The United States in the World

SERIES CATALOG
The United States in the World

Books in this innovative series globalize the study of United States history. It features extraordi-
nary works that explore how people, ideas, processes, and events that transcend national borders
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United States in the World series is to bring together the best new scholarship that globalizes
United States history, thereby enriching and broadening our understanding of United States
history.

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David C. Engerman is Ottilie Springer Professor of History at Brandeis University. He has
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Enemy: The Rise and Fall of America’s Soviet Experts, and the forthcoming Development Politics:
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Amy S. Greenberg is Edwin Erle Sparks Professor of History and Women’s Studies at Pennsyl-
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War: Polk, Clay, Lincoln, and the 1846 U.S. Invasion of Mexico; Manifest Destiny and Amer-
ican Territorial Expansion: A Brief History with Documents; and Manifest Manhood and the
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nineteenth-century U.S. foreign policy.

Paul A. Kramer is Associate Professor of History at Vanderbilt University. He is the author of
The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States and the Philippines, winner of the
Stuart L. Bernath and James Rawley Prizes, as well as numerous articles on U. S. transnational,
imperial and global histories. His current project deals with the intersection between immi-
gration and imperial politics in the United States across the 20th century.
Ten Years of the United States in the World Series

One It is surprising to think that a decade ago, the transnational was a new concept in many fields. That was particularly so among historians of United States foreign relations, where high-level diplomacy and affairs of state had been the focus of attention as long as anyone could remember. The inaugural publications in The United States in the World—a book series dedicated to transnational scholarship—were thus unexpected, innovative, and trend-setting in the study of what was once termed “foreign affairs.” This year marks the ten-year anniversary of the first two books published in the series, time enough to recognize the insight of the founding series editors and give tribute to the field-changing impact of the twenty volumes published since 2007.

The idea for the series goes back to 2005, when Mark Philip Bradley and Paul A. Kramer collaborated with my predecessor, Alison Kallett, to frame the series concept. At that time no press had a series focusing on the role that non-state actors, flows of capital and peoples, and non-governmental organizations had in state diplomacy and international relations. The editors proposed to push beyond the then-popular idea of global history and to “draw on domestic and international archives,” “challenge conventional periodizations,” and “explore how people, ideas, and cultures traveled between the United States and the rest of the world.” Moreover, while looking ever outward to the larger world, the books were always intended to enrich and broaden our understanding of modern United States history.

The initial books in the series—Aims McGuiness’s *Path of Empire* and Usama Makdisi’s *Artillery of Heaven*, followed quickly by Hiroshi Kitamura’s *Screening Enlightenment*—demonstrated the power of transnational methods in understanding the application of American power and the reciprocal actions that often changed formal American policy. Early reviews of the books were highly positive and they were quickly adopted for use in courses. A trend had been set.

Numerous scholars and, not surprisingly, a handful of academic presses noted the power of transnational analysis and got on board. Now it is hard to find a work in the history of U.S. foreign relations that, at the very least, does not recognize the relevance of, for instance, informal networks, migration, and popular protest in the development of diplomacy and military policy.

As the scholarship in the field of U.S. foreign relations has followed the path charted by The United States in the World, the series itself has grown and changed. In 2012 David C. Engerman came on board as a co-editor, bringing with him strong expertise in the post-World War II histories of Europe, the Soviet Union, and modernizations policies. Then, in 2013, Amy S. Greenberg joined the board of editors, consolidating the series’s unique strength in the history of American foreign relations in the 19th century.

With Sean L. Malloy’s excellent book on the internationalism of the Black Panther Party, *Out of Oakland*, just published and eight more titles anticipated to appear in the next couple of years, The United States in the World is as productive and vital in its 10th year of publishing activity as it was in 2007.

Michael J. McGandy
Out of Oakland
Black Panther Internationalism during the Cold War
SEAN L. MALLOY

In *Out of Oakland*, Sean L. Malloy explores the evolving internationalism of the Black Panther Party (BPP); the continuing exile of former members, including Assata Shakur, in Cuba is testament to the lasting nature of the international bonds that were forged during the party’s heyday. Founded in Oakland, California, in October 1966 by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, the BPP began with no more than a dozen members. Focused on local issues, most notably police brutality, the Panthers patrolled their West Oakland neighborhood armed with shotguns and law books. Within a few years, the BPP had expanded its operations into a global confrontation with what Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver dubbed "the international pig power structure."

Malloy traces the shifting intersections between the black freedom struggle in the United States, Third World anticolonialism, and the Cold War. By the early 1970s, the Panthers had chapters across the United States as well as an international section headquartered in Algeria and support groups and emulators as far afield as England, India, New Zealand, Israel, and Sweden. The international section served as an official embassy for the BPP and a beacon for American revolutionaries abroad, attracting figures ranging from Black Power skyjackers to fugitive LSD guru Timothy Leary. Engaging directly with the expanding Cold War, BPP representatives cultivated alliances with the governments of Cuba, North Korea, China, North Vietnam, and the People’s Republic of the Congo as well as European and Japanese militant groups and the Palestinian Liberation Organization. In an epilogue, Malloy directly links the legacy of the BPP to contemporary questions raised by the Black Lives Matter movement.

SEAN L. MALLOY is Associate Professor of History/Critical Race and Ethnic Studies at the University of California, Merced. He is also the author of *Atomic Tragedy: Henry L. Stimson and the Decision to Use the Bomb against Japan*.

$24.95 978-1-5017-0239-6 paperback
288 pages, 12 illustrations, 6 x 9
Redemption and Revolution
American and Chinese New Women in the Early Twentieth Century
Motoe Sasaki

In the early twentieth century, a good number of college-educated Protestant American women went abroad by taking up missionary careers in teaching, nursing, and medicine. Most often, their destination was China, which became a major mission field for the U.S. Protestant missionary movement as the United States emerged to become an imperial power. These missionary women formed a cohort of new women who sought to be liberated from traditional gender roles. As educators and benevolent emancipators, they attempted to transform Chinese women into self-sufficient middle-class professional women just like themselves. As Motoe Sasaki shows in Redemption and Revolution, these aspirations ran parallel to and were in conflict with those of the Chinese xin nüxing (New Women) they encountered.

The subjectivity of the New Woman was an element of global modernity expressing gendered visions of progress. At the same time it was closely intertwined with the view of historical progress in the nation. Though American and Chinese New Women emphasized individual autonomy in that each sought to act as historical agents for modern progress, their notions of subjectivity were in different ways linked to the ideologies of historical progress of their nations. Sasaki’s transnational history of these New Women explores the intersections of gender, modernity, and national identity within the politics of world history, where the nation-state increased its presence as a universal unit in an ever-interconnecting global context.

Motoe Sasaki is Associate Professor on the Faculty of Intercultural Communication at Hosei University.

“A revealing account of the politics of missionary-Chinese encounters, Redemption and Revolution shows how U.S. missions became anticolonial flashpoints—even among missionaries’ closest Chinese associates. Drawing on extensive research in U.S. and Chinese sources, Motoe Sasaki delves into the day-to-day frictions of cross-cultural encounters and the wider conflicts they sparked.”—Kristin Hoganson, author of Consumers’ Imperium

“Motoe Sasaki’s account of the U.S. missionary enterprise in China around the turn of the twentieth century is informed by the insights of recent scholarship on gender, cultural relations, and global modernity. U.S. and Chinese ‘new women’ shared common assumptions about progress and civilization but brought local concerns and sensibilities to their search for modernity. ‘New women’ in the United States who found an outlet in missionary activity were products of the turn-of-the-century search for a unique but universalist imperial U.S. modernity. Their voices would fade from memory by the 1930s, both in the United States and China, with the ascendancy of masculinized paradigms of world history.”—Arif Dirlik, author of Culture and History in Postrevolutionary China: The Perspective of Global Modernity
Imperfect Strangers
Americans, Arabs, and U.S.–Middle East Relations in the 1970s
Salim Yaqub

In *Imperfect Strangers*, Salim Yaqub argues that the 1970s were a pivotal decade for U.S.-Arab relations, whether at the upper levels of diplomacy, in street-level interactions, or in the realm of the imagination. In those years, Americans and Arabs came to know each other as never before. With Western Europe’s imperial legacy fading in the Middle East, American commerce and investment spread throughout the Arab world. The United States strengthened its strategic ties to some Arab states, even as it drew closer to Israel. Maneuvering Moscow to the sidelines, Washington placed itself at the center of Arab-Israeli diplomacy. Meanwhile, the rise of international terrorism, the Arab oil embargo and related increases in the price of oil, and expanding immigration from the Middle East forced Americans to pay closer attention to the Arab world.

Yaqub combines insights from diplomatic, political, cultural, and immigration history to chronicle the activities of a wide array of American and Arab actors—political leaders, diplomats, warriors, activists, scholars, businesspeople, novelists, and others. He shows that growing interdependence raised hopes for a broad political accommodation between the two societies. Yet a series of disruptions in the second half of the decade thwarted such prospects. Arabs recoiled from a U.S.-brokered peace process that fortified Israel’s occupation of Arab land. Americans grew increasingly resentful of Arab oil pressures, attitudes dovetailing with broader anti-Muslim sentiments aroused by the Iranian hostage crisis. At the same time, elements of the U.S. intelligentsia became more respectful of Arab perspectives as a newly assertive Arab American community emerged into political life. These patterns left a contradictory legacy of estrangement and accommodation that continued in later decades and remains with us today.

Salim Yaqub is Professor of History at the University of California, Santa Barbara. He is the author of Containing Arab Nationalism: The Eisenhower Doctrine and the Middle East.

$35.00  978-0-8014-4883-6 hardcover
464 pages, 26 illustrations, 6 x 9

“Salim Yaqub has written a sophisticated overview of U.S.-Arab relations during that pivotal decade, the 1970s. Deftly, he examines both American foreign policy during that critical era and how Arab Americans responded to their government’s shifting positions. Yaqub’s rich and compelling work could not be more relevant.”—David Farber, Roy A. Roberts Distinguished Professor of History, University of Kansas

“Imperfect Strangers makes a compelling case that the Nixon, Ford, and Carter years marked a watershed in U.S. relations with the Arab world.”—Douglas Little, Clark University

“Salim Yaqub has written a profoundly original narrative about the troubled relationship among America, Arab Americans, and the Arab world in the critical decade of the 1970s.”—Kai Bird, author of *The Good Spy*

“Imperfect Strangers is creatively conceived, impressively researched, and beautifully written—a full rethinking of the history of U.S. relations with the Arab world in a crucial decade.”—Melani McAlister, author of *Epic Encounters*
For God and Globe
Christian Internationalism in the United States between the Great War and the Cold War

Michael G. Thompson

For God and Globe recovers the history of an important yet largely forgotten intellectual movement in interwar America. Michael G. Thompson explores the way radical-left and ecumenical Protestant internationalists articulated new understandings of the ethics of international relations between the 1920s and the 1940s. Missionary leaders such as Sherwood Eddy and journalists such as Kirby Page, as well as realist theologians including Reinhold Niebuhr, developed new kinds of religious enterprises devoted to producing knowledge on international relations for public consumption. For God and Globe centers on the excavation of two such efforts—the leading left-wing Protestant interwar periodical, The World Tomorrow, and the landmark Oxford 1937 ecumenical world conference. Thompson charts the simultaneous peak and decline of the movement in John Foster Dulles’s ambitious efforts to link Christian internationalism to the cause of international organization after World War II.

Concerned with far more than foreign policy, Christian internationalists developed critiques of racism, imperialism, and nationalism in world affairs. They rejected exceptionalist frameworks and eschewed the dominant “Christian nation” imaginary as a lens through which to view U.S. foreign relations. In the intellectual history of religion and American foreign relations, Protestantism most commonly appears as an ideological ancillary to expansionism and nationalism. For God and Globe challenges this account by recovering a movement that held Christian universalism to be a check against nationalism rather than a boon to it.

Michael G. Thompson is Research Associate and Adjunct Lecturer at the United States Studies Centre of the University of Sydney.

$45.00 978-0-8014-5272-7 hardcover
264 pages, 6 x 9
White World Order, Black Power Politics

The Birth of American International Relations

Robert Vitalis

Winner of the Sussex International Theory Prize

Racism and imperialism are the twin forces that propelled the course of the United States in the world in the early twentieth century and in turn affected the way that diplomatic history and international relations were taught and understood in the American academy. Evolutionary theory, social Darwinism, and racial anthropology had been dominant doctrines in international relations from its beginnings; racist attitudes informed research priorities and were embedded in newly formed professional organizations. In White World Order, Black Power Politics, Robert Vitalis recovers the arguments, texts, and institution building of an extraordinary group of professors at Howard University, including Alain Locke, Ralph Bunche, Rayford Logan, Eric Williams, and Merze Tate, who was the first black female professor of political science in the country.

Within the rigidly segregated profession, the “Howard School of International Relations” represented the most important center of opposition to racism and the focal point for theorizing feasible alternatives to dependency and domination for Africans and African Americans through the early 1960s. Vitalis pairs the contributions of white and black scholars to reconstitute forgotten historical dialogues and show the critical role played by race in the formation of international relations.

Robert Vitalis is Professor of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania. He is the author of America’s Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier and When Capitalists Collide: Business Conflict and the End of Empire in Egypt and coeditor of Counter-Narratives: History, Society and Politics in Saudi Arabia and Yemen.

There is much to commend in Vitalis’ book which is filled with fascinating vignettes and unexpected connections. He writes with clarity and passion, especially in the book’s opening and close, to ensure that whilst ample room is given for the reader to make their own way through the material, it is never an aimless wander.”—Jake Hodder, Journal of Historical Geography

“Defying his discipline’s preference for theory over history, Vitalis has demonstrated how detailed, archive-based historical accounts can lift the veil on the racism running through international relations as field and practice.”—Carol Polsgrove, American Historical Review

“If international relations scholars want to understand the racial politics that made their field what it is today, there is no better place to begin than with this righteously angry book.”—Susan Pederson, London Review of Books

“White World Order, Black Power Politics is a groundbreaking book that has the potential to transform our understanding of a key dimension of twentieth-century American social science.”—Duncan Bell, author of The Idea of Greater Britain

$21.95 978-0-8014-5669-5 paperback
288 pages, 6 x 9
During the Cold War, both Chinese and American officials employed a wide range of migration policies and practices to pursue legitimacy, security, and prestige. They focused on allowing or restricting immigration, assigning refugee status, facilitating student exchanges, and enforcing deportations. The Diplomacy of Migration focuses on the role these practices played in the relationship between the United States and the Republic of China both before and after the move to Taiwan. Meredith Oyen identifies three patterns of migration diplomacy: migration legislation as a tool to achieve foreign policy goals, migrants as subjects of diplomacy and propaganda, and migration controls that shaped the Chinese American community.

Using sources from diplomatic and governmental archives in the United States, the Republic of China on Taiwan, the People’s Republic of China, and the United Kingdom, Oyen applies a truly transnational perspective. The Diplomacy of Migration combines important innovations in the field of diplomatic history with new international trends in migration history to show that even though migration issues were often considered “low stakes” or “low risk” by foreign policy professionals concerned with Cold War politics and the nuclear age, they were neither “no risk” nor unimportant to larger goals. Instead, migration diplomacy became a means of facilitating other foreign policy priorities, even when doing so came at great cost for migrants themselves.

Meredith Oyen is Assistant Professor of History at University of Maryland Baltimore County.

“This book is filled with lively and fascinating stories of migrants who were at the center of U.S.-China diplomatic negotiations during the Cold War. Her arguments are thoughtful and convincing and her writing engaging. This important and long-overdue book will be widely appreciated by anyone who is interested in Chinese immigration and U.S.-China relations during the Cold War.”—Xiojian Zho, American Historical Review

“Oyen makes a brilliant effort to bridge diplomatic history and Chinese migration history by bringing into sharp focus the diplomacy of migration and its impact on the triangular relationship between the United States, Nationalist China, and Communist China.”—Mao Lin, H-Net Reviews

“Oyen takes an in-depth look at the issue of citizenship for Chinese Americans, particularly around questions of national belonging and dual citizenship, as well as the changing domestic politics of migrant communities in the United States and Southeast Asia.”—Mary Lui, Yale University
Christian Imperialism
Converting the World in the Early American Republic

Emily Conroy-Krutz

In 1812, eight American missionaries, under the direction of the recently formed American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, sailed from the United States to South Asia. The plans that motivated their voyage were no less grand than taking part in the Protestant conversion of the entire world. Over the next several decades, these men and women were joined by hundreds more American missionaries at stations all over the globe. Emily Conroy-Krutz shows the surprising extent of the early missionary impulse and demonstrates that American evangelical Protestants of the early nineteenth century were motivated by Christian imperialism—an understanding of international relations that asserted the duty of supposedly Christian nations, such as the United States and Britain, to use their colonial and commercial power to spread Christianity.

In describing how American missionaries interacted with a range of foreign locations (including India, Liberia, the Middle East, the Pacific Islands, North America, and Singapore) and imperial contexts, Christian Imperialism provides a new perspective on how Americans thought of their country’s role in the world. While in the early republican period many were engaged in territorial expansion in the west, missionary supporters looked east and across the seas toward Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. Conroy-Krutz’s history of the mission movement reveals that strong Anglo-American and global connections persisted through the early republic. Considering Britain and its empire to be models for their work, the missionaries of the American Board attempted to convert the globe into the image of Anglo-American civilization.

Emily Conroy-Krutz is Assistant Professor of History at Michigan State University.

$45.00 978-0-8014-5353-3 hardcover
264 pages, 8 illustrations, 6 x 9
Across the course of American history, imperialism and anti-imperialism have been awkwardly paired as influences on the politics, culture, and diplomacy of the United States. The Declaration of Independence, after all, is an anti-imperial document, cataloguing the sins of the metropolitan government against the colonies. With the Revolution, and again in 1812, the nation stood against the most powerful empire in the world and declared itself independent. As noted by Ian Tyrrell and Jay Sexton, however, American “anti-imperialism was clearly selective, geographically, racially, and constitutionally.” Empire’s Twin broadens our conception of anti-imperialist actors, ideas, and actions; it charts this story across the range of American history, from the Revolution to our own era; and it opens up the transnational and global dimensions of American anti-imperialism.

By tracking the diverse manifestations of American anti-imperialism, this book highlights the different ways in which historians can approach it in their research and teaching. The contributors cover a wide range of subjects, including the discourse of anti-imperialism in the Early Republic and Civil War, anti-imperialist actions in the U.S. during the Mexican Revolution, the anti-imperial dimensions of early U.S. encounters in the Middle East, and the transnational nature of anti-imperialist public sentiment during the Cold War and beyond.

Contributors: Laura Belmonte, Oklahoma State University; Robert Buzzanco, University of Houston; Julian Go, Boston University; Alan Knight, University of Oxford; Ussama Makdisi, Rice University; Erez Manela, Harvard University; Peter Onuf, Robert H. Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies, Monticello, and University of Virginia; Jeffrey Ostler, University of Oregon; Patricia Schechter, Portland State University; Jay Sexton, University of Oxford; Ian Tyrrell, University of New South Wales

Ian Tyrrell is Emeritus Professor of History at the University of New South Wales. Jay Sexton is Associate Professor of American History at Corpus Christi College, University of Oxford.

$26.95 978-0-8014-7919-9 paperback
312 pages, 6 x 9
With Sails Whitening Every Sea
Mariners and the Making of an American Maritime Empire

Brian Rouleau

Winner, James J. Broussard First Book Prize
Winner, John Lyman Book Award

Many Americans in the Early Republic era saw the seas as another field for national aggrandizement. With a merchant marine that competed against Britain for commercial supremacy and a whaling fleet that circled the globe, the United States sought a maritime empire to complement its territorial ambitions in North America. In *With Sails Whitening Every Sea*, Brian Rouleau argues that because of their ubiquity in foreign ports, American sailors were the principal agents of overseas foreign relations in the early republic. Their everyday encounters and more problematic interactions—barroom brawling, sexual escapades in port-city bordellos, and the performance of blackface minstrel shows—shaped how the United States was perceived overseas.

Rouleau details both the mariners’ “working-class diplomacy” and the anxieties such interactions inspired among federal authorities and missionary communities, who saw the behavior of American sailors as mere debauchery. Indiscriminate violence and licentious conduct, they feared, threatened both mercantile profit margins and the nation’s reputation overseas. As Rouleau chronicles, the world’s oceans and seaport spaces soon became a battleground over the terms by which American citizens would introduce themselves to the world. But by the end of the Civil War, seamen were no longer the nation’s principal ambassadors. Hordes of wealthy tourists had replaced seafarers, and those privileged travelers moved through a world characterized by consolidated state and corporate authority. Expanding nineteenth-century America’s master narrative beyond the water’s edge, *With Sails Whitening Every Sea* reveals the maritime networks that bound the Early Republic to the wider world.

Brian Rouleau is Assistant Professor of History at Texas A&M University.

“This book succeeds on every possible count. Consider this work a necessity for anyone endeavoring to study the culture and climate of early American maritime endeavors. Crucially, this book should practically be considered required reading for anyone about to step off into the world of primary source study into such areas as early American maritime correspondences, journals, or diaries.”—Gregory Nelson, *The Nautilus: A Maritime Journal of Literature, History and Culture*

“The major strength of Rouleau’s work is that he does not limit his scope to either the Pacific or Atlantic. Instead he sets out to examine a global maritime empire.”—Antony Adler, *H-War*

“Rouleau’s provocative book explains how common maritime laborers shaped the contours of America’s entanglements with foreign peoples during the nineteenth century. Rouleau has a true talent for seeing the larger dimensions of everyday interactions.”—Christopher P. Magra, *Diplomatic History*

$45.00 978-0-8014-5233-8 hardcover
288 pages, 10 illustrations, 6 x 9
From Development to Dictatorship
Bolivia and the Alliance for Progress in the Kennedy Era

THOMAS C. FIELD, JR.

Winner of the Thomas McGann Award

Choice Magazine 2015 Outstanding Academic Title

During the most idealistic years of John F. Kennedy's Alliance for Progress development program, Bolivia was the highest per capita recipient of U.S. foreign aid in Latin America. Nonetheless, Washington's modernization programs in early 1960s' Bolivia ended up on a collision course with important sectors of the country's civil society, including radical workers, rebellious students, and a plethora of rightwing and leftwing political parties. In From Development to Dictatorship, Thomas C. Field Jr. reconstructs the untold story of USAID's first years in Bolivia, including the country's 1964 military coup d'etat.

Field draws heavily on local sources to demonstrate that Bolivia's turn toward anticommunist, development-oriented dictatorship was the logical and practical culmination of the military-led modernization paradigm that provided the liberal underpinnings of Kennedy's Alliance for Progress. In the process, he explores several underappreciated aspects of Cold War liberal internationalism: the tendency of "development" to encourage authoritarian solutions to political unrest, the connection between modernization theories and the rise of Third World armed forces, and the intimacy between USAID and CIA covert operations. Challenging the conventional dichotomy between ideology and strategy in international politics, From Development to Dictatorship engages with a growing literature on development as a key rubric for understanding the interconnected processes of decolonization and the Cold War.

THOMAS C. FIELD JR., is Associate Professor and Department Chair of Global Security and Intelligence Studies at Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University.

$45.00 978-0-8014-5260-4 hardcover
$22.95 978-1-5017-1341-5 paperback (Jan. 2018)
296 pages, 8 illustrations, 6x 9
A Union Forever
The Irish Question and U.S. Foreign Relations in the Victorian Age
David Sim

In the mid-nineteenth century the Irish question—the governance of the island of Ireland—demanded attention on both sides of the Atlantic. In A Union Forever, David Sim examines how Irish nationalists and their American sympathizers attempted to convince legislators and statesmen to use the burgeoning global influence of the United States to achieve Irish independence. Simultaneously, he tracks how American politicians used the Irish question as means of furthering their own diplomatic and political ends.

Combining an innovative transnational methodology with attention to the complexities of American statecraft, Sim rewrites the diplomatic history of this neglected topic. He considers the impact that nonstate actors had on formal affairs between the United States and Britain, finding that not only did Irish nationalists fail to involve the United States in their cause but actually fostered an Anglo-American rapprochement in the final third of the nineteenth century. Their failures led them to seek out new means of promoting Irish self-determination, including an altogether more radical, revolutionary strategy that would alter the course of Irish and British history over the next century.

David Sim is Lecturer in US History at University College London.

$45.00 978-0-8014-5184-3 hardcover
280 pages, 6 x 9

“With this book, David Sim extends that growing understanding of the importance of Ireland and its American diaspora into the period from the 1840s to the 1890s. The book is an important contribution to a number of fields. By exploring the role of nonstate actors and public opinion on American foreign relations, A Union Forever adds to the growing exploration of that topic. In its treatment of Irish American nationalism’s interest in harnessing American policy, the book expands our understanding of the history of Irish America. It is an important read for historians of Ireland, Irish America, and American foreign relations.”—John Day Tully, American Historical Review

“Sim demonstrates a fine eye for nuance in a well-researched and clearly written study that contributes significantly to works on Irish American nationalism, transnational political history, and the history of U.S. foreign policy.”—William Jenkins, Journal of American History

“In A Union Forever, David Sim brilliantly illuminates the role of Irish nationalists and nationalism in Anglo-American relations during the nineteenth century.”—Jason Opal, McGill University, author of Beyond the Farm
Radicals on the Road
Internationalism, Orientalism, and Feminism during the Vietnam Era

Judy Tzu-Chun Wu

In Radicals on the Road, Judy Tzu-Chun Wu tells the story of international journeys made by significant yet underrecognized historical figures such as African American leaders Robert Browne, Eldridge Cleaver, and Elaine Brown; Asian American radicals Alex Hing and Pat Sumi; Chicana activist Betita Martinez; as well as women’s peace and liberation advocates Cora Weiss and Charlotte Bunch. These men and women of varying ages, races, sexual identities, class backgrounds, and religious faiths held diverse political views. Nevertheless, they all believed that the U.S. war in Vietnam was immoral and unjustified.

In times of military conflict, heightened nationalism is the norm. Powerful institutions, like the government and the media, work together to promote a culture of hyperpatriotism. Some Americans, though, questioned their expected obligations and instead imagined themselves as “internationalists,” as members of communities that transcended national boundaries. Their Asian political collaborators, who included Buddhist monk Thich Nhat Hanh, Foreign Minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government Nguyen Thi Binh and the Vietnam Women’s Union, cultivated relationships with U.S. travelers. These partners from the East and the West worked together to foster what Wu describes as a politically radical orientalist sensibility. By focusing on the travels of individuals who saw themselves as part of an international community of antiwar activists, Wu analyzes how actual interactions among people from several nations inspired transnational identities and multiracial coalitions and challenged the political commitments and personal relationships of individual activists.

Judy Tzu-Chun Wu is Associate Professor of History and Women’s, Gender, and Sexuality Studies at the Ohio State University.

$27.95 978-0-8014-7890-1 paperback
352 pages, 20 illustrations, 6 x 9
In 1955, Ngo Dinh Diem organized an election to depose chief-of-state Bao Dai, after which he proclaimed himself the first president of the newly created Republic of Vietnam. The United States sanctioned the results of this election, which was widely condemned as fraudulent, and provided substantial economic aid and advice to the RVN. Because of this, Diem is often viewed as a mere puppet of the United States, in service of its Cold War geopolitical strategy. That narrative, Jessica M. Chapman contends in Cauldron of Resistance, grossly oversimplifies the complexity of South Vietnam’s domestic politics and, indeed, Diem’s own political savvy.

Based on extensive work in Vietnamese, French, and American archives, Chapman offers a detailed account of three crucial years, 1953–1956, during which a new Vietnamese political order was established in the south. It is, in large part, a history of Diem’s political ascent as he managed to subdue the former Emperor Bao Dai, the armed Hoa Hao and Cao Dai religious organizations, and the Binh Xuyen crime organization. It is also an unparalleled account of these same outcast political powers, forces that would reemerge as destabilizing political and military actors in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

Chapman shows Diem to be an engaged leader whose personalist ideology influenced his vision for the new South Vietnamese state, but also shaped the policies that would spell his demise. Washington’s support for Diem because of his staunch anticomunism encouraged him to employ oppressive measures to suppress dissent, thereby contributing to the alienation of his constituency, and helped inspire the organized opposition to his government that would emerge by the late 1950s and eventually lead to the Vietnam War.

Jessica M. Chapman is Assistant Professor of History at Williams College.

“Chapman delivers a nuanced yet accessible analysis of the political scene in 1950s-era southern Vietnam. This book will be of interest to those who wish to learn more about the origins of US involvement in Vietnam prior to the war. Summing Up: Highly recommended.”—Choice

“Jessica Chapman has produced an excellent study—the best to my knowledge—of the political situation in South Vietnam during the early years of Ngo Dinh Diem’s rule in Saigon. . . . The book offers truly valuable insights on the consolidation of Diem’s power, but its real strength lies in Chapman’s assessment of the groups and individuals that initially contested his power.”—Pierre Asselin, Journal of Cold War Studies

“Skilfully argued, Cauldron of Resistance marks an impressive advancement in the study of Ngo Dinh Diem and the Republic of Vietnam. All readers will find Chapman’s work informative. Historians in particular will appreciate the author’s recreation of the political landscape of southern Vietnam during the formative years of Diem’s rise to power. All libraries are incomplete without this book.”—Robert Thompson, H-War


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The Universe Unraveling
American Foreign Policy in Cold War Laos

Seth Jacobs

Winner, 2013 James P. Hanlan Book Award

During the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations, Laos was positioned to become a major front in the Cold War. Yet American policymakers ultimately chose to resist communism in neighboring South Vietnam instead. Two generations of historians have explained this decision by citing logistical considerations. Laos’s landlocked, mountainous terrain, they hold, made the kingdom an unpropitious place to fight, while South Vietnam—possessing a long coastline, navigable rivers, and all-weather roads—better accommodated America’s military forces. The Universe Unraveling is a provocative reinterpretation of U.S.-Laos relations in the years leading up to the Vietnam War. Seth Jacobs argues that Laos boasted several advantages over South Vietnam as a battlefield, notably its thousand-mile border with Thailand, whose leader was willing to allow Washington to use his nation as a base from which to attack the communist Pathet Lao.

More significant in determining U.S. policy in Southeast Asia than strategic appraisals of the Laotian landscape were cultural perceptions of the Lao people. Jacobs contends that U.S. policy toward Laos under Eisenhower and Kennedy cannot be understood apart from the traits Americans ascribed to their Lao allies. Drawing on diplomatic correspondence and the work of iconic figures like "celebrity saint" Tom Dooley, Jacobs finds that the characteristics American statesmen and the American media attributed to the Lao—laziness, immaturity, and cowardice—differed from the traits assigned the South Vietnamese, making Lao chances of withstanding communist aggression appear dubious. The Universe Unraveling combines diplomatic, cultural, and military history to provide a new perspective on how prejudice can shape policy decisions and even the course of history.

Seth Jacobs is Associate Professor of History at Boston College. He is the author of Cold War Mandarin and America’s Miracle Man in Vietnam.

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Militarism in a Global Age
Naval Ambitions in Germany and the United States before World War I

Dirk Bönker

At the turn of the twentieth century, the United States and Germany emerged as the two most rapidly developing industrial nation-states of the Atlantic world. The elites and intelligentsias of both countries staked out claims to dominance in the twentieth century. In Militarism in a Global Age, Dirk Bönker explores the far-reaching ambitions of naval officers before World War I as they advanced navalism, a particular brand of modern militarism that stressed the paramount importance of sea power as a historical determinant. Aspiring to make their own countries into self-reliant world powers in an age of global empire and commerce, officers viewed the causes of the industrial nation, global influence, elite rule, and naval power as inseparable. Characterized by both transnational exchanges and national competition, the new maritime militarism was technocratic in its impulses; its makers cast themselves as members of a professional elite that served the nation with its expert knowledge of maritime and global affairs.

American and German navalist projects differed less in their principal features than in their eventual trajectories. Over time, the pursuits of these projects channeled the two naval elites in different directions as they developed contrasting outlooks on their bids for world power and maritime force. Combining comparative history with transnational and global history, Militarism in a Global Age challenges traditional, exceptionalist assumptions about militarism and national identity in Germany and the United States in its exploration of empire and geopolitics, warfare and military-operational imaginations, state formation and national governance, and expertise and professionalism.

Dirk Bönker is Laverack Family Assistant Professor of History at Duke University.

$51.95 978-0-8014-5040-2 hardcover
432 pages, 6 x 9

“In American history, it is often taught that while the great powers of Europe were engaged in an arms race . . . the U.S. remained aloof and relatively sane by comparison. A modest but growing number of historians dispute this view, particularly the notion of U.S. detachment. Bönker is one of those and presents undeniable evidence that the US was anything but aloof. This evidence comes from the planners and strategists themselves, whom Bönker quotes heavily.”—Choice

“Bönker’s study expands significantly on recent work that interprets the kaiser’s navy in a nonexceptionalist framework, stressing global dynamics rather than the peculiarities of modern Germany: the kaiserreich was not a unique case; its navy was not the expression of special conditions, as Eckart Kehr, Volker R. Berghahn, and Hans-Ulrich Wehler had argued. However, Bönker does not overstretch this interpretation. His study is far too much informed by meticulous archival research and an awareness of the specific historical contexts on both sides of the Atlantic for him to embrace the revisionist interpretation wholeheartedly.”—American Historical Review
The Business of Empire
United Fruit, Race, and U.S. Expansion in Central America

Jason M. Colby

Honorable mention, Stuart L. Bernath Book Prize given by the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations
Honorable Mention, 2012 Ralph Gomory Prize

The link between private corporations and U.S. world power has a much longer history than most people realize. Transnational firms such as the United Fruit Company represent an earlier stage of the economic and cultural globalization now taking place throughout the world. Drawing on a wide range of archival sources in the United States, Great Britain, Costa Rica, and Guatemala, Colby combines "top-down" and "bottom-up" approaches to provide new insight into the role of transnational capital, labor migration, and racial nationalism in shaping U.S. expansion into Central America and the greater Caribbean. The Business of Empire places corporate power and local context at the heart of U.S. imperial history.

In the early twentieth century, U.S. influence in Central America came primarily in the form of private enterprise, above all United Fruit. Founded amid the U.S. leap into overseas empire, the company initially depended upon British West Indian laborers. When its black workforce resisted white American authority, the firm adopted a strategy of labor division by recruiting Hispanic migrants. This labor system drew the company into increased conflict with its host nations, as Central American nationalists denounced not only U.S. military interventions in the region but also American employment of black immigrants. By the 1930s, just as Washington renounced military intervention in Latin America, United Fruit pursued its own Good Neighbor Policy, which brought a reduction in its corporate colonial power and a ban on the hiring of black immigrants. The end of the company's system of labor division in turn pointed the way to the transformation of United Fruit as well as the broader U.S. empire.

Jason M. Colby is Associate Professor of History at the University of Victoria, British Columbia.

$24.95  978-0-8014-7899-4 paperback
288 pages, 13 illustrations, 6 x 9
By the end of World War II, many black citizens viewed service in the segregated American armed forces with distaste, if not disgust. Meanwhile, domestic racism and Jim Crow, ongoing Asian struggles against European colonialism, and prewar calls for Afro-Asian solidarity had generated considerable black ambivalence toward American military expansion in the Pacific, in particular the impending occupation of Japan. However, over the following decade black military service enabled tens of thousands of African Americans to interact daily with Asian peoples—encounters on a scale impossible prior to 1945. It also encouraged African Americans to share many of the same racialized attitudes toward Asian peoples held by their white counterparts and to identify with their government’s foreign policy objectives in Asia.

In *Black Yanks in the Pacific*, Michael Cullen Green tells the story of African American engagement with military service in occupied Japan, war-torn South Korea, and an emerging empire of bases anchored in those two nations. After World War II, African Americans largely embraced the socioeconomic opportunities afforded by service overseas—despite the maintenance of military segregation into the early 1950s—while strained Afro-Asian social relations in Japan and South Korea encouraged a sense of insurmountable difference from Asian peoples. By the time the Supreme Court declared de jure segregation unconstitutional in its landmark 1954 Brown v. Board of Education decision, African American investment in overseas military expansion was largely secured. Although they were still subject to discrimination at home, many African Americans had come to distrust East Asian peoples and to accept the legitimacy of an expanding military empire abroad.

“In this brief but thought-provoking study, Green examines the interaction of these two forces through the eyes of African American soldiers stationed in postwar Asia... A fascinating sidelight is Green’s examination of the sad fate of African-Asian offspring left behind. A thoughtful, provocative study that skillfully integrates the interplay of domestic and foreign policy. Summing up: Highly recommended.”—Choice

“Michael Cullen Green has written a fascinating and illuminating work. It opens a new window on the experiences of African Americans in joining armed services that over time became much more integrated than most American institutions, suffering racial discrimination nonetheless, and then coming to terms with the prejudices against Asians that they typically shared with whites.”—Bruce Cumings, author of *Dominion From Sea to Sea*

“Black Yanks in the Pacific is consistently interesting; it challenges standard interpretations and opens new ground.”—Marilyn Young, author of *The Vietnam Wars, 1945–1990*
Screening Enlightenment
Hollywood and the Cultural Reconstruction of Defeated Japan

Hiroshi Kitamura

Winner, 16th Shimizu Hiroshi Award
Winner, 2012 Southeast Conference of the Association for Asian Studies Book Prize

During the six-and-a-half-year occupation of Japan (1945–1952), U.S. film studios—in close coordination with Douglas MacArthur’s Supreme Command for the Allied Powers—launched an ambitious campaign to extend their power and influence in a historically rich but challenging film market. In this far-reaching “enlightenment campaign,” Hollywood studios disseminated more than six hundred films to theaters, earned significant profits, and showcased the American way of life as a political, social, and cultural model for the war-shattered Japanese population.

In Screening Enlightenment, Hiroshi Kitamura shows how this expansive attempt at cultural globalization helped transform Japan into one of Hollywood’s key markets. He also demonstrates the prominent role American cinema played in the “reeducation” and “reorientation” of the Japanese on behalf of the U.S. government. According to Kitamura, Hollywood achieved widespread results by turning to the support of U.S. government and military authorities, which offered privileged deals to American movies while rigorously controlling Japanese and other cinematic products. The presentation of American ideas and values as an emblem of culture, democracy, and sophistication also allowed the U.S. film industry to expand. However, the studios’ efforts would not have been nearly as extensive without the Japanese intermediaries and consumers who interestingly served as the program’s best publicists.

Drawing on a wide range of sources, from studio memos and official documents of the occupation to publicity materials and Japanese fan magazines, Kitamura shows how many Japanese supported Hollywood and became active agents of Americanization. A truly interdisciplinary book that combines U.S. diplomatic and cultural history, film and media studies, and modern Japanese history, Screening Enlightenment offers new insights into the origins of this unique political and cultural transpacific relationship.

Hiroshi Kitamura is Associate Professor of History at the College of William and Mary.

$27.95 978-1-5017-1362-0 paperback
280 pages, 18 illustrations, 6 x 9
Artillery of Heaven
American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East

Ussama Makdisi
Cowinner of the Albert Hourani Book Award
Cowinner of the British-Kuwait Friendship Society Prize in Middle Eastern Studies A 2008 Foreign Affairs “Outstanding New Book”

The complex relationship between America and the Arab world goes back further than most people realize. In Artillery of Heaven, Ussama Makdisi presents a foundational American encounter with the Arab world that occurred in the nineteenth century, shortly after the arrival of the first American Protestant missionaries in the Middle East. He tells the dramatic tale of the conversion and death of As’ad Shidyaq, the earliest Arab convert to American Protestantism. The struggle over this man’s body and soul—and over how his story might be told—changed the actors and cultures on both sides.

In the unfamiliar, multireligious landscape of the Middle East, American missionaries at first conflated Arabs with Native Americans and American culture with an uncompromising evangelical Christianity. In turn, their Christian and Muslim opponents in the Ottoman Empire condemned the missionaries as malevolent intruders. Yet during the ensuing confrontation within and across cultures an unanticipated spirit of toleration was born that cannot be credited to either Americans or Arabs alone. Makdisi provides a genuinely transnational narrative for this new, liberal awakening in the Middle East, and the challenges that beset it.

By exploring missed opportunities for cultural understanding, by retrieving unused historical evidence, and by juxtaposing for the first time Arab perspectives and archives with American ones, this book counters a notion of an inevitable clash of civilizations and thus reshapes our view of the history of America in the Arab world.

Ussama Makdisi is Professor of History and first holder of the Arab-American Educational Foundation Chair of Arab Studies at Rice University. He is the author of The Culture of Sectarianism and coeditor of Memory and Violence in the Middle East and North Africa.

“This richly researched study not only accomplishes the historian’s basic task of explaining what happened and who was involved. It also contributes to a better understanding of the confrontation between the West and the Middle East in modern times.”—Foreign Affairs

“Makdisi is a skilled scholar equally comfortable with nuanced English and Arabic sources . . . and he successfully refutes both the historical claims of American and Islamic ‘exceptionalism’ and their ‘essentialist’ doctrines.”—Library Journal

“Lucid and elegantly written, Artillery of Heaven accomplishes two big things. First, while examining 19th-century American missionary encounters in the Arab Ottoman territories, it presents a model for a new kind of transnational history that sheds light on American engagement with the world. Second, and at a time when much of the Arab past has been ‘effectively demarcated . . . as a forbidden no-man’s-land’ because of fear of what ‘divisive narratives’ of the past may dredge up, it scrutinizes the raw history of the ‘multireligious world’ in the Ottoman region that is now Lebanon.”—Heather J. Sharkey, Middle East Journal, 62:4

$19.95 978-0-8014-7575-7 paperback
280 pages, 12 illustrations, 6 x 9
Most people in the United States have forgotten that tens of thousands of U.S. citizens migrated westward to California by way of Panama during the California Gold Rush. Decades before the completion of the Panama Canal in 1914, this slender spit of land abruptly became the linchpin of the fastest route between New York City and San Francisco—a route that combined travel by ship to the east coast of Panama, an overland crossing to Panama City, and a final voyage by ship to California.

In *Path of Empire*, Aims McGuinness presents a novel understanding of the intertwined histories of the California Gold Rush, the course of U.S. empire, and anti-imperialist politics in Latin America. Between 1848 and 1856, Panama saw the building, by a U.S. company, of the first transcontinental railroad in world history, the final abolition of slavery, the establishment of universal manhood suffrage, the foundation of an autonomous Panamanian state, and the first of what would become a long list of military interventions by the United States.

Using documents found in Panamanian, Colombian, and U.S. archives, McGuinness reveals how U.S. imperial projects in Panama were integral to developments in California and the larger process of U.S. continental expansion. *Path of Empire* offers a model for the new transnational history by unbinding the gold rush from the confines of U.S. history as traditionally told and narrating that event as the history of Panama, a small place of global importance in the mid-1800s.

“McGuinness places Panama at the center of a crucial episode in global history, providing a fresh perspective on Latin America’s encounter with U.S. empire. This is an original and provocative book, and McGuinness’s recounting of his travails in Panama’s National Archive is alone worth the price. *Path of Empire* will appeal to scholars of U.S. as well as Latin American history and would serve as an excellent early reading in courses on U.S.-Latin American relations.”—*Hispanic America Historical Review*

“Aims McGuinness has crafted a well-conceived and painstakingly executed account of Panama in the face of U.S. imperialism. By placing this story in his chosen context, McGuinness illustrates the true breadth of his topic.”—*Journal of American History*

“In this small and carefully researched book, McGuinness rises above the specificity of time and place to address broad questions about race, gender, class, nation, and empire. He also stresses the often lopsided nature of historical remembrances. Scholars from many different fields will appreciate the book’s expansive thematic and interpretive reach.”—*American Historical Review*
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