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Introduction

If you believe you are a citizen of the world, you are a citizen of nowhere.

—BRITISH CONSERVATIVE PRIME MINISTER
THERESA MAY, BIRMINGHAM, UK, 2016

The future does not belong to the globalists. The future belongs to patriots.

—REPUBLICAN US PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP,
UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, NEW YORK, 2019

IN 1927, George and Ira Gershwin put on a musical satire about trade and war entitled *Strike Up the Band*. The plot centres around a middle-aged US cheesemaker, Horace J. Fletcher of Connecticut, who wants to corner the domestic dairy market. When Fletcher hears that the US government has just slapped a fifty per cent tariff on foreign-made cheese, he sees dollar signs. High tariffs mean his fellow citizens will have little choice but to ‘buy American’. What’s more, the tariff’s impact soon reaches beyond the national market to sour the country’s trade relationships. Swiss cheesemakers are particularly sharp in their demands for retaliation. Fletcher surmises that a prolonged Swiss–American military conflict would provide the necessary fiscal and nationalistic incentives to maintain the costly tariff on foreign cheese in perpetuity.

To make his monopolistic dream of market control a reality, Fletcher sees to it that the tariff spat between the two countries leads to all-out war. He first creates the Very Patriotic League to drum up support for the Alpine military adventure, as well as to weed out any ‘un-American’ agitation at home. The Very Patriotic League’s members, donning white hoods reminiscent of the Ku Klux Klan, go about excising all things Swiss from the nativist nation. Not even

the classic adventure tale *The Swiss Family Robinson* escapes notice: it gets rebranded *The American Family Robinson*. With domestic anti-war dissent quelled, Fletcher next orchestrates a military invasion of Switzerland. The farcical imperial intervention ends with a US victory. But just as the war with Switzerland winds down and a peaceful League of Cheese established, an ultimatum arrives from Russia objecting to a US tariff on caviar. And, it's implied, the militant cycle repeats.

The Gershwin's late-1920s lampoon was praised by theatre critics but panned by the public. 'The masses in general still believe in patriotism,' one theatre critic explained. 'People are going to be hurt and resentful [...] to say nothing of the American Legion and patriotic societies.'¹ He was right. The musical's 1927 road tour was cancelled after just three weeks owing to the nationalistic blowback. A watered-down version of *Strike Up the Band* was churned out a couple years later. Apparently to make the story more palatable to the US sweet tooth, the tariff on cheese was switched for one on chocolate. Fletcher's war with Switzerland, real in the original score, was downgraded to a dream sequence. Even with these ameliorative changes, however, critics once again warned that 'the more aggressive American patriotic organizations' might 'threaten reprisals.'²

Strike Up the Band's satirical association of US protectionism with nationalism, militarism, and imperialism may have gone too far for the average 'patriotic' American, but it would have struck a sympathetic chord with many left-wing peace workers. After all, during and after the First World War, the country's peace activists—liberal radicals, socialists, feminists, Christians—had similarly witnessed with alarm the uptick of these very same 'isms' at home and abroad. And in seeking to curb these trends, left-wing peace workers often faced persecution, even imprisonment, at the hands of deputized 'patriotic' organizations and the US government. The peace movement's common association of trade wars with geopolitical conflict, as in the Gershwin musical, is central to the story that follows. Leading peace activists envisioned instead a free trade world as promising a new prosperous economic order devoid of imperialism and war: what they increasingly referred to as their 'Pax Economica'. *Strike Up the Band's* libretto tongue-lashing of 'patriotic' protectionism can thus be recast as a musical accompaniment to what was, by the late 1920s, a long-standing international left-wing tradition that connected economic cosmopolitanism with anti-imperialism and peace—and economic nationalism with imperialism and war.

Writing this book amid a pandemic and mounting nationalist demands for economic self-sufficiency has been instructive. The COVID-19 pandemic itself

has heightened the tensions wrought from greater interdependence. Covid's rapid spread illustrates a doomsday scenario that the Cassandras of globalization have long warned about. The ensuing stringent travel restrictions, broken supply chains, resurgent xenophobia, and further protectionist retrenchment that have followed demonstrate how the coronavirus has ratcheted up the political forces of anti-globalism that had been making headway in the years since the 2008 Great Recession.³ This economic nationalist revival has most strikingly transpired within the two nations most responsible for creating the more liberal and open economic order after the Second World War, the United States and Britain.⁴

In the years following the 2016 presidential election, US political leaders from both major parties have renounced the pro-free market 'Washington Consensus.' Republican president Donald Trump kicked things off with the unveiling of his 'America First' foreign trade policy, replete with xenophobia, tariff wars against trading partners, and anti-immigration policies. Trump pulled the United States out of the massive Asia-Pacific trade agreement called the Trans-Pacific Partnership, scrapped the North American Free Trade Agreement, levied punitive tariffs against the country's closest allies, and even attempted to build a giant wall along the US-Mexico border to deter migrants. Democratic president Joe Biden's 'Buy American' programme and industrial policy echo Trump's, and Biden has also continued the trade war with China. In some areas, Biden's protectionist policies are even more extreme than his predecessor's.

Brexit Britain's bipartisan 'Buy British' campaign, in turn, has followed close on the heels of the UK's chaotic and nationalistic dislocation from the European Union (EU), accompanied by severe immigration restrictions to 'take back control' of British sovereignty. Some Conservative Party Brexit champions have promised that former British colonies such as India will replace the EU single market; others have proffered a more selective racialized vision called CANZUK, an economic union between the UK and its former 'white' settler colonies Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Both proposals drip with imperial nostalgia.⁵ The consequent creation of new trade barriers between the UK and the EU and between Northern Ireland and the rest of the UK, in turn, have upset the European peace project.

Nationalistic onlookers have been fast to follow the Anglo-American protectionist cue. Right-wing governments in Italy, Hungary, Poland, Turkey, Brazil, the Philippines, India, China, and Japan, among others, have taken inspiration from the burgeoning protectionist consensus. Then came Russia's

brazen imperial incursion into Ukraine in 2022, accompanied by crippling Western economic sanctions in retaliation. The economic nationalist and imperial backdrop of the present volume no longer looks all that distant or alien.

Pax Economica's spectrum of left-wingers broadly encompasses those whose politics were left of centre. Some sought reform, others revolution, but all shared the belief that economic interdependence could foster democratization, economic and social justice, and world harmony. For some left-wingers like Karl Marx writing in the 1840s, the envisaged interconnectivity wrought from free trade signalled the next progressive step in capitalism's march towards proletarian revolution, and therefore deserved support. But for many other left-wing internationalists, universal free trade came to be seen as the economic bedrock of a more peaceful, prosperous, and democratic world order. Left-leaning liberal radical reformers such as Richard Cobden, Henry George, Mark Twain, Leo Tolstoy, Norman Angell, Abe Isoo, J. A. Hobson, Jane Addams, Rosika Schwimmer, and Fanny Garrison Villard connected free trade with democracy promotion, antislavery, universal suffrage, civil rights, prosperity, anti-imperialism, and peace. Socialist internationalist peace workers such as Florence Kelley, Eduard Bernstein, Karl Kautsky, Crystal Eastman, Toyohiko Kagawa, Norman Thomas, and Kirby Page leaned further left in their critiques of capitalism and economic inequality. But these same social democrats, democratic socialists, and communists nevertheless often found themselves working alongside their more moderate liberal radical contemporaries to realise their shared vision of a peaceful, free trade world.

Pax Economica's motley crew of left-wing free traders were the leading globalists of their age, in contrast to the right-wing free-market advocacy more commonly associated with globalism's champions today. The disjuncture between then and now offers an opportunity to correct a historical imbalance. The past couple of decades have witnessed a flurry of scholarship tracing the right-wing origins of today's free-market ideas back to the interwar years.⁶ By recovering the shared world of left-wing radicalism and free trade, this book tells a very different story, with a much earlier starting point: the 1840s. Back then, the left-leaning free-trade ideology of anti-imperialism and peace was famously known as 'Manchester liberalism' or 'the Manchester School', owing to its roots in Manchester, England. It was also referred to as 'Cobdenism', after the school's most prominent British spokesman, Richard Cobden. Cobdenism took on various left-wing guises and varieties, suffusing the international peace and anti-imperial movements from the mid-nineteenth century onward.

The terminology used to describe the book's left-wingers accordingly reflect their intersectional fight for free trade, anti-imperialism, and peace. Their movement is referred to interchangeably throughout the book as 'the free-trade-and-peace movement', 'the commercial peace movement', and 'the economic peace movement'. So too 'internationalism' is used interchangeably with 'cosmopolitanism', because of their shared intellectual property for much of the period between the mid-nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries. During this time, even the most extreme cosmopolitans recognized the existence and staying power of the nation state; and even the staunchest internationalists, while recognizing that nationalism was an entrenched reality, also saw it as the most powerful stumbling block to a more peaceful, interdependent world order. Internationalism and cosmopolitanism back then were both also closely associated with 'interdependence': what we now more often refer to as 'globalization'.⁷

'Free trade' and 'protectionism' also had meanings particular to the century preceding the Second World War. This was a time when governments relied largely on tariffs for generating revenue. *Pax Economica's* cast of characters accordingly understood free trade to mean low tariffs for revenue purposes only, rather than their near absence as free trade is commonly thought of today. Left-wing free traders back then sought to lower government expenditures on imperial defence and militaries to keep revenue tariffs as low as possible for the consumer—with imperial devolution, peace, and prosperity a natural by-product. Most protectionists, believing war and imperialism to be immutable, instead sought discriminatory or prohibitive tariffs on foreign products both to insulate domestic producers from unfettered international competition and to pay for expanding their nation's militaries and empires. This form of economic nationalism, often accompanied by government subsidies for domestic businesses and internal improvements, became popularly known by the mid-nineteenth century as the 'American System' in the United States. The close late-nineteenth and twentieth-century association of protectionism and colonialism, in turn, is sometimes referred to as 'neomercantilism'. As Eric Helleiner has argued, neomercantilism was an updated version of the older mercantilist system of imperial trading blocs and monopolies common among early modern empires.⁸

The left-wing economic cosmopolitan fight for anti-imperialism and peace begins with the mid-nineteenth-century transatlantic free-trade movement. At first glance, it might seem ironic that the leading peace and anti-imperial theories emanated outward from Britain, the dominant empire of the day. The

British Empire of the Victorian age likely brings to mind ambitions of world-wide market access and a British world system controlled through naval supremacy, pith helmets, and diplomatic persuasion. This depiction is in keeping with what is now a prodigious body of literature examining the complex relationship between British imperialism and modern liberalism.⁹ This volume adds further complexity by exploring how liberal ideas spurred transnational anti-imperial and peace activism; for many politically left-of-centre adherents, free-trade liberalism contained a hard-nosed critique of imperialism, militarism, and war.

And yet the radical left-wing free-trade fight to end imperialism and war, if recognized at all, is treated as a mere curiosity: what Stephen Howe describes as ‘a minority current, and a limited and conditional stance.’¹⁰ This marginalization stems in part from a long-standing tendency to misremember the half-century leading up to the First World War as ‘a golden era of globalization’, as Tara Zahra puts it.¹¹ *Pax Economica’s* study of the commercial peace movement paints a very different political economic picture. Recovering the pacifistic efforts of left-wing free traders thus provides a new transnational history of peace activism and its complex relationship to global capitalism between the mid-nineteenth century and today. Excepting British peace historiography, most national histories of pre-1945 peace movements (and most are national histories) grant little more than a passing reference, if any, to free trade. They also exclude the numerous organizations for which peace through free trade was their main purpose.

Free trade’s marginalization and exclusion has a long lineage within peace studies. Helen Bosanquet, in her 1924 study of the relationship between free trade and peace in the nineteenth century, went so far as to state that peace societies had ‘lost even their mild interest in Free Trade’ after a brief flirtation in the 1840s and 1850s.¹² The doyen of peace studies Merle Curti has argued that the ‘slow advance of peace’ over the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries owed much to the fact that ‘peacemakers have not adequately fought the economic forces that make for war’. He goes on to argue that ‘most friends of peace [...] have naturally accepted the existing economic order and have not seen the threats to peace inherent in it’. Others have held that peace activists didn’t think about economic matters at all. Gorham Munson, for instance, asserts that ‘as a movement pacifism has been notoriously innocent of economics.’ These observations, John Nelson concludes, ‘hold true for the peace movement prior to the First World War’, and to a large extent after it.¹³ The disjuncture works both ways. Those histories of world governance and liberal

internationalism that have recognized the sizeable role played by free-trade ideas and their left-wing adherents have isolated them from their peace activism.¹⁴ This book turns these long-held assumptions, exclusions, and dissociations on their heads by showing how free trade remained a central tenet among left-wing internationalists working within the era's anti-imperial and peace movements to overturn the neomercantilist order.

Free trade's historiographical exclusion is more surprising still considering that commercial peace workers were well recognized in their day, not least by Nobel Peace Prize committees. The first ever Nobel Peace Prize, in 1901, was awarded to two individuals. Of the two names, Henri Dunant is the more familiar today, as the founder of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva. The other, the leader of the turn-of-the-century French peace movement Frédéric Passy, is less remembered. Passy was a French disciple of Britain's mid-nineteenth-century 'apostle of free trade' Richard Cobden. Like Cobden, Passy believed that universal free trade was an essential ingredient for a more peaceful world and accordingly helped create numerous European economic peace organizations. The Nobel committee's interest in the economic cosmopolitan connection to peace only grew stronger after the First World War. In the summer of 1919 the Nobel Institute even ran an international competition to provide 'An Account of the History of the Free Trade Movement in the Nineteenth Century and its Bearing on the International Peace Movement'.¹⁵ Other left-leaning leaders of the commercial peace movement to receive the prize thereafter included Chicago's Jane Addams (1931), Britain's Norman Angell (1933), former Democratic US secretary of state Cordell Hull (1945), and Boston's Emily Green Balch (1946).

Along the way, *Pax Economica* traces how the global vision of left-wing economic cosmopolitans came to embrace supranational oversight as a prerequisite for their pacifistic free-trade order. As Glenda Sluga describes it, by the end of the First World War 'steam, electricity, and trade had socialized a new kind of international man' who put greater faith in supranational governance to maintain the peace.¹⁶ The book's 'cosmopolitan internationalists' well understood that this meant weakening national borders and diminishing national sovereignty and allegiances. This globalist mindset and worldview paved the way for the likes of the League of Nations and, eventually, the United Nations, the EU, and the World Trade Organization, key institutions that would underpin subsequent post-1945 economic ordering.

The book's thematic approach highlights the multifaceted growth and evolution of this left-wing free-trade tradition within transnational anti-imperial

and peace networks spanning a century and more. Its structure allows for the telling of six distinct but overlapping stories. The first chapter provides the protectionist and imperial backdrop to the rest of the book. The chapter focuses on how the American System of protectionism—popularized by Alexander Hamilton, Henry Clay, Henry Carey, and Friedrich List—most shaped the economic makeup of the world’s empires from around 1870. This allows us to see the global economic order in the way that both its leading supporters and its leading critics saw it: as one dominated by extreme protectionism, nationalism, militarism, and colonialism. The subsequent four chapters trace the role of free trade within the international anti-imperial and peace movements from the left-wing perspective of liberal radicals, socialists, feminists, and Christians, groups that tend to be treated disparately or even as oppositional. The final chapter carries the story forward from the end of the Second World War to today. During this time, the United States is commonly understood to have taken the lead from Britain in liberalizing global trade even as the decolonizing world fought to obtain a seat at the decision-making table.

Treated individually, the chapters allow for a more focused engagement with debates and questions surrounding the international peace histories of liberal radicals, socialists, feminists, and Christians. Taken as a whole, the chapters provide a wide-ranging landscape depicting how visions of free trade helped tie these left-wing peace workers together, and how they overlapped with other left-leaning reform movements. As *Strike Up the Band* illustrates, by the 1920s free trade’s association with peace had seeped into wider left-wing culture and discourses, and controversially so. *Pax Economica* accordingly includes how left-wing visions of a more peaceful interdependent world intersected with a variety of other nineteenth- and twentieth-century initiatives such as the abolition of slavery, women’s suffrage, civil rights, the Esperanto movement, and the New International Economic Order.

Liberal ideas connecting free-trade universalism with peace not only preceded the Cold War; they predated the 1840s. We can find earlier such iterations of economic cosmopolitanism in the Enlightenment thought of Immanuel Kant, the French physiocrats, Adam Smith, and Thomas Paine, perhaps even as far back as the ancient Greeks.¹⁷ But massive mid-nineteenth-century transformations of the global economy heralded something new for the modernizing world. Universalistic theories of free trade became potential political realities upon the creation of a global food system, global transport and communication networks, and mass industrialization. These globalizing trends evolved and grew between the 1840s and 1940s, underpinning post-1945

left-wing visions of world citizenship, the international division of labour, decolonization, economic interdependence, prosperity, social justice, and peace.¹⁸

The left-wing fight for free trade, anti-imperialism, and peace was a transimperial one, meaning a transnational struggle that more often than not crisscrossed imperial boundaries.¹⁹ This was an uphill struggle during an era in which empires were key movers, shakers, and innovators of globalization: what A. G. Hopkins describes as ‘imperial globalization.’²⁰ The transimperial story that follows therefore corrects the all too common misimpression that this first age of modern globalization was one of free trade and *laissez-faire* run amok, culminating in the First World War. Apart from the British case, this imperial phase of integration was protectionist, regional, and quite often coercive, as pre-modern or undeveloped economies were forced to become integrated within a Euro-American dominated global market system. The protagonists of this book understood the economic nationalist makeup of the imperial order only too well.

Their pacifistic visions of a liberal order of open trade and world fraternity evolved throughout the last half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, but even so, the era in which its protagonists lived imposed certain limitations. For many Victorian-era economic peace workers, their universalistic worldview was constrained by their Euro-American-centrism and the limitations of nascent global transportation and communication networks. The Victorian-era commercial peace movement also showed itself to be more susceptible to the era’s white supremacist ideas of Anglo-Saxonism and ‘civilization’ than its twentieth-century successors. These biases further limited left-wing economic cosmopolitan and anti-imperial visions.²¹ For some utopians at the extreme end of this Anglo-Saxonist spectrum, for example, the global dominance of a free-trading Anglosphere—‘Anglobalization’—even promised an ‘Anglotopia’: perpetual peace through Anglo-American democratic imperialism.²² This liberal imperialist dimension later reinforced the League of Nations mandates system.²³ Granted, few of this book’s protagonists fell into this peace-through-empire camp. But nor were the era’s left-wing economic peace workers able to break free entirely from the constraints of this racialized Euro-American-centric worldview. This tendency would noticeably weaken during the interwar years amid the global turn towards authoritarianism and autarky, during which a more radical generation of commercial peace workers threw themselves into creating a new interdependent economic order more sympathetic to the demands of the decolonizing world.

Euro-American-centrism also informed the free-trade and protectionist theories of economic development emanating from the imperial metropolises.²⁴ Many of the leading theorists of capitalism, from Adam Smith to Friedrich List to Karl Marx, followed this line of thought. These developmental stage theories drew the attention of not only imperial-minded nationalists but also anti-colonial nationalists, who embraced and adapted these same theories to undermine the Euro-American imperial order. As explored in chapter 1, almost paradoxically, anti-colonial nationalists such as Liang Qichao, Ma Yinchu, Arthur Griffith, Mahatma Gandhi, Benoy Kumar Sarkar, and W.E.B. Du Bois saw the Western developmental model as both the source of their humiliation and the means of their salvation.²⁵ That the colonized and decolonizing world often borrowed from, imitated, and adapted the ideas, texts, languages, and policies of the colonizers—a nineteenth-century process that Christopher Hill refers to as ‘conceptual universalization’—should not be surprising.²⁶ Recognizing this unequal power relationship does not dismiss the unique and significant ways that anti-colonial nationalists incorporated local settings and traditions to retool the racialized developmental ideologies of the West into emancipatory weapons of independence.

Pax Economica therefore reflects the imbalanced dissemination of economic ideologies during this era of Western-dominated colonialism, globalization, and industrialization. Although not one-way streets during this period, the most popular ideological roads invariably led back to Rome or, more often than not, London, Paris, Berlin, New York, Geneva, and Boston. The intrinsic power dynamics of imperial globalization meant that the West’s near monopoly control of global transportation and communication networks, and thus of knowledge transfer, allowed for few exceptions to this Euro-American-centred rule. As a result, while this is a globe-trotting book, its Euro-American connections remain prominent. Yet the story that unfolds seeks to avoid falling into the pitfall of narrating merely how the West shaped the rest. What follows is in no small part about how Western ideas framed the global battle between economic cosmopolitanism and economic nationalism. But it is also about how ‘the rest’—including anti-colonial nationalists in India, Ireland, Egypt, Ghana, the USA, China, Cuba, the Philippines, and Argentina—refashioned these ideas and policies to make them their own. These same efforts would, in turn, gradually make left-wing economic cosmopolitans more accepting of the developmentalist trade policy visions of the Global South after 1945.

The ensuing transimperial struggle between economic cosmopolitanism and economic nationalism over the future course of global capitalism often

made for strange bedfellows. Before the Cold War conflict between capitalism and communism, capitalist and socialist radicals found common cause in their efforts to overturn the economic nationalist imperial order. By the early twentieth century, a shared belief in trade liberalization as a mechanism for peace, prosperity, and social justice had socialist internationalists joining hands with left-leaning capitalist reformers. The latter—liberal radicals—were willing to work closely with more centrist elements within the peace establishment like the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, as well as with Marxist revolutionaries, international feminists, and ecumenical Christians. The pageantry of the left-wing economic peace movement included a colourful cast of characters that readers might find surprising.

Pax Economica's interventions challenge a wide scholarship that has tended not to look earlier than the 1930s and 1940s to understand the origins of post-1945 economic globalization.²⁷ Limited understanding has bred understandable confusion. Cold War lenses have blurred the historical depiction of modern left-wing radicalism, displacing the economic peace movement from its previously prominent position. In the US context, for example, since the 1950s historians have recast late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century free-trade radicals as supporters of the very corporate monopolies and empires that they sought to dismantle, and have shoehorned them into histories of US conservatism rather than of US liberalism. Still others depict all US socialists as economic nationalists, overlooking the pacifistic free-trade alliances between socialist internationalists and capitalist liberal radicals.²⁸ This book's unorthodox narrative upends many such common Cold War-driven misconceptions surrounding modern liberalism, free trade, anti-imperialism, and peace.

In sum, *Pax Economica* illustrates most vividly how the global spread of imperial ideas was never limited to imperial rule; it also advanced anti-imperial dissent. Free-trade cosmopolitanism provided the economic fuel needed to fire up the international peace and anti-imperialist movements working between the mid-nineteenth century and today. This anti-imperialism of free trade was a transimperial phenomenon that came to encompass the political left-wing within the British, US, Spanish, German, Dutch, Belgian, Italian, Russian, French, and Japanese empires, where economic cosmopolitans struggled to replace the neomercantilist and nationalist realist logics that undergirded imperialism and war with the free-trade principles they believed would undermine empires and promote peace. Travelling across imperial boundaries, trade wars, and military conflicts, free-trade theories of anti-imperialism and peace sought to undo the world that had produced them.

The book's findings help explain how we got 'there and back again' (to borrow a phrase from J.R.R. Tolkien). Today's ongoing economic nationalist backlash against free-market globalism has once again shaken the economic order, contributing to the growth of authoritarian regimes, the search for self-sufficiency, trade wars, geopolitical turmoil, and imperial expansion. The book's examination of the economic peace movement and its close affinity with democratization therefore also provides a new history of what in the field of international relations is referred to as 'democratic peace theory' and 'capitalist peace theory', although the book's economic cosmopolitans would be perplexed to see these theories treated separately rather than as mutually reinforcing. They would also be surprised to discover that their contributions to these theories are nearly forgotten.²⁹

The book concludes by emphasising how the ideological origins of post-1945 battles over neocolonialism, neomercantilism, and neoliberalism lay in the 1840s and the century that followed. The Cold War has obfuscated a much older ideological struggle that pitted the industrializing imperial powers against each other, while also giving birth to anti-colonial nationalist demands for political autonomy and economic development that would later prevail in the Global South. Long before the Cold War divided much of the globe into socialist and capitalist camps, the capitalist system itself was riven in two between those cosmopolitan idealists who wanted the world's markets to become peaceably interdependent through free trade, and those nationalist realists who viewed geopolitics as a matter of perpetual war, wherein tariff walls were needed to buttress national boundaries and insulate infant domestic industries from unfettered international competition. As an intellectual and political history, this battle between economic cosmopolitanism and economic nationalism encapsulates what David Armitage describes as 'a collision of competing universalisms'. This same collision course once again appears cataclysmic three decades after Cold War's end.³⁰ Today's visions of a more peaceful economic order arose long before the cheese war that played out upon the Gershwins' interwar stage. They began to take shape within the century-long political and ideological fight over the future course of trade, imperialism, and war that gripped the industrializing and colonial world from the 1840s.

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