcliffe, eds., *Studies in the Theory of Imperialism* (London, 1972), 117–142. For a review of histories that emphasize these complexities in the U.S.–Latin American context, see Max Paul Friedman, "Retiring the Puppets, Bringing Latin America Back In: Recent Scholarship on United States–Latin American Relations," *Diplomatic History* 27, no. 5 (2003): 621–636.

[90] Some of the key works in the burgeoning field of "cultural diplomacy" and "public diplomacy" studies include Kenneth Alan Osgood and Brian Craig Etheridge, eds., *The United States and Public Diplomacy: New Directions in Cultural and International History* (Leiden, 2010); Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy: Music and Emotions in Transatlantic Relations, 1850–1920* (Chicago, 2009); Laura A. Belmonte, *Selling the American Way: U.S. Propaganda and the Cold War* (Philadelphia, 2008); Nicholas J. Cull, *Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945–1989* (Cambridge, 2008); Giles Scott-Smith, *Networks of Empire: The US State Department's Foreign Leader Program in the Netherlands, France, and Britain, 1950–70* (Brussels, 2008); Penny Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004); Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, *Transmission Impossible: American Journalism as Cultural Diplomacy in Postwar Germany, 1945–1955* (Baton Rouge, 1999); Walter L. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945–1961* (New York, 1997); and the originating work in this field, Frank A. Ninkovich, *The Diplomacy of Ideas: U.S. Foreign Policy and Cultural Relations, 1938–1950* (Cambridge, 1981). For an exchange on public diplomacy scholarship, see "Forum on Public Diplomacy," *American Quarterly* 57, no. 2 (2005): 309–353. For a discussion of a related literature, organized around the technocratic category "anti-Americanism," see Max Paul Friedman, "Anti-Americanism and U.S. Foreign Relations," *Diplomatic History* 32, no. 4 (2008): 497–514.

[91] See, for example, Paul A. Kramer, "Is the World Our Campus? International Students and U.S. Global Power in the Long Twentieth Century," *Diplomatic History* 33, no. 5 (2009): 775–806; Richard Garlitz and Lisa Jarvinen, eds., *Teaching America to the World: Education and Foreign Relations since 1870* (New York, forthcoming).

[92] For important accounts of the ways in which racial hierarchy, or at least Jim Crow, proved to be a geopolitical liability, see especially Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001); Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, N.J., 2000).

selectively drew on U.S. cultural forms to shore up their authority.[93] Here as elsewhere, the risk of adopting actors' categories as analytical ones (beginning with "cultural diplomacy" itself, followed by "soft power") is serious, along with the temptation to assess past efforts to organize acquiescence as "lessons" for contemporary practice. It is only by avoiding both these snares that the problem of imperial legitimacy, its promotion, interpretation, contestation, and measure, can be approached historically. Scholars might even rescue the term "hegemony" from the euphemistic purposes to which it is sometimes put—often as an exceptionalist alternative to empire—by enlisting it for Gramscian inquiries about domination and consent.[94]

Third, historians will need to explore the relevance of the imperial to historical sites in which the emancipatory metaphors of transnationalism have predominated, especially the history of migration. With significant exceptions, migration history has long been artificially separated from U.S. imperial history.[95] This disconnection has been facilitated by migration historiography that counterposes the "agency" of migrants in pursuit of movement and the "structure" of border-making national-territorial states seeking to prevent it. An imperial history of migration will, by contrast, pay attention to empire's role not only in barring migration but in provoking it through dislocation, and selectively promoting, sponsoring, channeling, and disciplining migrations in pursuit of labor power, intellectual capital, ideological legitimacy, or the weaving of networks of diffusion and influence. By exploring the human flows shaped by—and not just obstructed by—imperial institutions, this literature may undercut the stark association of empire with structure and migration with agency.[96]

Fourth, historians need to pay attention to empire's vulnerabilities: to the places where the extension of control fell short of expectations, where "collaborators" acted out, where "natives" grew restless, where projects imploded, where fallback plans

[93] Lundestad, "Empire by Invitation?" Michel Gobat's work on the contradictory and historically variable attractions and rejections of the "American Dream" within a Nicaraguan society divided by region, class, and cultural politics is exemplary here: Gobat, *Confronting the American Dream: Nicaragua under U.S. Imperial Rule* (Durham, N.C., 2005). Charles Maier's treatment of U.S. policy in post–World War II Europe discusses a system of "consensual hegemony" in which legitimacy was purchased in part by relative European state authority under U.S. imperial auspices; Maier, "Alliance and Autonomy: European Identity and U.S. Foreign Policy Objectives in the Truman Years," in Michael J. Lacey, ed., *The Truman Presidency* (New York, 1989), 273–298. For an account of U.S. colonial politics that emphasizes the politics of legitimacy, see Julian Go, "The Provinciality of American Empire: 'Liberal Exceptionalism' and U.S. Colonial Rule, 1898–1912," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 49, no. 1 (2007): 74–108.

[94] T. J. Jackson Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities," *American Historical Review* 90, no. 3 (June 1985): 567–593.

[95] Catherine Choy, *Empire of Care: Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History* (Durham, N.C., 2003); Fujita-Rony, *American Workers, Colonial Power*; Hoffnung-Garskof, *A Tale of Two Cities*; Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* (Oxford, 2005); Chang, "Circulating Race and Empire"; McGreevey, "Borderline Citizens." For calls to integrate the historiography of empire and immigration, see George J. Sanchez, "Race, Nation, and Culture in Recent Immigration Studies," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 18, no. 4 (1999): 66–84; Gordon H. Chang, "Asian Immigrants and American Foreign Relations," in Warren I. Cohen, ed., *Pacific Passage: The Study of American–East Asian Relations on the Eve of the Twenty-First Century* (New York, 1996), 103–118.

[96] On the inter-imperial cultivation of elite migrations between China and the United States, for example, see Paul A. Kramer, "Empire against Exclusion in Early 20th Century Trans-Pacific History," *Nanzan Review of American Studies* 33 (2011): 13–32.

were adopted, where domains were abandoned.[97] Attending to the fragilities of empire will go at least part of the way toward reversing totalization. While scholars often associate empire with a tone of bombastic confidence—trumpets at the durbar—just as characteristic were expressions of powerlessness, anxiety, and dread.

Pulling back from the illusory association of empire with absolute power will allow historians to approach empires as complex circuits of agency in which bottom-up and mid-range claims-making was no less typical (if always less welcome) than top-down command. Empire-builders' hesitance to acknowledge that their regimes were, in fact, polities—delicate, unstable balances of force and consent—did not make them otherwise. Nation-based imperial modes insulated the United States from many demands. But when U.S. corporations conformed to local labor pressures, when U.S. officials during the Cold War tolerated reformist regimes and the construction of welfare states as a bulwark against revolutionary agitation, when U.S. citizens felt their way by the light of "world opinion," it revealed the transit of voice across the formidable barriers of the nation-state: imperial power no less real for its limits.

FINALLY, IT IS WORTH INQUIRING INTO the oscillating presence of the imperial in scholarship dealing with the United States and comparing it to the steady development of two other approaches, international and global history. While there is hardly a zero-sum relationship between these ways of reframing the United States' past, these two other modes have flourished in some of the spaces in which an imperial historiography might have thrived. This is best seen from a long view of the pace of scholarly production. While international and global history have seen growth and diversification, measured in proliferating journals and conferences, what is remarkable about the imperial—at least when it comes to the United States—is its interrupted and intermittent character. Indeed, what is arguably most peculiar about empire in U.S. historiography is its periodic tendency to disappear.

International history has been used in at least three distinct, and partly overlapping, ways. The term was initially a critique of traditional U.S. diplomatic history and a call for multi-archival, multinational, and multilingual research; as that effort has advanced, alongside the study of "non-state" actors and the use of cultural history methods, "international history" has partly displaced "diplomatic history" as the name for a subfield.[98] Second, scholars have employed the "international" as a term

[97] On empire's limits, see, for example, James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven, Conn., 2009).

[98] For a thorough overview of the current state of U.S. international history, see Erez Manela, "The United States in the World," in Foner and McGirr, *American History Now*, 201–220. For important critiques of diplomatic history, and responses, see Charles S. Maier, "Marking Time: The Historiography of International Relations," in Michael Kammen, ed., *The Past before Us: Contemporary Historical Writing in the United States* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1980), 355–387; Sally Marks, "The World According to Washington," *Diplomatic History* 11, no. 3 (1987): 265–282; Akira Iriye, "The Internationalization of History," *American Historical Review* 94, no. 1 (February 1989): 1–10; Emily S. Rosenberg, "Walking the Borders," *Diplomatic History* 14, no. 4 (1990): 565–573; Michael Hunt, "The Long Crisis in U.S. Diplomatic History: Coming to Closure," *Diplomatic History* 16, no. 1 (1992): 115–140. For two essays that celebrate diplomatic history's opening up to new approaches while addressing its limits, see Michael Hogan, "The 'Next Big Thing': The Future of Diplomatic History in a Global Age," *Diplomatic History* 28, no. 1 (2004): 1–21; Robert J. McMahon, "Toward a Pluralist Vision: The Study of American Foreign Relations as

of methodological art: writing in the 1990s and early 2000s, Ian Tyrrell, Thomas Bender, and David Thelen, for example, used it—sometimes in advance of the term "transnational," sometimes interchangeably with it—to call for and describe ways of writing wider-than-national histories that might undermine exceptionalist accounts of the U.S. nation-state. Here as above, the international was primarily a *how*, a new way of asking historical questions and organizing research agendas.[99]

Third, and sometimes coinciding with its methodological use, there was the "international" as a subject, more or less commensurable with foreign relations historians' "non-state" actors: understood to modify "society" or "community," the international referred to the increasingly tight fabric of civil society institutions, norms, and rule-making bodies that bound together national histories, especially after the mid-nineteenth century. Here the international was a *what*: actors and institutions spanning multiple nation-states whose histories could complement (and partly decenter) state-focused narratives of the modern world, and which could be apprehended using new methods and practices.[100] International history in this vein has begun to transform historians' knowledge of the world, introducing to the stage a vibrant array of new actors and institutions—worldly and world-traveling lawyers, scientists, missionaries, reformers, suffragists, abolitionists, environmentalists, pacifists, and socialists, for example—and altering global-historical narratives.[101] This

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International History and National History," in Michael Hogan and Thomas Paterson, eds., *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, 2nd ed. (New York, 2004), 35–50. For a triumphalist account of the field, and responses, see Thomas W. Zeiler, "The Diplomatic History Bandwagon: A State of the Field," *Journal of American History* 95, no. 4 (2009): 1053–1073; Fredrik Logevall, "Politics and Foreign Relations," ibid., 1074–1078; Mario Del Pero, "On the Limits of Thomas Zeiler's Historiographical Triumphalism," ibid., 1079–1082; Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, "What Bandwagon? Diplomatic History Today," ibid., 1083–1086; Kristin Hoganson, "Hop off the Bandwagon! It's a Mass Movement, Not a Parade," ibid., 1087–1091.

[99] Tyrrell, "American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History"; Michael McGerr, "The Price of the 'New Transnational History,' " *American Historical Review* 96, no. 4 (October 1991): 1056–1067; Ian Tyrrell, "Ian Tyrrell Responds," ibid., 1068–1072; David Thelen, "Of Audiences, Borderlands, and Comparisons: Toward the Internationalization of American History," *Journal of American History* 79, no. 2 (1992): 432–462; Thelen, "The Nation and Beyond: Transnational Perspectives on United States History," *Journal of American History* 86, no. 3 (1999): 965–975; Bender, "Historians, the Nation, and the Plenitude of Narratives." For two surveys that put these methodologies into practice, see Ian Tyrrell, *Transnational Nation: United States History in Global Perspective since 1789* (Basingstoke, 2007); Thomas Bender, *A Nation among Nations: America's Place in World History* (New York, 2006). For assessments and overviews of the "transnational turn," see Daniel T. Rodgers, "American Exceptionalism Revisited," *Raritan* 24, no. 2 (2004): 21–47; Marcus Gräser, "World History in a Nation-State: The Transnational Disposition in Historical Writing in the United States," *Journal of American History* 95, no. 4 (2009): 1038–1052; Ian Tyrrell, "Reflections on the Transnational Turn in United States History: Theory and Practice," *Journal of Global History* 4, no. 4 (2009): 453–474; Carl J. Guarneri, "Locating the United States in Twentieth-Century World History," in Michael Adas, ed., *Essays on Twentieth-Century History* (Philadelphia, 2010), 213–270.

[100] This version of international history often takes as its subject "international society" as defined by Hedley Bull and Adam Watson in Bull and Watson, eds., *The Expansion of International Society* (Oxford, 1984). The work of Akira Iriye has been particularly influential in calling for the study of international organizations and other "non-state" actors within the historiography of U.S. foreign relations. See especially Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore, 1997); Iriye, "Internationalizing International History," in Bender, *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, 47–62; Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002).

[101] On anticolonial nationalists' encounters with Wilsonian internationalism, see Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (Oxford, 2007). On population experts, see Matthew Connelly, *Fatal Misconceptions: The Struggle to Control World*

work captures something fundamental about the global condition: the emergence of an organizational and normative universe not strictly bound in its spatial dimensions or political allegiances to nation-states.

But there were at least two problems with the label "international history" in its many—and not entirely compatible—incarnations. The first was a kind of semantic pile-up: Was international history just the name for a more multi-archival diplomatic history; a critique of this kind of history and a call for alternative, non-governmental subjects; or a broad-based effort—with minimal involvement from diplomatic history—to reframe the historical enterprise as a whole "beyond the nation-state"? Second were the affirmative moral connotations that trailed the term "international," in part derivative of its status as a critique of early-twentieth-century imperial diplomacy. Especially when attached to an "-ism," the international meant alternatives to the business-as-usual of imperial competition, managing to embrace widely diverging socialist, pacifist, and Wilsonian meanings. The "international" realm was viewed as a domain not of power (understood to reside in states) but of power's mitigation. International historians often reproduced internationalists' affirmations of their world-historic role.

In contrast with international histories, global histories take the planet itself as both their scope and subject.[102] Two particular historical projects can be specified here. The first originates from world-systems analysis, for which global history meant the development of world-spanning capitalism and a political-economic geography divided between commanding cores, subordinated peripheries, and interstitial semi-peripheries. World-systems analysis—like the dependency theory upon which it was

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Population (Cambridge, Mass., 2008). On human rights activism, see Samuel Moyn, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History* (Cambridge, Mass., 2010). On Christian internationalism, see M. G. Thompson, "For God and Globe: Christian Internationalism in the United States, 1919–1945" (Ph.D. diss., University of Sydney, 2011). The exemplary work on the circulation of social-political reformers is Daniel Rodgers's magisterial *Atlantic Crossings*. Particularly important have been histories that have foregrounded women's agency and organizations outside of, as well as intersecting with, the state realm. See, for example, Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton, N.J., 1997); Kimberly Jensen and Erika Kuhlman, eds., *Women and Transnational Activism in Historical Perspective* (Dordrecht, 2010); Motoe Sasaki, "American New Women Encountering China: The Politics of Temporality and Paradoxes of Imperialism, 1898–1927," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 10, no. 1 (2009), http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_colonialism_and_colonial_history/summary/v010/10.1.sasaki.html; Megan Threlkeld, "The Pan American Conference of Women, 1922: Successful Suffragists Turn to International Relations," *Diplomatic History* 31, no. 5 (2007): 801–828; Manako Ogawa, "The 'White Ribbon League of Nations' Meets Japan: The Trans-Pacific Activism of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1906–1930," *Diplomatic History* 31, no. 1 (2007): 21–50.

[102] Here I distinguish "global" from "world" history, the former embarking from the sense of a single, integrated totality, the latter comprising the comparative history of plural "civilizations," sometimes autonomous, sometimes in interaction. On global history, see Michael Lang, "Globalization and Its History," *Journal of Modern History* 78, no. 4 (2006): 899–931; Matthias Middell and Katja Naumann, "Global History and the Spatial Turn: From the Impact of Area Studies to the Study of Critical Junctures of Globalization," *Journal of Global History* 5 (2010): 149–170; Bruce Mazlish and Akira Iriye, eds., *The Global History Reader* (New York, 2005); A. G. Hopkins, ed., *Globalization in World History* (New York, 2002); C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Malden, Mass., 2004); Jürgen Osterhammel and Niels P. Petersson, *Globalization: A Short History* (Princeton, N.J., 2005); Barry Gillis and William R. Thompson, eds., *Globalization and Global History* (London, 2006); Patrick O'Brien, "Historiographical Traditions and Modern Imperatives for the Restoration of Global History," *Journal of Global History* 1 (2006): 3–39. For a dialogue on global, world, and transnational histories, see "*AHR* Conversation: On Transnational History," *American Historical Review* 111, no. 5 (December 2006): 1440–1464.

based—boldly challenged diffusionist approaches to history associated with modernization theory.[103] It explored the autonomous power and dynamics of capital, traditionally downplayed in state-centered histories, and helped historians imagine their way toward arguably the broadest frame for human history.

There were, however, limitations to the utility of world-systems analysis for historians. Its all-encompassing character ran hard against historians' pursuit of patterned idiosyncrasy. It was economistic, detaching the power of capital from state actors and institutions; for this reason, it proved difficult to splice with foreign relations histories that defined global interaction primarily in terms of states. It was also top-down history, with little room for non-elite actors, and mechanistic, lacking the contingencies associated with social and cultural histories.[104]

A second, more recent effort by Charles Bright and Michael Geyer narrates the emergence of the "world" as the history of struggles to control the terms of global integration. Where world-systems analysis marked the advent of a global condition in the fifteenth century, Bright and Geyer begin in the mid-nineteenth century, with an irreversible convergence that knitted the globe in dense, indeterminate interactivity; it saw the Euro-American, and especially British, subordination of the world to an "imperial" order, and lateral and vertical conflicts over power, production, and social organization, as previously distinct regions pursued strategies for self-controlled participation in an inescapable global interiority. They write of a transition, beginning in the interwar period and fully realized only after 1945, from an "imperial" regime of global order dominated by Britain to a "corporate" order secured by the United States. The work of Bright and Geyer provides an inspiring global narrative, one that places power and contestation, interaction and inseparability at its center.[105]

But global history has skeptics, even among advocates of connected and connecting histories. Frederick Cooper, for example, has incisively criticized global his-

[103] The literature on modernization theory is rich and growing. For a historiographic review, see David C. Engerman and Corinna R. Unger, "Towards a Global History of Modernization," *Diplomatic History* 33, no. 3 (2009): 375–385. Significant works include David C. Engerman, Nils Gilman, Mark H. Haefele, and Michael E. Latham, eds., *Staging Growth: Modernization, Development, and the Global Cold War* (Amherst, Mass., 2003); David Ekbladh, *The Great American Mission: Modernization and the Construction of an American World Order* (Princeton, N.J., 2010); Michael E. Latham, *The Right Kind of Revolution: Modernization, Development and U.S. Foreign Policy from the Cold War to the Present* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2011); Nick Cullather, *The Hungry World: America's Cold War Battle against Poverty in Asia* (Cambridge, Mass., 2010).

[104] The debates on world-systems analysis are wide-ranging. For an introduction by its founder, see Immanuel Wallerstein, *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction* (Durham, N.C., 2004). For scholarship that integrates world-systems analysis and U.S. international history, see Thomas J. McCormick, " 'Every System Needs a Center Sometimes': An Essay on Hegemony and Modern American Foreign Policy," in Gardner, *Redefining the Past*, 195–220; McCormick, *America's Half-Century: United States Foreign Policy in the Cold War* (Baltimore, 1989).

[105] Charles Bright and Michael Geyer, "For a Unified History of the World in the Twentieth Century," *Radical History Review* 39 (September 1987): 69–91; Geyer and Bright, "World History in a Global Age," *American Historical Review* 100, no. 4 (October 1995): 1034–1060; Geyer and Bright, "Global Violence and Nationalizing Wars in Eurasia and America: The Geopolitics of War in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 38, no. 4 (1996): 619–657; Bright and Geyer, "Where in the World Is America? The History of the United States in the Global Age," in Bender, *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, 63–99; Bright and Geyer, "Regimes of World Order: Global Integration and the Production of Difference in Twentieth-Century World History," in Jerry H. Bentley, Renate Bridenthal, and Anand A. Yang, eds., *Interactions: Transregional Perspectives on World History* (Honolulu, 2005), 202–238.

tory for its totalizing (its sense of a universally connected planet in both the past and present) and its teleology (its sense of linear and irreversible progress toward integration). Even as Cooper calls for histories of long-distance and long-term connectivity, he emphasizes its jagged, indeterminate, and reversible character. Given the radical contingency with which disparate regions have been and continue to be connected—and disconnected—he calls for units of analysis that track historically changing (and mostly sub-global) interactions.

One of Cooper's key morphologies of connected history is empire: extended polities that brought into being new, long-distance but less-than-global relationships. As he emphasizes, empires were never hegemonic in their capacity to define, shape, and sustain linkages—they capitalized upon, and were shot through with, older connectivities such as diasporas, pilgrimages, and trade networks—and they often interrupted connections rather than opening them. But as in Cooper's example of the early modern Atlantic world of slavery, commerce, colonialism, and resistance, empire was central to the making of a still semi-attached world.[106]

International, global, and imperial histories are far from mutually exclusive modes of history-writing. Recent scholarship, for example, has revealed the productive possibilities of crossing the international with the imperial, exploring ways in which international societies and multilateral institutions were imprinted with and participated in the reproduction of global hierarchies of state power, wealth, and difference. The practical reliance of "non-state" actors on the infrastructure, protection, and legitimacy of imperial states; their role in moralizing and legitimizing imperial systems; the constrained spaces open to the colonized in "international" civil society; the legitimation of war through its "international" and "humanitarian" regulation; the national-imperial identities and imaginaries that historical actors carried into the "international" realm; the imperial roots of the League of Nations and the United Nations and those organizations' roles in reimagining and reforming but not dismantling colonialism are all rising into view.[107]

But these convergences point up imbalances between the relatively consistent advance of international and global histories and the punctuated progress of imperial history as applied to the United States. Surveying the twentieth-century landscape of scholarship and social thought, one is struck by an uneven, and self-disabling, pattern of surfacing and submerging that is worth investigation. Tracing general patterns of coming and going, one might begin with the post-1898 literature on U.S. overseas colonialism, which included not only pamphlet and polemic, but also extensive professional scholarship, particularly in the fields of history, political science,

[106] Frederick Cooper, "Globalization," in Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*, 91–112.

[107] On international women reformers as participants in empire, see Ian Tyrrell, *Woman's World/Woman's Empire: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880–1930* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1991). On missionaries, see, for example, Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar, and Connie A. Shemo, eds., *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812–1960* (Durham, N.C., 2010); Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2008); Ian Tyrrell, *Reforming the World: The Creation of America's Moral Empire* (Princeton, N.J., 2010). On the League of Nations and the mandate system, see Susan Pedersen, "Back to the League of Nations," *American Historical Review* 112, no. 4 (October 2007): 1091–1117. On the United Nations and colonialism, see Mazower, *No Enchanted Palace*; Carol Anderson, *Eyes off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944–1955* (Cambridge, 2003).

and law, on the meaning and management of the "American empire." This literature's tide rose and fell within a decade.[108]

A second moment, from the mid-1920s to the mid-1930s, saw scholars and journalists track corporate investment, military occupation, and "economic imperialism" in Latin America. This work reflected both new patterns of U.S. global power and the influence of Leninist theories that tied together expansionary state and corporate control, holding that "imperialism" represented the "highest stage of capitalism." But Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy took the steam out of its critiques of military intervention, and its critical tenor proved hard to sustain during the nationalist, exceptionalist, and anti-communist mobilizations and repressions of World War II and the early Cold War.[109]

A third moment, from the late 1950s through the 1970s, gave rise to two distinct literatures. The first of these was the "revisionist" school of U.S. foreign relations history, beginning with the work of William Appleman Williams, particularly his 1957 *Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, and continuing through the 1970s. This literature coincided with and resonated with anti-war movements that defined themselves as "anti-imperial"; as its nickname suggests, this "New Left" scholarship gave activists a usable past. But while it remained influential—its emphasis on the economic basis of U.S. foreign policy was absorbed into a more pluralistic "corporatist" framework—the New Left school lost momentum in the 1980s.

Overlapping with this body of literature temporally, but not analytically, was work by scholars, writers, and intellectuals associated with anti-racial social movements, who marked U.S. institutions as "colonial" through perceived similarities between the U.S. racial state and those of the European colonial empires. This critique dated back at least as far as W. E. B. Du Bois's early-twentieth-century insight that Jim Crow formed part of a global "belt" of color-based hierarchies, and Du Bois remained its most dedicated champion.[110] But the registering of U.S. racial politics as

[108] On early U.S. academic engagements with questions of empire, see Frank Ng, "Knowledge for Empire: Academics and Universities in the Service of Imperialism," in Robert David Johnson, ed., *On Cultural Ground: Essays in International History* (Chicago, 1994), 123–146; Gary Marotta, "The Academic Mind and the Rise of U.S. Imperialism: Historians and Economists as Publicists for Ideas of Colonial Expansion," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 42, no. 2 (1983): 217–234; Mark T. Berger, "Civilising the South: The US Rise to Hegemony in the Americas and the Roots of 'Latin American Studies,' 1898–1945," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 12, no. 1 (1993): 1–48; David Long and Brian C. Schmidt, eds., *Imperialism and Internationalism in the Discipline of International Relations* (Albany, N.Y., 2005).

[109] Parker Thomas Moon, *Imperialism and World Politics* (New York, 1926); Scott Nearing and Joseph Freeman, *Dollar Diplomacy: A Study in American Imperialism* (New York, 1925). See also the works of Samuel Guy Inman, for example, *Through Santo Domingo and Haiti: A Cruise with the Marines* (New York, 1919); *Intervention in Mexico* (New York, 1919); *Problems in Pan Americanism* (New York, 1921). For investigative works sponsored by the American Fund for Public Service (AFPS) between 1928 and 1935, see Leland Hamilton Jenks, *Our Cuban Colony: A Study in Sugar* (New York, 1928); Margaret Alexander Marsh, *The Bankers in Bolivia: A Study in American Foreign Investment* (New York, 1928); Melvin Moses Knight, *The Americans in Santo Domingo* (New York, 1928); J. Fred Rippy, *The Capitalists and Colombia* (New York, 1931); Bailey W. Diffie and Justine W. Diffie, *Porto Rico: A Broken Pledge* (New York, 1931); Charles David Kepner, Jr., and Jay Henry Soothill, *The Banana Empire: A Case Study of Economic Imperialism* (New York, 1935). On the AFPS project, see Rosenberg, "Economic Interest and United States Foreign Policy"; Merle Curti, "Subsidizing Radicalism: The American Fund for Public Service, 1921–1941," *Social Service Review* 33, no. 3 (1959): 274–295.

[110] W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Present Outlook for the Darker Races of Mankind," *A. M. E. Church Review* 17, no. 2 (1900): 95–110. The scholarship on Du Bois's thought is immense. On Du Bois himself, see David Levering Lewis's two-volume biography: *W. E. B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race, 1868–1919*

"colonial" deepened as scholars and activists expressed their solidarity with decolonizing movements in Africa and Asia, and countered research that blamed African Americans and Latinos for poverty and powerlessness through invidious comparisons with "assimilating" Euro-American immigrants; the former groups, they maintained, had been and continued to be subjected to a uniquely confining "internal colonialism."[111]

A fourth, long moment was inaugurated by Kaplan's 1993 manifesto and continues to the present. This scholarship has developed primarily in American studies, although it has crossed over into U.S. cultural history and culturally informed U.S. foreign relations history. Initially animated by the first Gulf War, the quincentenary of 1492, and the fall of the Soviet Union, it was given impetus by the Bush administration's "war on terror," which also emerged as a chief object of study. Fifth and finally, there was the explosion of publishing during the first decade of the twenty-first century—inside and outside of academia and across the humanities and social science disciplines, including history—that employed "empire" both to read the "war on terror" and to trace its cultural and historical roots. While some of this work did, for the first time since the early twentieth century, use the word "empire" affirmatively, the majority used it as a term of critique.[112]

Importantly, this sketch map is not a genealogy: in many respects, these intellectual projects were incommensurable, relying on different notions of empire, enlisting it to answer different questions, doing so within different traditions of inquiry and at very different intersections of scholarly and public-political life. But two striking features of empire's terminological rise and fall surface from this chronology. First is each wave's relative neglect or erasure of the work that preceded it. Again and again, a manufactured sense of "absence" has both heightened assertions of academic innovation and political urgency, and stood as evidence of an (exceptional) American evasion of empire, despite lengthening decades of scholarly labor.[113] Sec-

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(New York, 1993); *W. E. B. Du Bois: The Fight for Equality and the American Century, 1919–1963* (New York, 2000).

[111] These connections were also nurtured by longstanding interactions and dialogues between African Americans and anticolonial nationalists in Africa and Asia. See especially Penny M. Von Eschen, *Race against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937–1957* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1997); Kevin K. Gaines, *American Africans in Ghana: Black Expatriates and the Civil Rights Era* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2006); Nikhil Pal Singh, *Black Is a Country: Race and the Unfinished Struggle for Democracy* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004); Gerald Horne, *The End of Empires: African Americans and India* (Philadelphia, 2009); James H. Meriwether, *Proudly We Can Be Africans: Black Americans and Africa, 1935–1961* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2002); Nico Slate, *Colored Cosmopolitanism: The Shared Struggle for Freedom in the United States and India* (Cambridge, Mass., forthcoming). On "internal colonialism," see Gutiérrez, "Internal Colonialism."

[112] See, for example, Greg Grandin, *Empire's Workshop: Latin America, the United States, and the Rise of the New Imperialism* (New York, 2006); David Harvey, *The New Imperialism* (Oxford, 2003); Michael Mann, *Incoherent Empire* (London, 2003); Andrew J. Bacevich, ed., *The Imperial Tense: Prospects and Problems of American Empire* (Chicago, 2003); Calhoun, Cooper, and Moore, *Lessons of Empire*; Lloyd C. Gardner and Marilyn B. Young, eds., *Iraq and the Lessons of Vietnam: Or, How Not to Learn From the Past* (New York, 2007); Gardner and Young, *The New American Empire*. For a review of this literature that connects present-day social science and policy debates to earlier, historiographic ones, see Paul K. MacDonald's aptly titled essay "Those Who Forget Historiography Are Doomed to Republish It: Empire, Imperialism and Contemporary Debates about American Power," *Review of International Studies* 35, no. 1 (2009): 45–67.

[113] As Robin Winks pointed out, for example, the footnotes of the New Left scholars showed little evidence of the earlier, interwar scholarship on "American imperialism," whose central preoccupa-

ond is that "empire" tends to adhere to the United States during periods of intense political-ethical turmoil, usually involving hotly debated "boots on the ground," such as the post-1898 period, the Caribbean occupations between World War I and the 1930s, the Vietnam War era, and the post-9/11 period. It tends to shrink in usage when these crises fade from public awareness.

This is a very strange thing for a historical category to do. Why does all this solid scholarship melt into air? It has something to do with the particular way that "empire" crosses between the domains of scholarship and public-political expression.[114] This crossing has long been, and continues to be, uneasy. These settings are often antagonistic and mutually suspicious. Some scholars have dismissed the utility of the imperial by challenging its "appropriateness" to the academic setting; it is "political" in a way that their preferred analytic categories are not.[115] And as with any concept used inside and outside academia, scholars who employ "empire" face the challenge of preserving nuances that are sometimes lost in public life. This crossing reveals a larger reality, for some an uncomfortable one: that the terms historians think with are informed, both productively and unproductively, by the discursive worlds that surround them.

Another explanation for this periodicity points, once again, to republicanism. Within republican thought, empire is a warning, a lexical alarm bell signaling that a moral-political boundary is about to be crossed. Because of this, the cry of empire is most commonly heard in American political discourse in secular jeremiads against overconcentrated, overextended, or corrupting power. From the outset, it is meant to be self-liquidating: if its invocation succeeds, it prevents the (always looming, never quite arriving) collapse of republic into empire, then quietly retires.[116]

Alongside the academic/public transgressions of empire discourse, the republi-

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tions—corporate empire, the Open Door, dollar diplomacy—they shared; Winks, "The American Struggle with 'Imperialism.' " Similarly, in her 2001 manifesto for a "colonial" history of North America, Ann Stoler curiously minimizes (without denying the existence of) the many and diverse literatures on nineteenth- and twentieth-century U.S. imperial history: "Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies," *Journal of American History* 88, no. 3 (2001): 829–865, and responses by Ramón A. Gutiérrez, Lori D. Ginzberg, Dirk Hoerder, Mary A. Renda, and Robert J. McMahon. McMahon notes this absence of historiographic engagement in his response: "Cultures of Empire," ibid., 888–892.

[114] John Munro argues for the importance of critical social movements in advancing analyses of U.S. empire in "Empire and Intersectionality: Notes on the Production of Knowledge about U.S. Imperialism," *Globality Studies Journal* 12 (2008): 1–29.

[115] As Sir William Hancock put it in 1940, in a sentiment that would be shared by others, "imperialism is no word for scholars." *Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs*, vol. 2: *Problems of Economic Policy, 1918–1939* (Oxford, 1940), pt. 1, 1. The empire/not-empire divide is often erroneously thought to map strictly onto a left/right political division. See, for example, John Lewis Gaddis's argument for the use of the term "empire" for the post–World War II United States (an empire he characterizes as defensive, restrained, and "invited" by allies), and Michael Hunt's rejection of the term "empire" as insufficient to the scale of U.S. global power in the late twentieth century. Gaddis, "The Emerging Post-Revisionist Synthesis on the Origins of the Cold War," *Diplomatic History* 7, no. 3 (1983): 171–190; Michael H. Hunt, *The American Ascendancy: How the United States Gained and Wielded Global Dominance* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2007), 309–314.

[116] The classic account of the jeremiad in American culture is Sacvan Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad* (Madison, Wis., 1978). For a historical case involving this particular use of the jeremiad in early-twentieth-century debates on U.S. colonialism overseas, see Fabian Hilfrich, "Falling Back into History: Conflicting Visions of National Decline and Destruction in the Imperialism Debate around the Turn of the Century," in Knud Krakau, ed., *The American Nation—National Identity—Nationalism* (Münster, 1997), 149–166.

can jeremiad helps account for its fluctuating character in historical thought about the United States in the world. Empire plays an indispensable role in bounding the American republic by serving as its outer moral limit, but its utterance signals a condition of exception and emergency. Whatever the ongoing facts on the ground, its cyclical evaporation is accompanied by a sense of relief: the republic, once teetering on the edge of empire, has been rescued; the exceptionalism of global power without empire, once in jeopardy, has been restored; the usual terms of scholarly art can reassert themselves. Empire—that glassed-in fire extinguisher of concepts—can be put back in its box, until the next time.[117]

Foregrounding power, narrating connection, and engaging in comparison, efforts aided greatly by the concept of the imperial, are all necessary for making sense of the United States' global history. The study of U.S. imperial histories is relevant to those who focus their attention on the United States and those who do not, for both historiographic reasons—that studying U.S. imperial history raises methodological questions that may spark fresh inquiries in other settings—and historical ones—namely the long shadow cast by U.S. power in the past and present. Specifically, the imperial foregrounds the analysis of power and politics on a global scale, the interconnection and mutual imbrications of societies, and the comparison of hegemonic systems in history. There may well be other concepts that can accomplish these goals, but the imperial helps more in pursuing them than it hinders. For a robust imperial history of the United States to move forward, it will have to detach itself from the rhythms, if not from the content, of public-political discourse to which it has traditionally been bound, and separate itself from jeremiads that proceed, ultimately, from an urgent sense of the United States' imminent or incipient imperial career that is not borne out by either historical or present-day realities. It would indeed be ironic if "empire," sharpened for occasional use as a weapon against egregious violence and tyranny, rendered ongoing imperial processes invisible to history. Only a sustained U.S. imperial historiography, one that is already well under way, can shed necessary, critical light where American power seeks exception.

[117] Empire has been used in this way, in particular, among critics who define it in terms of U.S. military-imperial extension following the collapse of the Soviet Union. See, for example, the works of Chalmers Johnson and Andrew Bacevich: Johnson, *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire* (New York, 2000); Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire*; Johnson, *Nemesis: The Last Days of the American Republic* (New York, 2006); Bacevich, *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002); Bacevich, *The New American Militarism*; Andrew Bacevich, *The Limits of Power: The End of American Exceptionalism* (New York, 2008).

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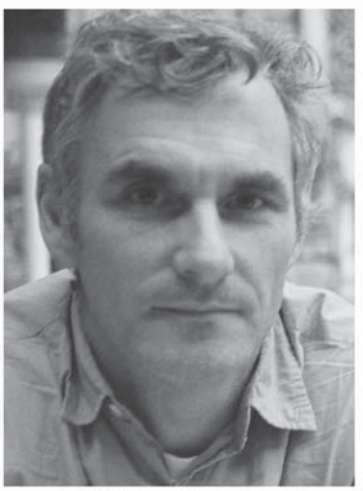

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How Did the World Become Global?: Transnational History, Beyond Connection

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HOW DID THE WORLD BECOME GLOBAL?: TRANSNATIONAL HISTORY, BEYOND CONNECTION

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Isaac A. Kamola, *Making the World Global: U. S. Universities and the Production of the Global Imaginary*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2019. xviii + 282 pp. Notes, references, and index. $27.95.

It was at some point in the late 1980s and early 1990s that policymakers, journalists, and academics in the United States and elsewhere decided—roughly 490 years after the advent of the transatlantic trade in enslaved Africans, and 425 years since the opening of the Manila galleon trade that linked Chinese and European trade circuits—that the world was suddenly, finally, becoming "global." For many of these commentators, signs of an epochal shift were soon apparent everywhere: streamlined, seemingly instant, financial transactions; accelerating barrages of email; growing fleets of container ships, stacked with Day-Glo metal crates of minerals, cars, and plastic toys, plying the world's oceans.[1] Observers at the time might have invoked the "annihilation of time and space" to capture this bold new world, had the phrase, coined in the 1840s in captivated response to the telegraph, not exhausted itself over the century that followed, chasing steamboats, the railroad, the underwater cable, then the airplane.[2]

There were very good reasons that observers found themselves searching for, embracing and inventing new cartographies and timelines. New technologies were indeed speeding and cheapening long-distance communications, for example, even if they did so incrementally, rather than abruptly, and in patchwork fashion: "networks" were stretching and thickening, even as they were cut through with vast, equally defining (if never as talked-about) gaps and fissures. Perhaps most significantly, for over four decades, the idea of a rigidly divided world organized by a Manichean opposition of "free" capitalist and "unfree" communist domains—with problematic fence-sitters—had been foundational to the worldviews of many U.S. policymakers, experts and ordinary citizens, and a key structuring principle of American politics, society and culture more broadly. This imaginary had been anchored by material and metaphorical walls and barricades at the militarized frontiers between "West" and "East"; where these fell, permitting the mobility of capital, goods,

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policies, ideas, and migrants (or some of them), it seemed to call for a radical rethinking of historical processes and the spaces within which they unfolded.

It was in this crucible that what might have been plausibly taken to be discrete, potentially contradictory phenomena with their own distinct histories were melted into the mega-narrative of "globalization." Out of a dangerous, dichotomized world, it was said, a new, unified, promising, "global" world was being born. Deeper, broader and faster transits of capital, goods, and information, unprecedented in scope, were eroding and supplanting the regulatory power of territorially bounded national polities. Rising in power were supranational formations like the European Union, global trade regimes like the World Trade Organization and, at least aspirationally, human rights norms and institutions. The result was a progressively homogenized global consciousness, webbed together by transnational civil society organizations, diffusing consumer habits and mass-mediated reference points which, depending on your angle of vision, heralded the end of potentially conflictual and destructive difference, or a tragic collapse of human diversity, or both. It was not always clear to those who invoked a newly global present how far things had proceeded. Was globalization complete, or a work in progress? Was globalization a condition, a process, or something else? But this did not mean they saw it as reversible or escapable.[3]

Within the university-based social sciences and humanities, "globalization" (and "transnationalism," the non-identical term with which it was often used interchangeably) launched a thousand agendas that varied in their understanding of what "global" analysis could do and why it was important or necessary. They diverged on the question of why the previous interpretive regime, with its taken-for-granted framing of social analysis within nationalized units—"methodological nationalism"—was a problem. And they differed implicitly or explicitly in their normative approaches to the question of how national and global spaces ought to interrelate.

But works that found inspiration or analytic potential in the "global" or "transnational" often shared key features. In search of a rough, broad descriptor, one might encapsulate their approaches as "connectionist." Connectionist works foregrounded questions about global linkage: the ways actors, processes, and institutions bridged across or even "transcended" long distances and nationalized borders. They posed, as antagonists, national borders and mobile "flows" of goods, cultures and people that moved around and across them. They often tended—with key variations and exceptions—to approach global dynamics through lenses of culture and identity, focusing on globalization's ramifications for belonging, loyalty, religious practice, and social differentiation, often advancing narratives of homogenization and revanchist backlash. They defined human freedom and flourishing in terms of physical mobility, and valorized "connection" as expressive of, or the means towards, a cosmo-

politan world of cultural coexistence. And they narrated their interpretive innovations as reflexive responses to an unequivocal, actually existing, novel, "global" condition, one that required entirely new forms of social knowledge to make sense of it and, to the degree that it was possible, to steer and manage it. These new forms of social inquiry had, in other words, been summoned into existence—and were justified for budgetary and other institutional purposes—by the character of world-historical events themselves.

Embarking from the idea that the world was becoming—or had recently become—"globalized," connectionist scholarship set out to inquire into, chart, and understand connections, their dynamics and implications, in the past and present. In such work, connection and the terms used to register and describe it (flows, linkages, interactions and exchanges, especially) tended to play three interlocking roles. They were the means of scholarship: the subjects being reconstructed, described, and interpreted. They were also the ends of scholarship, the main reasons questions were being posed. (What was connected, and to what degree? When and how were things first connected? How and why did connections change? Were things connected as thoroughly as presumed?) And, in many works, connection played a powerful if backgrounded normative role, implicitly or explicitly affirming a cosmopolitan world of mobility and complex, plural identities that either subverted or transcended hard, exclusionist, socio-political boundaries.

If connectionist scholarship could be recognized by critiques of methodological nationalism and topical attention to cross-border phenomena, it was often—if never uniformly—characterized by a certain mode of feeling, what might be called a transnational affect. It was far from alone as a scholarly approach that accrued and came to be defined and identifiable by certain affective traits or feeling rules. In the case of much connectionist scholarship, this affect conveyed unconstraint through the exercise of agency, exploration, and self-remaking in both the authors and their subjects. Scholars' subjects, it was often said, had broken free of territorial strictures and gone "beyond borders." So, too, it could seem, had the scholars who tracked them down, interpreted them, and published work about them.

This particular affective mode, with its exuberant, even dizzy, sense of freedom from limits, echoed globalization discourse's dominant structures of feeling. These, in turn, had much to do with Western and particularly U.S. representations of the collapse of the Soviet regime. Talk of a new, "global" reality was forged amid and profoundly colored by the surrounding exhilaration and self-vindication of geopolitical victory, defined especially in terms of freedom: unleashed capital mobility, political freedom, emancipation from history and its burdens, mingling jubilantly. The consequences of this transnational affect—what might be called transnationalism's informal feeling rules—were far from trivial. Especially early on, scholars could tend

to transnationalize the study of actors they liked or identified with, the better to enjoy their transnationalism. They could also figure the world beyond national borders as an open space of promise and opportunity rather than a complex domain of power with its own distinctive hierarchies and constraints. It was possible that such affective, rhetorical, and interpretive tendencies ran strongest in settler-colonial polities with deep histories of equating freedom with outward movement in violation of unrecognized borders. But at least in the case of the U.S. academy, these framings—whatever their particular and provincial origins—had far-reaching effects.

While connectionist scholarship shared much, the meanings assigned to connection differed. In university contexts, the "global" was introduced into disciplinary trajectories of inquiry that varied widely, and its meanings inevitably took on the imprint of these conversations and the questions, debates, and methods that structured them, for better and worse. While the "global" condition was often depicted as an objective reality that academic disciplines merely responded to and reflected on, the "global" and "transnational" were, to the contrary, sculpted as they were taken up and enlisted by academic partisans in their ongoing battles with opponents over institutional power, funding, hiring, and prestige. Sometimes these concepts sparked genuinely novel conversations, and sometimes they merely retreaded or rescaled old ones. This made the "global" scholarship ubiquitous across the social and human sciences, and in many cases incommensurable.

Among migration scholars, for example, the global and transnational arrived in the wake of debates about the degrees to which migrants "assimilated" to national cultures; the facts of long-distance connection aided those who claimed migrants retained their cultures, coming to connote loyalty to kin and homeland, the will to fight assimilation, and a resilient sense of collective selfhood. By contrast, for some historians interested in "transfer," connection signified not historical actors' determination to hold onto their cultures across distance and geography, but a willingness to borrow and adapt "outside" influences and, at least in part, to qualify or abandon nationalist pretenses and hostilities towards the "foreign." In yet another field, U.S. foreign relations historians employed the term the "transnational" in the context of debates over the degree to which "non-state" actors played significant roles in the making of U.S. foreign policy, and over the appropriateness of cultural-historical methods; "transnational" came to denote a loose amalgam of "non-traditional" approaches, including a focus on non-policymakers and culturalist approaches.[4]

In nearly every context, connection meant agency, and vice versa. Especially where informed by poststructuralist emphases on plural, fractured, and indeterminate meanings and identities, it connoted self-activity, resourcefulness, adaptability, and dynamic self-making. For some scholars, connecting one's subjects to what might seem surprising locations, across startling distances,

especially through their use of their eras' innovative technologies, demonstrated their "modernity" (which was not always well-defined). Where historical subjects had been stigmatized as backward or parochial by virtue of presumed geographic stasis and isolation—in effect, denied the status of co-evals of their own historical moment—establishing their "modernity," through, for example, mobility, intercultural contact, and individual or collective self-reinvention vindicated them, incidentally and by design.

Perhaps predictably, historians chose, as one of their unique contributions to an interdisciplinary inquiry, to debunk the conventional (and facile) idea of globalization's conventional late 20th century origins, and to show instead how world regions had become significantly entangled far earlier.[5] The skeptical claim that there was "nothing new" in globalization was soon commonplace. Some historians inquiring about connection focused less on just how far back in time it stretched than on connection's limits, valuably demonstrating how gapped, friction-filled, and impossible past efforts at long-distance connection had often been, and challenging and complicating pasts that too-neatly mirrored, anticipated or led teleologically to many scholars' presumptively linked-up present.[6] Others pointed out the ways that connective processes often understood to be uniformizing and universalizing were enlisted and remade by entrenched, resilient local and national forces, giving rise not to homogeneous social formations, but newly plural ones.[7]

The idea that "global" or "transnational" scholarship and the university structures built to support it had, in effect, been called to life by a bold, new, extant "global" condition evidently served versatile academic-political purposes. But what if, in fact, causal arrows between "globalization" and the academic world pointed the other way, too? What if, instead of universities tailoring themselves to the emerging lineaments of real-world globalization, the very invention of globalization as a concept had been a creation of university-based and university-adjacent knowledge production, especially in the United States? And what if the particular character of its global imaginaries—visions which permeate contemporary civil society and deeply shape policy outcomes—reflected the peculiar and shifting academic-institutional structures within which they had been built, perhaps even more than the globalizing world that they purported to chart and render legible?

This is the thesis of political scientist Isaac Kamola's generative recent book *Making the World Global: U.S. Universities and the Production of the Global Imaginary*. Bringing together a rich secondary scholarship into a new frame alongside close readings of canonical and noncanonical primary texts, the book persuasively argues for the importance of tracking the emergence of the "global" as a keyword and semantic field within U.S. intellectual life; for the late 20th century as a critical inflection point in this history; and for university

settings in the United States as a key origin-point of a self-consciously "global" knowledge, the implications of which would spill over campus walls and U.S. borders. Overall, Kamola makes a case that the very terms, language, and concepts used to make sense of the contemporary world were structured by particular sets of interests which invented a "global" world at least partly in their image. These authors of "globalization," to the extent that they succeeded in naturalizing their invention, obscured their extensive investments in it and the self-interested projects it served. Kamola seeks to denaturalize this given, unquestioned globalism by reconstructing key moments in its intellectual construction. "What was the massive expansion of global-speak a symptom of?" he asks (p. xv). In posing this question, Kamola hopes to reopen conceptual space for different global imaginaries and, in turn, the possibility of worlds structured and organized differently.

The book's immediate intellectual setting consists of historical and historically minded works by political scientists and international relations (IR) scholars that seek to provide alternative (and more accurate) genealogies of IR scholarship and, simultaneously, critical, deconstructive accounts of the field's own self-serving myths as to its origins. Such counter-histories have revealed international relations' inseparability—in institutional and intellectual terms—from both the politics of racialized empire and racially segregated university systems and state institutions. They have also demonstrated that these increasingly inconvenient entanglements were hidden away in the discipline's official histories and evolving canons. Importantly, this scholarship also registers the existence of rich, alternative, anti-imperial and anti-racist ways of knowing the world, especially among scholars on the left and scholars of color, and explores the ways they were institutionally marginalized by the field's power centers.[8] The decision not to grant African American universities Title VI area studies funding for the building of African studies centers is illustrative in a context where these institutions had the U.S.'s best-developed African studies capacities before World War II.

Kamola begins with a detailed account of the largely national and regional (rather than "global") framings of post-World War II U.S. social-scientific research, organized under the rubric of "area studies." But a critical turn towards the "global" began in the 1980s. In a highly influential 1983 article, "The Globalization of Markets," Harvard Business School professor Theodore Levitt—often if incorrectly hailed as the coiner of the term "globalization"—called upon business executives to shift their imagination of the world from one of discrete national markets that needed to be studied, adapted to, and produced for, to a single, unified, "global" market within which relatively homogenized goods could be successfully sold with sufficiently energized marketing. To minimize the risks of this hoped-for worldwide commerce, Levitt flattened cultural differences and emphasized the universal psychological traits

all consumers shared. "In suggesting that firms imagine the world as global—and therefore act as if it were global," Kamola writes, "Levitt helped produce the possibilities for making it so" (p. 85). (Interestingly, in making this case, Levitt made clear that such a world did not yet exist, but that demand for it had to be generated in advance by marketing it in classrooms and academic journals to rising cohorts of executives.)

Kamola's identifies a second main source for this intellectual turn to the "global" in the World Bank's Alden Clausen. Clausen's vision had initially been shaped by his career at Bank of America, which he had managed to reorient internationally, buying up foreign financial institutions and gaining greater access to markets abroad. Once at the World Bank, he turned the institution from an earlier emphasis on lending for national development to the streamlining and protection of an ever-more-integrated world-wide financial market that crossed previously formidable geographic distances and political boundaries; Clausen described it as "a whole complicated ganglion of interdependent relationships and a very dynamic environment in which they are all interacting" (pp. 123–24).

This new, "global" economy was understood to possess complex, technical, virtually unknowable realities which only a narrow group of financial experts could fully apprehend and master, and fixed, unchanging rules, to which development-oriented, borrowing states needed to rigidly conform. Hallmarks of this new vision included the diffusion and institutionalization of ideologies of "human capital," the application of "rate-of-return" calculations on social spending, and the subordination and sacrifice of domestic social priorities to international debt service under the neutralizing, technocratic label of "structural adjustment."

Here, then, is the crux of Kamola's argument: that while theorists and advocates of "globalization" declared it an objective, world-historic fact—no one's social construction—the concept arrived firmly imprinted with conceptions derived from the worlds of business, marketing, and finance, some of them associated then and later with "neoliberalism." Out of these projects, particular concepts of the "global"—forged in pecuniary mission and the technocratic pursuit of profit across wider geographic scales—came to inform and structure a host of intellectual agendas across fields, at the expense of others. But importantly, there was nothing foreordained about the emergence of these new imaginaries for Kamola, who rightly emphasizes the ways global approaches had to contend with other, entrenched modes of world-making, especially earlier ones structured by nation and region.

Among the book's themes—if one that could have been highlighted in a more sustained way—is how deeply taken-for-granted the nation was as unit of analysis within U.S. social-scientific imaginaries across most of the 20th century. From the birth of the social sciences, the modern societies that

economists, political scientists, sociologists, and historians studied were presumed national. As scholars framed these national objects of inquiry, they also participated in naturalizing and legitimating them, an outcome that was, in many cases, also an explicit and unapologetic objective.[9] The roots of what scholars would later dub "methodological nationalism" were complex, tied to the rise of statist systems of data collection and statistical management, nationalized welfare regimes, systems of border control, the militarized knowledge requirements of states at war or preparing for war and—especially in the field of history—the mass production of national identification and loyalty among potentially or actually refractory populations.[10] At the mid-20th-century mark, the idea of the world as a jigsaw of nations was also tied both to the membership rules and operating parameters of new multilateral organizations, and to "liberal internationalist" ideologies that rationalized U.S. global dominance in a world-in-the-making ostensibly built of old and new nation-states. Supporting and informing these dynamics were conceptualizations of academic knowledge-production, and public and private university worlds, as state-serving enterprises that did or ought to function in the state's interests, even if there remained space—sometimes considerable space—between what officials wanted and what scholars produced.[11]

While foundations and nonprofits play key roles in Kamola's story, universities figure most prominently in his account of U.S. intellectual world-making. Although they might have been parsed more explicitly for readers, there are at least four distinguishable roles that universities play in his account. First, a handful of prestigious, private universities in the Northeast appear as laboratories and launchpads where influential, macro-level theories of development were founded and projected. They accomplished this through new sources of funding from the U.S. government and private philanthropies. The most prominent of these theories, of course, was modernization, pioneered and developed by Walt Rostow at MIT, which had much to commend it when it came to the search for an epistemologically confident, U.S.-entered imperial globalism. Among its appealing components were universality in scope; diffusionist mechanisms, with special applicability to the decolonizing world; the embrace of technocratic-managerial modes of authority; a familiar, stage-by-stage, evolutionary sequence capable of closing any threatening teleology gap with Soviet counterparts; a self-affirming, normative centering on the powerful states of the Global North, and especially the United States; and the non-requirement of deep, textured social, cultural, political or historical knowledge of non-U.S. spaces.[12]

Similarly, Kamola argues for the importance of Harvard Business School (HBS) in particular as a hub from which visions of a global market radiated outward. Here Levitt's influential thesis on the globalization of markets, he claims, would not have gained traction had it not been for a growing business

school infrastructure with its own theories, methods, and approaches to training and expertise—including a gathering cult of management and marketing "gurus"—from which a rising number of corporate executives gained their credentials and took their cues. In particular, HBS's widely adopted system of case studies, which were diffused across other schools and business, required students to imagine themselves solving large-scale problems as the heads of multinational corporations even before many such entities existed.

Second, American universities figure prominently as the institutional homes for what Kamola calls a "standing reserve" of area and regional expertise available for policy consultation across the broadening, increasingly worldwide landscapes of post-1945 U.S. interventionism, particularly with respect to the colonized and formerly colonized world. National-security-oriented government funding poured in, resulting in a new, massive complex of areas studies and international relations centers, programs, journals, and professional organizations. These new institutions channeled U.S. social-scientific attention further out into the world than ever before, but pulled it into a world pre-packaged into discrete nations and regions empirically knowable through their distinct societies, politics, cultures, and economies.

In theory and practice, area studies experts would be well-suited to advise U.S. policymakers on other societies' complex, otherwise illegible political situations, and their cultural contexts and historical arcs. Such knowledge, it was hoped, would allow the U.S. to expand its influence, tailor its "hearts and minds" appeals, deflect Soviet advances, and counter anti-colonial insurgencies. Area studies would provide the empirical evidence, legible through modernization theory, which might help policymakers make sense of the tensions and turmoil of decolonizing societies, pressing them onto the progressive paths that awaited them. But Kamola points out, as have others, that the invention of "area studies" also brought unintended consequences, including the cultivation of culturally fluent, authoritative, sometimes first-hand witnesses to the destructive results of U.S. imperial involvement, figures who were often inclined to become vocal critics.[13]

Third, universities appear in Kamola's account as key instruments of post-colonial development. Anti-colonial and post-colonial leaders had myriad reasons to develop their nations' systems of higher education: they would train and employ local experts, contribute to locally and regionally oriented economic development, cultivate and credential potential leaders, and initiate and carry out research programs in support of self-determined social agendas that might strengthen new states' international positions. They would also break the former colonies' educational, material and symbolic dependence on imperial metropoles' academic systems. As Kamola relates, this agenda overlapped, up to a point, with World Bank priorities under Robert McNamara in the late 1970s. Heavily informed by modernization theory, Bank policy during

these years emphasized the financing of university systems in the decolonizing world as part of broader investments in infrastructure, education, public health, and birth control which might, at least prospectively, enhance what was understood to be stabilizing economic growth.

In the African context—Kamola's regional specialty—as in other parts of the developing world, the result was the rapid growth of higher education, as expanding universities fostered intellectual ferment, and academics moved dynamically between scholarly, journalistic, activist, and policy domains and careers. African universities in particular became laboratories for heterodox approaches to economic development that critically thematized structural global inequalities with their roots in colonial and neo-colonial capitalism. They remapped the world as already profoundly integrated and unequal precisely due to the character of its integration; and sought to chart new, forward-looking paths towards more autonomous, self-directed national and regional development in which universities and their broader, critical intellectual milieus were understood to play a key role.

Finally, Kamola describes universities as subject to the pressures of privatization and commodification, processes tied closely to the forces the term "globalization" was meant to capture and naturalize. As academic institutions found themselves more and more subject to profit-oriented mandates, they absorbed the ideologies that underwrote capitalist integration; produced academic and social-scientific knowledge derived from or resonant with these ideologies; became important hubs for the training, credentialing and networking of a newly self-aware global elite; and were enlisted as metonymic symbols of what a genuinely "global" cosmopolis looked like in institutionalized form.

To tell this part of his story, Kamola emphasizes major, late-20th-century turning points. Some affected U.S. universities most: the end of the Cold War and with it, the implosion of geopolitical rationales for robust area studies funding; fiscal retrenchment from private foundations; and deepening university reliance on tuition-paying international students for revenue. Some factors pertained to university systems in the developing world: in the context of the Third-World debt crisis, institutions like the World Bank increasingly conceived of higher education in the formerly colonized world not as instruments of national-welfarist development and societal modernization, but as engines for producing individualized "human capital" and, to the extent that they failed to do so by governing metrics, costly luxuries that must be pared back or eliminated in the interests of fiscal responsibility and a disciplined debt-repayment regime. As Kamola recounts, the imposition of these new priorities took a heavy toll on African universities.

It is from this concatenation of political-institutional developments that Kamola sees the birth of the "global" as a full-blown, university-based knowledge project. "Global" studies provided an intellectualized rationale for cutbacks

to expensive, in-depth training and research in particular places, especially in the formerly colonized world. And it allowed universities to market the expertise they were selling as universally—"globally"—applicable, especially to business-oriented students and an increasingly transnational student-clientele. Part and parcel of this withdrawal from on-the-ground, culturally specific knowledge was a shift in power towards social-scientific theorists interested in the developing world merely as a proving ground for Western and especially U.S.-based theories of social change. Hypotheses forged largely within the United States to answer U.S.-centered questions would be tested for their "universality" inexpensively, over short periods of research, in select, non-U.S. locations. Area studies, he writes, became "conceptualized as the receiver of social scientific knowledge" (p. 155). As Kenneth Prewitt of the SSRC put it, while area studies had made "valid and valuable contributions" by supplying "basic data from a rich variety of cultural contexts," efforts must be made "to transcend the limits of particular cultures and to formulate and synthesize these expanded and enriched data in cross-cultural and comparative terms" (p. 157). This shift intensified long-standing imperial divisions of intellectual labor that reserved theory, conceptualization, and agenda-formation as metropolitan prerogatives, while peripheries were restricted to supplying "empirical" raw materials destined for ostensibly higher-order interpretive processing elsewhere.

Even as powerful political-economic forces shaping universities were conditioning the rise of the "global" as concept and organizational frame within academia, its advocates emphasized that this radically new way to structure social inquiry was, to the contrary, a more or less automatic, natural response to the radically new way that human beings everywhere were experiencing their lives. "Area studies traditionally had a fairly clear grasp of what was meant by 'here' and what was meant by 'there,'" Prewitt wrote in 1996. "But when areas, from remote villages to entire continents are caught up in processes which link them to events that, though geographically distant, are culturally, economically, politically, strategically, and ecologically quite near, the distinction between 'here' and 'there' breaks down." What he called the "global-local notion was not a "methodological metaphor invented by social theorists." It was "the lived experience of billions of people in ways unanticipated even a decade ago" (p. 158)

Using the case of New York University at the turn of the 21st century, Kamola closes with an account of international university branch campuses as instantiating a kind of university-shaped capitalist globalism: setting up shop in rapidly-growing regions possessing youthful elites eager for "global" knowledge bearing a U.S. imprimatur; structuring the transnational mobility and networking of students, alumni and faculty; and legitimated by self-representations of a utopian cosmopolis inherited from Enlightenment

dreams, but injected with an up-to-date, post-nationalist, multicultural ethos. Such campuses, Kamola rightly emphasizes—similar to many campuses in the U.S.—were and are sustained in many cases by an equally globalized if far less heralded proletariat of intensely vulnerable migrant workers whose lack of civic status, rights, and protections proved to be a structural feature of "global university" operations. It was too easy and all too common to resolve these relationships into contradictions, paradoxes, or ironies—globalization's separable "upsides" and "downsides"—instead of mutually implicated forms of domination and hierarchy.

Making the World Global merits high praise for accomplishing something that only some intellectual histories of the U.S. in the world succeed at: tying ideas, their makers, and their institutional homes to their lived consequences for the world's peoples. When Kamola writes about the global vision of the architects of structural adjustment, for example, the implications for the aspirations of formerly colonized societies—particularly, in this case, for robust, autonomous higher education—are neither abstract nor bounded by the walls of U.S. academia. Rather, U.S. policymakers and academics' thinking about the operations of finance capitalism, about the centrality of rigid debt repayment regimes to legitimate statehood, and about the relevance or irrelevance of histories of slavery, colonialism, exploitation, and post-colonial domination have profound—if never unmediated—impacts on the very practical question of whether African universities will be able to pay their staffs, maintain their infrastructure, and remain open.

Also valuable is the book's emphasis on the significant yet often unremarked effects of academic-institutional arrangements on knowledge production, particularly as a corrective to accounts of postwar intellectual life that overstress individual academics' autonomy and agency. But Kamola's reliance (especially in his introduction and conclusion) on a strong sense of structural determinism, indebted in part to Louis Althusser, fits awkwardly with the book's own, more supple and varied method, which combines synoptic institutional histories, intellectual biographies of prominent individuals, and close readings of their most representative or influential texts. Less tethered to an overarching structuralist frame, the book would have been well-positioned to explore when precisely in late-20th-century U.S. history specific thinkers or modes of thinking represented primary, decisive factors in world-making with respect to broader intellectual, institutional, and geopolitical forces. When did the history here pivot on well-positioned actors, or institutional nodes, or clusters of ideas, or specific keywords? To what extent did academics set or shape larger agendas, and where did they provide rationales, legitimacy or rhetorical gloss for agendas over which they had very little say, their illusions of power and influence notwithstanding?

The book provides a nuanced account of key instances of global thought, but one place where it could have used much finer-grained analysis is in its articulation of the national and global. *Making the World Global* draws a sharp contrast between national and global imaginaries, in part through a loosely periodized but unmistakable before/after sequence. As Kamola tells it, national imaginaries embedded in and structuring of modernization theory and area studies in the postwar decades gave way to global imaginaries that displaced their precursors. But the relationships between national and global imaginaries were always more complex, contrapuntal, interdependent, and mutually constitutive. While anchored to nationalized understandings of economy, society, and culture, for example, modernization theory and the practical enterprises it helped organize always assumed a wider world: "modern" societies that diffused their advanced ways to "backward" ones; foreign aid and loans and technical expertise as levers of progressive uplift; export development as a defining metric of economic progress; possibilities for cross-border political destabilization that growth would forestall; and technocratic, long-distance, counterinsurgent violence that would crush whatever discontents growth had not extinguished. Modernization theory's defining pretensions of universalism presumed and required a global space over which the theory must apply.

Similarly, national imaginaries were never absent from global ones. Somewhat abstract accounts of nation-states played a critical role as globalization's foil. They were right there, after all, in narratives of a "decline of the nation-state"; if it was not always clear what globalization was, it was clear enough what it came after. (Somewhat ironically, Kamola's description of a decline of national imaginaries mirrors the narratives of a decline of the nation-state that he seeks to problematize.) And globalization narratives often relied on nationalized cartographies, particularly when it came to accounts of cultural collision. While there were heated debates on the matter, for example, the "globalization" of world culture was for many onlookers synonymous with its "Americanization," a concept that nationalized culture in the very act of describing and analyzing transnational and global processes. The question may be less how the national was replaced by the global than the ways that particular actors in particular settings joined one with the other, with what political intents, tensions, and consequences.

The book usefully introduces new actors into the story of U.S. world-making, particularly from the domains of business and marketing. But the principles guiding its coverage are not always clear, and some of the Kamola's choices can seem arbitrary or reproduce conventional, and problematic, timelines. The decision to emphasize the post-World War II period, for example, with selective flashbacks to prior eras is especially striking given what scholars have revealed when it comes to the deeper genealogies of hegemonic U.S. global thinking within and proximate to the U.S. academy, dating back at least as far

as the late 19th century: the rise of an imperial geopolitical expertise among U.S. naval officers and scholars; the invention of colonizing sciences tasked with making "native" societies and resources legible in newly conquered territories; transits of public health knowledge, ideology, and practice between far-flung "tropics" under U.S. sovereignty; the birth of international relations as an applied science oriented towards the maintenance and management of Euro-American colonialism and white racial domination; the birth of U.S. international law as a means of extending and legitimating the power of U.S.-based corporations; transatlantic exchanges over the racial structuring of capitalist labor regimes; and the early-to-mid-20th-century origins of "development" practices that included technocratic governance, statist planning, infrastructure building, and industrial, agrarian, and environmental reform; and World War II-era strategic thinking about the prospects of Anglo-American military and commercial hegemony over a "Grand Area" including, at the least, the Western Hemisphere, Western Europe, and European colonies and in Asia, Africa and the Middle East.[14] The 1940s were without doubt a watershed, in other words, in a deeper, ongoing story. That much of the post-World War II thinking the book foregrounds has roots that trace back to these prewar sources, roots that internationalist social scientists sometimes worked diligently to scrub in the years after 1945 in promoting their modernity, rationality, objectivity, and dedication to "freedom," makes their relative absence here more notable.[15]

There are also many significant approaches to thinking about the world as global, including but not limited to the academy, that unfolded at the same late-20th-century moment the book covers, but which go curiously unexplored. There was the "revolution in military affairs," with its emphasis on sophisticated technologies of targeting, surveillance, navigation and communications; smaller, more mobile units capable of rapid deployment; and remapping of the world as single, integrated battle space.[16] There were domains of human rights law and scholarship, with its ambitions to establish globally extensive norms, jurisprudence and legal institutions.[17] Relatedly, there were older discourses of "humanitarianism," with their hierarchical, long-distance, anti-political politics of sympathetic affect and material relief. In the late 20th century, these were updated, globalized and sometimes militarized, with interventions carried out in the name of stopping or punishing regimes abusive of civilians, protecting the vulnerable, or preventing or ending "genocide"; these proved lethally versatile when it came to the making of a "war on terror."[18]

The second half of the 1990s also saw a surge of interest in "cosmopolitanism" within the academic humanities and social sciences, and debates about "tolerance" and "coexistence" across cultural difference and the prospects for "global community."[19] Some scholars embraced forms of imperial, capitalist cosmopolitanism that represented the United States' own "multiculturalism" as an instrument for extending and legitimating U.S. power and profiting U.S.

corporations in an irreducibly "diverse" world; the nation's "diversity," and what was narrated as its actual or imminent transcendence of a racist past in the wake of the civil rights era, was understood to be a source of its greatness and geopolitical dominance. At roughly the same time, academic political science and popular journalistic discourse witnessed a resurgence of democratic peace theory. Some of these thinkers conflated markets and democracy in symptomatic ways, as in Thomas Friedman's glib, catchy "Golden Arches Theory of Conflict Prevention," the assertion that no two countries possessing McDonald's franchises would go to war.[20]

If Kamola's late-20th-century hegemonic globalizers represent only some among many, the book also pays comparatively little attention to dissenting, anti-imperial globalisms. Kamola is forthright that his book's overall subject is the making and transformation of hegemonic global ideologies and modes of social-scientific inquiry, with occasional treatments of egalitarian, anti-imperial approaches; at one point, he imagines a parallel book that would explore in depth such counter-traditions of the global.[21] This is fair; as it stands, the book covers a great deal effectively. But its focus does make it difficult to ask the crucial question of how exactly emerging forms of imperial, capitalist globalism related to their alternatives. Did they arrive on the scene first, prompting critical rejoinders? Or did visions of a more equal world come first, leading to top-down efforts to contain, absorb, and displace them? If the latter is the case, it potentially recasts late-20th-century "global" talk (against its self-mythologies as a *sui generis* response to events "themselves") as a counter-revolutionary discourse seeking to defeat, neutralize and incorporate challenging elements of past and present-day egalitarian globalisms seeking to imagine the world differently. More fully registering the presence and pressure of these dissenting alternatives more—even while still focusing on hegemonic projects—would have allowed the book to better track and interpret striking shifts in the political valences of "global" discourse, from the strong early-to-mid-20th-century association of "internationalism" with a host of progressive and left movements to globalization's late-20th-century and early-21st-century associations with technocratic capitalist politics.

Along these lines, it is worth exploring one line of inquiry that Kamola does not consider. The question of whether long-distance connectivity actually reached epochally new intensities in the late 20th century has been heavily contested, but by convincing metrics, the bulk of the world's economic activity during these years (admittedly, only one possible measure of a "global" condition) remained national or regional, with important variations. To the extent that this was the case, it gives Kamola's central question—what was global-speak a symptom of?—additional bite, because this way of speaking did not accurately reflect what was actually happening in the material world. Why, then, has globalization had such conceptual traction and staying power down to our own time?

One possibility is that "globalization" discourse resonated with and propelled efforts to wrench apart the domains of "economics" and "politics," and to enhance the relative power of capital within states structured by social-democratic politics.[22] Narratives of the "decline of the nation-state" across the world could be brought to bear against any particular national-welfarist regime with great force. If, in this brave new world, cross-border flows of goods and capital could somehow no longer be captured and harnessed by putatively weakening states, it said something powerful about whether capital could or should be regulated at all, within nations or between them. Indeed, one way to read globalization discourse is as a kind of allegorical drama in which "politics" (played by national states, understood territorially) was both separable from "economics" (played by cross-border flows), and no longer capable of governing it. That this allegory played out across the globe, named a process said to envelop humanity as a whole, and defined both a present epoch and unbounded future greatly enhanced its capacity to erode or liquidate the domain of "politics" within national polities, as well as between them, and to render this withering of the space of collective decision-making inherent to the inexorable drive of history itself.

Needless to say, global-speak was far from the only political-cultural idiom in which this particular politics, associated with the term neoliberalism, was being advanced in the late 20th century.[23] And globalization discourse was not, strictly speaking, cooked up to achieve "neoliberal" goals, nor can this discourse's effects be reduced to these goals. (Among other things, global concepts proved useful and compelling to many who had serious criticisms of neoliberalism.) It was more that a set of bad, easy-to-think mappings, partly created in other contexts and for other purposes (state equals territory equals politics; capital equals deterritorialization equals economic law) were available to reinforce one another, creating opportunities to legitimate new, hotly contested global orders and disorders.[24]

Among the subtle and unintended but consequential effects were scholars' foregrounding of questions about "connection" and the appropriate scales of social analysis as interpretive end in and of themselves. How new exactly was "globalization"? How much connectivity did it involve? What were the limitations of nation-based scholarship? What were the proper frames of scholarly inquiry? Scholars who posed these key questions could have used them to open broader critical inquiries with implications for the politics of the global condition itself. Some did, to be sure. But in many other instances, connectionist questions became ultimate ends, rather than stepping stones. Other pressing questions about the global past and present, the criteria used to discern better worlds from worse ones, and roles that global scholarship should play in the wider world, went largely undiscussed.

In this respect, Kamola's book should be applauded for inviting scholars to think more critically about the politics and values that undergird their understandings of the "global" and "transnational" as terms used to map space, scale, and social action in present and past, and as the organizing concepts used to categorize modes of social knowledge-production. By taking up the challenging work of historicizing, contextualizing, and problematizing ways of knowing that are of relatively recent origin and that remain dominant in many circles—if never unchallenged—he implicitly calls attention to the way that scholars' reconstructions of the social, whether or not they self-consciously unfold on global or transnational scales or recognize their salience, are nonetheless involved in the making of worlds. Whatever its intended scale, any social representation's chosen centers and margins, inclusions and exclusions, spotlights and backdrops, presume, evoke and convey—for better and worse—a larger world they participate in building.

While the stakes of Kamola's book are clear enough for historians of U.S. higher education and intellectual historians of the United States' role in the wider world, what if anything does it mean for the globalizing of U.S. history? The stakes here, while subtle, are substantial. When influential U.S. historians in the late 1990s and early 2000s announced the need to bring the history of the United States "into" the world, they had any of a number of intellectual traditions available to them, including those forged in the previous half-century's anti-racist, feminist, socialist, anti-militarist, anti-imperialist, and environmental globalisms. Among other advantages, laying the foundations here (at least prospectively) would have rendered a globalized U.S. history at the outset, clearly and compellingly, as a mode of critical history seeking to denaturalize, historicize, and problematize illegitimate past and present-day power relations, including those with transnational, imperial, and global reach. It would have also aligned the field well with prevailing analytical categories of race, gender, and class, and well-established interpretive and critical practices in many national and sub-national histories.

But for reasons that Kamola's book helps illuminate, this was not the dominant path taken. Instead, the field's foundational concepts and agendas were adapted from connectionist globalism, with its borders, flows and cosmopolitan ambitions. The borders in question were the bounds of national history, which needed to be transcended. The flows were mobile, border-crossing cultures, goods, and people that enmeshed national histories in one another. Core research questions would center on the ways that historical actors had navigated between national and transnational identities in the interconnected worlds they had inhabited. Past societies would be shown to be more entangled and mutually implicated than latter-day nationalists and exceptionalists allowed, a discovery that was especially prized when it came

to social domains previously understood to be disconnected and *sui generis* (domestic spheres and "internal" regions, for example).[25] Such histories could, intentionally or not, provide borderless capitalist globalization something approximating a usable past.[26]

In seeking to provide alternatives to the United States' late-Cold War nationalist triumphalism and the exceptionalist arrogance of its "unipolar" moment, globalizing history's anti-exceptionalist impulses and goals were substantial and important, and continue to animate and inform vibrant, diverse research agendas down to the present. They played an indispensable role in defamiliarizing elements of U.S. history, previously anchored to national and exceptionalist frames, by revealing their transnational entanglements. And they have emerged as newly valuable in the face of some historians' recent calls for an ostensibly "progressive" nationalist U.S. historiography that might be capable of battling effectively with the proliferating historical myths being manufactured in the service of a U.S. authoritarian nationalism.[27] But if this anti-exceptionalist project has been necessary, it has also been insufficient. Its limits are clearest in framings of a globalized U.S. history that identify its goal as a more cosmopolitan U.S. national identity, rescued from arrogant exceptionalism. Here the point of a writing histories "beyond the nation" was ultimately a better U.S. national history, a prioritization of nation and globe with its own distinct history, a history that was not separable from that of American exceptionalism itself.

Such framings, both in the context of a globalized U.S. history and the broader field of global history, did not go unchallenged. Nor were they totally hegemonic in shaping the landscape of monographs that followed them, which drew from varied conceptual, interpretive, and historiographic traditions; among these were critical empire histories that foregrounded questions of unequal power as well as transnational connection. But connectionist framings were influential enough that, as reservations about global history have recently surfaced, they have often tellingly conflated the act of writing history at scales larger than nations with the act of celebrating mobility, flows, and a borderless world. Has backlash nationalism proven that global history went too far? some scholars asked. Haven't global historians, somewhat like cosmopolitan capital, abandoned those "left behind," who merited more "local" attention? Might not worldly global historians even share some of the blame for revanchist nationalism?[28]

Whatever the merits of these questions, they would only make sense if global history and connectionist history were the same thing. But, fortunately, global history and connectionist history are not and have never been the same thing, even if the indispensable distinction between them has often gone unmarked. There has always been scholarship that, even as it carefully tracks and reconstructs connections, sees this task as the means to larger critical

ends, ends that are not reducible to hopes for a more inclusionary national identity among the citizens of the world's most powerful states. Among these goals is the critique of political and methodological nationalisms not merely as exclusionary or exceptionalist, but as enclosing social analysis and political ethics in ways that mask and legitimate structures of unequal power between nations and across global space, structures of power that merit—indeed, require—critical, historical scrutiny.

From this point of view, the work of global history can be reimagined to involve, alongside the challenging of national exceptionalisms, the related but deeper matter of providing critical genealogies and contingent histories of an unequal world rendered legitimate and natural by national and global structures and ideologies—including the nation-bounded scholarship—and as well as by past and present global ideologies. It is not that connection and linkage will cease to be among scholars' defining research subjects and organizing themes in such a reimagined global history, but that excavating and reconstructing them as early traces of a "global" world in the making will no longer be these histories' primary goal. Recovering and mapping connection might be productively recast as one means for carrying out global scholarship, but not its end.

Such work is, thankfully, far from hypothetical. Historical scholarship that uses reconstructed connections to critically thematize transnational and global inequalities has long existed in specific sectors of both global historiography and national historiographies "in the world." This impulse can be observed, for example, in many works that employ political-economic analyses inspired by dependency theory and world-systems theory to account for the historical development of the capitalist world economy's uneven, hierarchical, segmented structures and divisions of labor. Similarly, there are histories that track the politics of racialized and gendered difference across national boundaries, examining the ways that such hierarchies shaped and were shaped by relations of geopolitical domination. And there are works that critically historicize war-making and societal militarization—capacity-building for state violence organized by friend/enemy distinctions—and these processes' relationships to the building of national power and an unequal world. Much of this scholarship has relied upon concepts of empire. While empire analytics have varied widely in the purposes to which they have been put, and in their definitions of empire—including overly-narrowed definitions that confine the term to "formal" colonialism—at their best, they have oriented historians towards inquiries that problematize and historicize transnational and global inequalities, even as they fundamentally challenge conventional boundaries between the "insides" and "outsides" of national history itself.[29]

Reconstructing, as Kamola's book does, American universities' significant roles in incubating and carrying forward a particular set of global imaginar-

ies—and marginalizing others—helps historians make sense of the reasons why, by the late 20th and early 21st centuries, connectionist globalisms tied to U.S. unipolarity, military dominance, and the marketization of society on a global scale prevailed within the university-based social sciences and humanities in the United States including, ultimately, in many of the founding charters of a globalized U.S. history itself.

Raising awareness of this intellectual history also helps open the necessary space for other global histories, animated both by well-established and emergent critical traditions and ones that remain to be imagined. Many of these nascent agendas, including ones that distinguish connection as means and end, will not have been conceivable within the matrix of institutional imperatives and dominant global cartographies so effectively charted in Kamola's work. But unlike the inexorable, unchosen, end-of-history globalizations dreamed of and brought partway into being by this book's protagonists, global history's own story is far from over.

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2. Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918* (2003).

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7. For a compelling account of the global politics of time along these lines, for example, see Vanessa Ogle, *The Global Transformation of Time, 1870–1950* (2015)

8. See, for example, David Long and Brian C. Schmidt, eds., *Imperialism and Internationalism in the Discipline of International Relations* (2005); Inderjeet Parmar, *Foundations of the American Century: The Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller Foundations in the Rise of American Power* (2012); Robert Vitalis, *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations* (2015).

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14. Dirk Bönker, *Militarism in a Global Age: Naval Ambitions in Germany and the United States* (2012); Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States and the Philippines* (2006); Robert Vitalis, *White World Order, Black Power Politics;* Benjamin A. Coates, *Legalist Empire: International Law and American Foreign Relations in the Early 20th Century* (2016); Andrew Zimmerman, *Alabama in Africa: Booker T. Washington, the German Empire, and the Globalization of the New South* (2010); Nick Cullather, *The Hungry World: America's Cold War Battle against Poverty in Asia* (2010); Stephen Wertheim, *Tomorrow, the World: The Birth of U.S. Global Supremacy* (2020); David C. Engerman, *Modernization from the Other Shore: American Intellectuals and the Romance of Russian Development* (2004); Susan Schulten, *The Geographical Imagination in America, 1880–1950* (2001); Ricardo D. Salvatore, *Disciplinary Conquest: U.S. Scholars in South America, 1900–1945* (2016); Zachary Lockman, *Field Notes: The Making of Middle East Studies in the United States* (2016).

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