

PREFACE

1. W. E. B. Du Bois, "Social Planning for the Negro, Past and Present," *Journal of Negro Education* 5, no. 1 (January 1936): 110–25; W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860–1880* (New York: Free Press, 1998), 644.
2. John Burgess, *Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law* (New York: Baker and Taylor, 1890), 46.
3. Alan Taylor, *The Internal Enemy: Slavery and War in Virginia, 1772–1832* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2014); Howard McFarland, *Fairfield Journal of Maine* (1899), quoted in Secretary Root's Record: "Marked Severities" in Philippine Warfare: The First Reports of Cruelty," available at Humanities Web, www.humanitiesweb.org/human.php?s&p=l&a=c&ID=1104&o, accessed May 23, 2017; anonymous black soldier quoted in Paul Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 102.
4. W. E. B. Du Bois, *Darkwater: Voices from within the Veil* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1920), 34; Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man* (New York: Vintage, 1990), 16; James Baldwin, "A Report from Occupied Territory," *The Nation*, July 11, 1966.
5. For a strong version of these arguments, see Adolph Reed Jr. and Kenneth Warren, *Renewing Black Intellectual History: the Ideological and Material Foundations of African American Thought* (New York: Paradigm, 2010). For the bowdlerized

rendering, see Walter Benn Michaels, "Let Them Eat Diversity," *Jacobin*, January 1, 2011.

6. Sheldon Danzinger, Koji Chavez, and Erin Cumberworth, *Poverty during the Great Recession*, Russell Sage Foundation and Stanford Center on Poverty and Inequality, October 2012, web.stanford.edu/group/recessiontrends/cgi-bin/web/sites/all/themes/barron/pdf/Poverty_fact_sheet.pdf; Melvin Oliver and Thomas Shapiro, *Black Wealth, White Wealth: A New Perspective on Racial Inequality* (New York: Routledge, 2006); Sarah Childress, "How Much Did the Financial Crisis Cost?" *Frontline*, PBS, May 31, 2012, www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/how-much-did-the-financial-crisis-cost/; Rex Nutting, "How the Bubble Destroyed the Middle Class," *Marketwatch*, July 8, 2011, www.marketwatch.com/story/how-the-bubble-destroyed-the-middle-class-2011-07-08.

7. Sam Dillon, "Study Finds High Rate of Imprisonment among Dropouts," *New York Times*, October 8, 2009, www.nytimes.com/2009/10/09/education/09dropout.html. One in ten male high-school dropouts are in jail or juvenile detention on a given day; for black men, the figure is one in four. Among the most gripping statistics is the figure of 1.5 million black men between the ages of twenty-five and fifty-four who are missing from public life because of incarceration or premature death. Justin Wolfers, David Leonhardt, and Kevin Quealy, "1.5 Million Missing Black Men," *New York Times*, April 20, 2015, www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/04/20/upshot/missing-black-men.html?_r=2.

8. American Immigration Council, "The Growth of the U.S. Deportation Machine," March 1, 2014, www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/growth-us-deportation-machine.

9. In 2015 and 2016, police in the United States killed more than two thousand criminal suspects, almost half of them black or Latino/a. Both the scale of killing by police and its racial disparity are significant: a hallmark of racism, and a key to its power, is that it produces disparate effects that both serve and mask more broadly applicable coercive authority. "The Counted: People Killed by Police in the US," *Guardian*, www.theguardian.com/us-news/ng-interactive/2015/jun/01/the-counted-police-killings-us-database.

10. The idea of "linked fate" is drawn from the germinal work of Michael Dawson. See his *Black Visions: The Roots of Contemporary African American Political Ideologies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003). This kind of approach

shows how injuries of class are shared across groups that are thought to be racially differentiated. Recognition of rising morbidity among poor whites and accompanying discourses about their moral fecklessness and mental inferiority attest to this fungible proximity of race and class in America's racial capitalism.

11. The pundit Robert D. Kaplan provides a telling example of this kind of argument: "Without Manifest Destiny, there could have been no victory in World War II. But because settling that continent involved slavery and genocide against the indigenous inhabitants, American history is morally unresolvable. Thus, the only way to ultimately overcome our sins is to do good in the world." Robert Kaplan, "Why Trump Can't Disengage America from the World," *New York Times*, January 6, 2017.

12. Work along these different lines that has most influenced me during the writing of this book includes Ruth Wilson Gilmore, *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis and Opposition in Globalizing California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Elizabeth Kai Hinton, *From the War on Poverty to the War on Crime: The Making of Mass Incarceration in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016); Naomi Murakawa, *The First Civil Right: How Liberals Built Prison America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Amy E. Lerman and Vesla M. Weaver, *Arresting Citizenship: The Democratic Consequences of American Crime Control* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014); Kelly Lytle Hernández, *Migra! A History of the U.S. Border Patrol* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010); Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, ed., *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999); Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. Interests in the Middle East since 1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Stuart Schrader, *Policing Revolution: Cold War Counterinsurgency at Home and Abroad* (Berkeley: University of California Press, forthcoming); Jodi A. Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011); Aziz Rana, *The Two Faces of American Freedom* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014); Glen Sean Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014); Dylan Rodríguez, *Suspended Apocalypse: White Supremacy, Genocide, and the Filipino Condition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009); Aiyosha Goldstein, ed., *Formations of United States Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999); Manu Vimalassery, *Empire's Tracks:*

Plains Indians, Chinese Migrants, and the Transcontinental Railroad (Berkeley: University of California Press, forthcoming); Laleh Khalili, *Time in the Shadows: Confinement in Counterinsurgencies* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013); Patricia Owens, *Economy of Force: Counterinsurgency and the Historical Rise of the Social* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Andrew Friedman, *Covert Capital: Landscapes of Denial and the Making of U.S. Empire in the Suburbs of Northern Virginia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013); Robert Vitalis, *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015); Sadiya Hartman, *Lose Your Mother: A Journey along the Atlantic Slave Route* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007); Frank B. Wilderson, *Red, White, and Black: Cinema and the Structure of U.S. Antagonisms* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010); Jennifer Morgan, *Laboring Women: Gender and Reproduction in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Monica Kim, *Humanity Interrogated: The Global Crisis of Warfare in the Interrogation Rooms of the Korean War, 1940-1965* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, forthcoming).

INTRODUCTION

1. While the U.S. mortality rate has been low, with just over 5,000 killed in action in Afghanistan and Iraq as of 2014, the 2.7 million U.S. soldiers who served in these campaigns have returned to a diminished, battered economy. More than fifty thousand have suffered grievous injuries requiring the amputation of limbs and experienced mental and physical disorders, including post-traumatic stress and respiratory and cognitive impairment from exposure to toxic chemicals. Zoe Wool, *After War: The Weight of Life at Walter Reed* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015); Matthew S. Goldberg, "Updated Death and Injury Rates of U.S. Military Personnel During the Conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan," Working Papers Series of the Congressional Budget Office, Washington, DC, December 2014, www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/113th-congress-2013-2014/workingpaper/49837-Casualties_WorkingPaper-2014-08_1.pdf.

2. Catherine Herridge, "Top General: 50,000-Troop Coalition Needed in Order to Crush Isis," *Fox News*, April 13, 2016, www.foxnews.com/politics/2016/04/13/top-general-50000-troop-coalition-needed-in-order-to-crush-isis.html.

3. Adam Taylor, "These are America's 9 Longest Foreign Wars," *Washington Post*, May 29, 2014, www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2014/05/29/these-are-americas-9-longest-foreign-wars/?utm_term=.6a6d9259f45e.

4. Donald Rumsfeld, in conversation with Jonathan Salant, "National Press Club Luncheon with Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld," National Press Club, February 2, 2006, www.press.org/sites/default/files/020206_rumsfeld.pdf, accessed May 23, 2017.

5. Richard Falk, "The Abandonment of International Law After 9/11," presentation at the Congressional Black Caucus Annual Legislative Conference 2005, Washington, DC, September 2005, www.wagingpeace.org/the-abandonment-of-international-law-after-911/.

6. Built on flimsy and ambiguous evidence (repeatedly presented as definitive and even as "bulletproof"), assertions of Iraq's operational links to the Al Qaeda hijacking and terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, were doubted at the time by senior intelligence analysts the world over and never proved. Despite scant evidence, it was also asserted that Iraq had resumed its discontinued biological and chemical weapons programs, and George W. Bush made the further outlandish claim that Iraq was "reconstituting its nuclear weapons program." Against a backdrop of links to shadowy terrorists who had already attacked the United States, national security adviser Condoleezza Rice hinted at the dangers of proceeding with caution: "We do not want the smoking gun to be a mushroom cloud." Operation Iraqi Freedom was launched by the U.S. unilaterally, with the support of the United Kingdom and a small "coalition of the willing," on the grounds that the Iraqi dictator, Saddam Hussein, had to be prevented from using so-called weapons of mass destruction, or WMDs. The specter of nuclear holocaust notwithstanding, the stated rationale for the war was settled on, as Paul Wolfowitz cannily observed, for "bureaucratic reasons." Paul Kerr, "Bush's Claims about Iraq's Nuclear Program," *Arms Control Today*, September 1, 2003, www.armscontrol.org/print/1361, accessed May 23, 2017; Wolf Blitzer, "Search for the Smoking Gun," *January 10, 2003*, CNN, www.cnn.com/2003/US/01/10/wbr.smoking.gun/; "Deputy Secretary Wolfowitz interview with Sam Tannenhaus, Vanity Fair," May 9, 2003, U.S. Department of Defense, News Transcript, <http://archive.defense.gov/Transcripts/Transcript.aspx?TranscriptID=2594>.

7. Henry L. Stimson, "The Challenge to Americans," *Foreign Affairs* 26 (October 1947): 5-14.
8. Alain Locke, "Color: The Unfinished Business of Democracy," *Surrey Graphic*, November (1942): 455-59; see also Robert Vitalis, *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015).
9. For an extended discussion of Myrdal, see Nikhil Pal Singh, *Black Is a Country: Race and the Unfinished Struggle for Democracy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005); Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001). 76. Lodge served as U.S. ambassador to the Republic of Vietnam in the early 1960s. Paul Bedard, "Rare Letter: Nixon feared U.S. racism would help Soviets win Cold War," *Washington Examiner*, May 6, www.washingtonexaminer.com/rare-letter-nixon-feared-us-racism-would-help-soviets-win-cold-war/article/26223262017.
10. Fred Halliday, *The Making of the Second Cold War* (London: Verso, 1987).
11. Thomas Ferguson and Joel Rogers, *Right Turn: The Decline of the Democrats and the Future of American Politics* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1986).
12. Principal Deputy Undersecretary of Defense, "Memorandum for Secretaries of the Military Departments, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Program Analysis and Evaluation, Comptroller of the Department of Defense," February 18, 1992, available at the American Presidency Project, University of California, Santa Barbara, http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/nukevault/ebb245/doc03_extract_nytedit.pdf.
13. Richard Nixon, "Ninth Annual Message to Congress," January 22, 1970, www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=2921; "Haldeman Diary Shows Nixon was Wary of Blacks and Jews," *New York Times*, May 18, 1994, www.nytimes.com/1994/05/18/us/haldeman-diary-shows-nixon-was-wary-of-blacks-and-jews.html.
14. Jonathan Simon, *Governing through Crime: How the War on Crime Transformed American Democracy and Created a Culture of Fear* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Elizabeth Kai Hinton, *From the War on Poverty to the War on Crime: The Making of Mass Incarceration in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016).

15. The most analytically precise causal account to which this formulation is indebted is Ruth Wilson Gilmore, *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis and Opposition in Globalizing California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006). A blistering and comprehensive overview is provided by Ta-Nehisi Coates, "The Black Family in the Age of Mass Incarceration," *The Atlantic*, October 2015.
16. Gilmore writes: "Racism is the state-sanctioned or extralegal production and exploitation of group-differentiated vulnerability to premature death," *Golden Gulag*, 16. See also Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (New York: New Press, 2010); Lotie Wacquant, "Class, Race and Hyperincarceration in Revanchist America," *Daedalus* 139 (2010): 74-90.
17. Richard Nixon and his national security adviser, Henry Kissinger, viewed Chile as part of a sphere of U.S. control, an example of how the idea of hemispheric suzerainty remained operative. As Kissinger observed when approving the coup that deposed Allende: "I don't see why we need to stand by and watch a country go communist due to the irresponsibility of its people. The issues are much too important for the Chilean voters to be left to decide for themselves." Pierre Guérlain, "Hillary Clinton and the Kissinger Wing of the Democratic Party," *Huffington Post*, February 10, 2016, www.huffingtonpost.com/pierre-guerlain/hillary-clinton-and-the-k_b_9199554.html.
18. Michael Crozer, Samuel P. Huntington, and Joji Watanuki, *The Crisis of Democracy: Report on the Governability of Democracies to the Trilateral Commission* (New York: New York University Press, 1973).
19. Stuart Schrader provides the most comprehensive account available of the military revolution in policing in the United States during the 1960s. Stuart Schrader, *American Streets, Foreign Territory: How Counterinsurgent Police Waged War on Crime* (Berkeley: University of California Press, forthcoming); Paul Labarrique, "The Manhattan Institute: The Neo-conservatives Lab," *Voltaire Network*, September 15, 2004, www.voltairenet.org/article30072.html, accessed May 23, 2017; Daryl Gates with Diane K. Shah, *Chief: My Life in the LAPD* (New York: Bantam Books, 1992), 120.
20. John Diamond, *The CIA and the Culture of Failure: US Intelligence from the End of the Cold War to the Invasion of Iraq* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008).

21. The shot across the bows was an article written by Daniel Patrick Moynihan that deplored the "tyranny of the UN's new majority." The article won Moynihan praise from Ford administration insiders like Donald Rumsfeld, followed by Moynihan's appointment as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. It is a key document in the neoconservative foreign policy revolution. See Daniel P. Moynihan, "The United States in Opposition," *Commentary*, March 1975. www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/the-united-states-in-opposition/, accessed May 23, 2017.
22. Mahmood Mamdani, *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War, and the Roots of Terror* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2004).
23. "Chronology: Evolution of the Bush Doctrine," PBS Frontline, 2003. www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/iraq/etc/cron.html, accessed May 23, 2017.
24. Walter Isaacson, "Madeleine's War," *Time*, May 17, 1999, <http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2054293,00.html>.
25. Nathan J. Robinson, "Bill Clinton's Act of Terrorism," *Jacobin*, October 12, 2016, www.jacobinmag.com/2016/10/bill-clinton-al-shifa-sudan-bombing-khartoum/, accessed May 23, 2017.
26. Michael Howard, *The Invention of Peace: Reflections on War and the International Order* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 28, 29.
27. Mandani, *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim*.
28. David E. Sanger, "In Reichstag, Bush Condemns Terror as the New Despotism," *New York Times*, May 24, 2002, www.nytimes.com/2002/05/24/world/in-reichstag-bush-condemns-terror-as-new-despotism.html.
29. The theocratic, morally absolutist and the secular, culturally pluralist approaches are not diametrically opposed. Despite their differences, both work to depoliticize conflict defining the enemy as either immoral or criminal.
30. Talib Kweli, *The Beautiful Struggle* (Rawkus Records, 2004).
31. Michael Ignatieff, "The Burden," *New York Times Magazine*, January 5, 2003.
32. G. John Ikenberry, "Illusions of Empire: Defining the New American Order," *Foreign Affairs* 83 (March-April 2004): 144-54.
33. John Lewis Gaddis, *Surprise, Security, and the American Experience* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 9.

34. Jay Garner, interviewed by reporters from the *National Journal* in 2004. This quote was reproduced in several publications, for example by Jim Lobe, "Chalabi, Garner Provide New Clues to War," *Antiwar.com*, February 21, 2004, www.antiwar.com/lobe/articleid=2004, accessed May 23, 2017.
35. Robert Kaplan, "Supremacy by Stealth," *The Atlantic*, July-August, 2003. The most valuable account of counterinsurgency I have read is Laleh Khalili, *Time in the Shadows: Confinement in Counterinsurgencies* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013), 248.
36. Gaddis, *Surprise, Security*, 16; Robert D. Kaplan, *Imperial Grunts: On the Ground with the American Military, from Mongolia to the Philippines to Iraq and Beyond* (New York: Vintage Books, 2006), 4.
37. Bing West, *No True Glory: A Frontline Account of the Battle for Fallujah* (New York: Random House, 2006), 18.
38. Matthew Cole, "The Crimes of the Seal Team," *Intercept*, January 10, 2017, <https://theintercept.com/2017/01/10/the-crimes-of-seal-team-6/>, accessed May 23, 2017.
39. Amy Kaplan, "Where Is Guantanamo?" *American Quarterly* 57 (September 2005): 854.
40. Mohamedou Ould Slahi, *Guantanamo Diary* (Boston: Little Brown, 2015). In response to Slahi's rebuke, his American captor unflinchingly replied: "African tribes sold their people to us" (212).
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42. Barack Obama, *Dreams from My Father* (New York: Crown, 2007), iv.
43. Barack Obama, inaugural address, January 21, 2009, <https://obama-whitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2009/01/21/president-barack-obamas-inaugural-address>.
44. Steven R. Weisman, "Rice in Alabama Draws Parallels for Democracy Everywhere," *New York Times*, October 22, 2005, www.nytimes.com/2005/10/22/world/rice-in-alabama-draws-parallels-for-democracy-everywhere.html.

45. Mary Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002).

46. Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1979), 138.

47. "Troops Told 'Shoot to Kill' in New Orleans," *ABCNews Online*, September 2, 2005, www.abc.net.au/news/2005-09-02/troops-told-shoot-to-kill-in-new-orleans/2094678; Sabrina Shankman, Tom Jennings, Brendan McCarthy, Laura Maggi, and A. C. Thompson, "After Katrina, Cops Were Told They Could Shoot Looters," *San Francisco Bay View*, September, 5, 2010, <http://sfbayview.com/2010/09/after-katrina-new-orleans-cops-were-told-they-could-shoot-looters/>, accessed May 23, 2017. The black artist Kanye West discerned both the racial valence of looting and the links between the inner and outer war that were exposed in New Orleans: "I hate the way they portray us in the media. If you see a black family, it says, 'They're looting.' If you see a white family, it says, 'They are looking for food' . . . We already realize a lot of the people who could help are at war right now, fighting another way, and they've . . . they've given them permission to go down and shoot us." Kanye West, interviewed by Mike Meyers, "A Concert for Hurricane Relief PSA - 'George Bush Doesn't Care About Black People,'" *Genius*, September 2, 2005, <https://genius.com/Kanye-west-a-concert-for-hurricane-relief-psa-george-bush-doesnt-care-about-black-people-annotated>, accessed May 23, 2017.

48. Ruth Wilson Gilmore, "Race, Prisons and War: Scenes from the Gilmore History of U.S. Violence," *Socialist Register 45* (2009): 73-87; Jeremy Scahill and Daniela Crespo, "Blackwater Mercenaries Deploy in New Orleans," September 10, 2005, www.truth-out.org/archive/component/k2/item/57127:blackwater-mercenaries-deploy-in-new-orleans, accessed May 23, 2017; Klein, cited in Michael Eric Dyson, *Come Hell or High Water: Hurricane Katrina and the Color of Disaster* (Basic Books, 2007), 67. See also Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *Globalization or Empire?* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

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50. Nikhil Pal Singh, "Beyond the 'Empire of Jim Crow': Race and War in Contemporary U.S. Globalism," *Japanese Journal of American Studies* 20 (2009): 89-111.

51. Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-1976*, trans. David Macey (New York: Picador, 2003), 15-17.

52. *Ibid.*, 15. Rather than tracking the concrete, historical, and group-differentiated permutations of modern racial orders, Foucault suggests that by the late nineteenth century, the waging of "race war" had been absorbed by state regimes of biopolitical regulation, through which a military or warlike relationship was transformed into a biological, or quasi-biological, one. At this point, he writes, "the enemies who have to be done away with are not adversaries in the political sense of the term: they are threats, either external or internal, to the population and for the population." Biopolitics, in his account, involves the management of social risks, birth and death, public health, criminality, and so forth in the interests of protecting life. Racism "breaks out" at the moment it becomes necessary for the state to kill in order to preserve life. Racism alone, Foucault writes, justifies the "murderous function of the State." It is

the mechanism that allows bio-power to work. . . . What in fact is racism? It is primarily a way of introducing a break into the domain of life that is under power's control: the break between what must live and what must die. . . . It is in short a way of establishing a biological-type caesura within a population that appears to be a biological domain. . . . At the end of the nineteenth century, we have then a new racism modeled on war. It was, I think, required because a bio-power that wished to wage war had to articulate the will to destroy the adversary with the risk that it might kill those whose lives it had, by definition to protect, manage, and multiply. The same could be said of criminality. . . . and the same applies to various anomalies. (Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended*, 255-58)

I am indebted to Leetroom Medevoi for this discussion. See his "Global Society Must Be Defended: Biopolitics without Boundaries," *Social Text* 25, no. 2 91 (2007): 53-79.

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54. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "1966 Fulbright Hearings: General Maxwell Taylor," C-Span, February 17, 1966, www.c-span.org/video/?404585-1/1966-fulbright-vietnam-hearings-general-maxwell-taylor.

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56. Paul Berman, "Donald Trump Is No Andrew Jackson, and Other Errors of Stephen Bannon," *Tablet*, December 12, 2016, www.tabletmag.com/jewish-news-and-politics/219613/donald-trump-andrew-jackson, accessed May 23, 2017; Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations* (New York: Basic, 2006), 85; Patrick Wolfe, *Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race* (London: Verso, 2016).
57. Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 22.
58. John Grenier, *The First Way of War: American War Making on the Frontier* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 225.
59. U.S. Declaration of Independence (1776); www.archives.gov/founding-docs/declaration-transcript.
60. Richard Tuck, *The Rights of War and Peace: Political Thought and the International Order from Grotius to Kant* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 176.
61. Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).
62. The concept of the United States as an "empire state" is developed by Moon Kie Jung in *Beneath the Surface of White Supremacy: Denaturalizing U.S. Racism, Past and Present* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2015).
63. Richard Hofstadter, "Reflections on Violence in the United States," in *American Violence: A Documentary History*, ed. Richard Hofstadter and Mike Wallace (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970). An abridged version appears in the *Baffler*: <http://thebaffler.com/ancestors/reflections-violence-united-states>.
64. Hofstadter observes: "Since our violence did not typically begin with anyone's desire to subvert the state, it did not typically end by undermining the legitimacy of authority." *Ibid*.
65. Karen Fields and Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Racecraft: The Soul of Inequality in America* (New York: Verso, 2014).
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70. "Memorandum for William J. Haynes, General Counsel for the Department of Defense, re: Military Interrogation of Alien Unlawful Combatants Held outside the United States," March 14, 2003, available at American Civil Liberties Union, www.aclu.org/files/pdfs/safefree/yooy_army_torture_memo.pdf, accessed May 23, 2017; "Modoc War: Headquarters of the Department of the Columbia," Portland Oregon, September 10, 1873, *Congressional Series of the United States Public Documents*, 98; Jodi Byrd, *Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), 227.
71. Michael Rogin, *Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975), 312. Rogin called Jacksonian democracy the first majoritarian "Southern strategy" in U.S. politics, in that it sought to emphasize the interests that the South shared with the rest of the country and to minimize the divisiveness of slavery by maximizing the importance of expansionist claims against both decrepit European empires and racial enemies. Although the Jacksonian synthesis ultimately forestalled immediate conflict, it arguably deepened the unresolved conflict over the future of slavery; it also proposed regeneration through Western violence as an answer to intractable race and class conflicts of U.S. capitalist development.
72. David Lloyd and Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonial Logics and the Neoliberal Regime," *Settler Colonial Studies* 6 (2016): 109–18. See also Aziz Rana, *The Two Faces of American Freedom* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).
1. RACE, WAR, POLICE
1. W. E. B. Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).
2. Benjamin Franklin, "Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind, the Peopling of Countries, etc., . . ." (1751), in *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 4, ed.

32. Immanuel Kant, *Metaphysics of Morals* (1797), in Immanuel Kant, *Political Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 170. See also Ian Baucom, "Cicero's Ghost: The Atlantic, the Enemy and the Laws of War," in *States of Emergency: The Object of American Studies*, ed. Russ Castronovo and Susan Gillman (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 124–43.
33. Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).
34. Hannah Rosen, *Terror in the Heart of Freedom: Citizenship, Sexual Violence, and the Meaning of Race in the Post-Emancipation South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008); Steven Hahn, *A Nation under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles from Slavery to the Great Migration* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).
35. Minnesota Senator William Windon, quoted in Rayford Logan, *The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877–1901* (New York: Dial Press, 1954); see also Singh, *Black is a Country*, chapter 2.
36. Khalil Gibran Muhammad, *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 4.
37. Robert Perkinson, *Texas Tough: The Rise of America's Prison Empire* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2010).
38. Quoted in Peggy Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 74.
39. Quoted in Brian Wagner, *Disturbing the Peace: Black Culture and the Police Power after Slavery* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 12.
40. Quoted in Dylan Rodriguez, *Forced Passages: Imprisoned Radical Intellectuals and the U.S. Prison Regime* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 20.
41. Dana Priest and William Arkin, "A Hidden World Growing beyond Control," *Washington Post*, July 19, 2010, <http://projects.washingtonpost.com/top-secret-america/articles/a-hidden-world-growing-beyond-control/>.
42. Robert Kaplan, "The Coming Anarchy," *The Atlantic*, February 1994.
43. Fred Moten, "Black Op," *PMLA* 123, no. 5 (2008): 1743–48.
44. John Lewis Gaddis, *Surprise, Security, and the American Experience* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

45. This is not to say that historic antiblack themes are not present. The right-wing personality Glenn Beck, for example, once described Obama as someone who hates white people and who wants to "settle old racial scores," presumably from the baseline of historically black racial grievances. Dinesh D'Souza and Newt Gingrich sought to "Mau Mau" Obama as a figure of (African) violence and deranged anticolonial and anti-Western grievance. Though the latter cases deploy historically antiblack themes, they also draw from a largely non-U.S. repertoire that in turn reassociates blackness with a sense of threats of the foreign and unfamiliar.
46. This phrase is from Balakrishnan, *Capitalism and Power*, xiv.
5. THE PRESENT CRISIS
1. Nicholas Confessore and Nate Cohn, "Donald Trump's Victory Was Built on a Unique Coalition of White Voters," *New York Times*, November 9, 2016. The *New York Times* piece is not, of course, an endorsement of white supremacy, though it does suggest that whites acted in racial concert, politically. More than half a century ago, the conservative intellectual William F. Buckley illuminated similar logic in defense of white supremacy at the onset of the civil rights movement: "The central question that emerges . . . is whether the white community in the South is entitled to take such measures as are necessary to prevail, politically and culturally, in areas where it does not predominate numerically? The sobering answer is Yes—the white community is so entitled because, for the time being, it is the advanced race." See William F. Buckley, "Why the South Must Prevail," *National Review*, August 24, 1957, 149.
2. Ian Haney López, *Dog Whistle Politics: How Coded Racial Appeals Have Reinvented Racism and Wrecked the Middle Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).
3. Toni Morrison, "Talk of the Town," *New Yorker*, October 8, 1998, www.newyorker.com/magazine/1998/10/05/comment-6543.
4. Richard Rorty, *Achieving Our Country: Leftist Thought in Twentieth-Century America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 112.
5. *Ibid.*, 113.
6. In the words of Lee Atwater: "You start out in 1954 by saying, 'Nigger, nigger, nigger.' By 1968 you can't say 'nigger'—that hurts you, backfires. So you

say stuff like, uh, forced busing, states' rights, and all that stuff, and you're getting so abstract. Now, you're talking about cutting taxes, and all these things you're talking about are totally economic things and a byproduct of them is, blacks get hurt worse than whites. . . . 'We want to cut this' is much more abstract than even the busing thing, uh, and a hell of a lot more abstract than 'Nigger, nigger.'" Rick Perlstein, "Exclusive: Lee Atwater's Infamous 1981 Interview: the Southern Strategy," *The Nation*, November 13, 2012. www.thenation.com/article/exclusive-lee-atwaters-infamous-1981-interview-southern-strategy/.

7. The Project for a New American Century was a think tank created in 1997 "to promote American global leadership . . . good for America and good for the world." The idea of an "American century" revived Henry Luce's vision, first put forth in 1941, of projecting American power on the global stage. The organization's principals included Dick Cheney, Paul Wolfowitz, and Donald Rumsfeld, architects of the long war. It shuttered in 2006 and no longer has a public profile. For basic information, see Wikipedia: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Project_for_the_New_American_Century, accessed May 23, 2017.

8. Ron Suskind, "Faith, Certainty and the Presidency of George W. Bush," *New York Times Magazine*, October 17, 2004.

9. Hannah Arendt, "A Special Supplement: Reflections on Violence," *New York Review of Books*, February 29, 1969.

10. George W. Bush quoted in Bob Woodward, *Bush at War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006), 146; John Lewis Gaddis, *Surprise, Security, and the American Experience* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

11. Kate Phillips, "Clinton Touts White Support," *New York Times*, May 8, 2008, <https://theaucus.blogspot.com/2008/05/08/clinton-touts-white-support/comment-page-61/>.

12. "John McCain's Feb. 12 Speech," *New York Times*, February 12, 2008, www.nytimes.com/2008/02/12/us/politics/12text-mccain.html.

13. Courtney Comstock, "Steve Schwarzman on Tax Increases: 'It's Like When Hitler Invaded Poland,'" *Business Insider*, August 16, 2010, www.businessinsider.com/steve-schwarzman-taxes-hitler-invaded-poland-2010-8; James Surowiecki, "Moaning Moguls," *New Yorker*, July 7, 2014, www.newyorker.com/magazine/2014/07/07/moaning-moguls.

14. David Daley, *Rasputin: The True Story Behind the Secret Plan to Steal America's Democracy* (New York: Liveright, 2016); Jane Mayer, *Dark Money: The Hidden History of the Billionaires Behind the Rise of the Radical Right* (New York: Doubleday, 2016).

15. "Watch Pres. Obama's Full Response to Trump's Win," *NBC News*, November 9, 2016, www.nbcnews.com/video/watch-pres-obama-s-full-response-to-trump-s-win-804812867679.

16. "Transcript of Barack Obama's Victory Speech," NPR, November 5, 2008, www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyid=96624326.

17. At the time of writing, forty-six bills are under consideration in twenty-one states that will make it harder to vote, ranging from voter ID requirements to limitations on registration and ending early voting. Ari Berman, "The Trump Administration's Lies about Voter Fraud Will Lead to Massive Voter Suppression," *The Nation*, February 3, 2017, www.thenation.com/article/the-trump-administrations-lies-about-voter-fraud-will-lead-to-massive-voter-suppression/.

18. Pierre Dardot and Christian Laval, *The New Way of the World: On Neoliberal Society* (New York: Verso Books, 2014), 4.

19. Sheldon Wolin, *Democracy Incorporated: Managed Democracy and the Specter of Inverted Totalitarianism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008).

20. Brian Bennett, "CIA Director Warns Trump It Would Be the 'Height of Folly' to Scrap Iran Deal," *Los Angeles Times*, November 16, 2016.

21. Mike Lofgren, *The Deep State: The Fall of the Constitution and the Rise of a Shadow Government* (New York: Penguin Random House, 2016). The development of "the deep state" in the United States has not come exclusively or even primarily through unaccountable bureaucracies of the welfare state but rather through the tributaries of the military and security state. This terrain has long been a site of competition between factions of the ruling class and factions within the administrative bureaucracies. What may be new is a breakdown in the long-standing bipartisan consensus on national security and foreign policy.

22. "Steve Bannon Vows 'Economic Nationalist Movement' from White House — 'As Exciting as the 1930's, Greater than the Reagan Revolution,'" *Breitbart News*, November 18, 2016, accessed May 23, 2017, www.breitbart.com/big-government/2016/11/18/steve-bannon-vows-economic-nationalist-movement-white-house-exciting-1930s-greater-reagan-revolution/.

23. Steven Wertheim, "Quit Calling Donald Trump an Isolationist: He's Worse Than That," *Washington Post*, February 17, 2017. www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2017/02/17/quit-calling-donald-trump-an-isolationist-is-an-insult-to-isolationism/?utm_term=.3ad1f7bcebe07.

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6. Taylor Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years, 1965-68* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006), 596.

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