

thesis; or assessing the corollaries between American white supremacy and European colonialism, as James Jackson did while fighting fascism in World War II, they saw what they thought as connected to what they did, and what they did as a means to achieving what they dreamed of.

Other essays pull back from the Jacksons to consider their place in the historical moment. Johnetta Richards and Robert Korstad see the SNYC and the black radical activism as emerging from the rise of what Korstad cogently has characterized as the “civil rights unionism” of the 1930s and 1940s (86). In a poignant account of a creative life cut short, Michael Anderson considers how the same currents that moved the Jacksons shaped the dynamic radicalism of playwright Lorraine Hansberry.

This volume grows out of a symposium held at New York University’s Tamiment Library, and some of the essays still retain the loose, conversational rhythms of a lecture. Indeed, at times the book feels ancillary to the conference, with uneven copy-editing, inconsistent formatting, and some essays eschewing citations for no discernible reason. Nonetheless, the book contains vital ideas and compelling portraits. As Angela Davis notes, these histories continually return to the Jacksons’ “personal and political passion,” so fully intertwined “that it would have been impossible to separate the personal from the political” (104). In viewing the fullness of these lives lived politically, one sees the potential for new historiographic vistas.

*Duke University*

ADRIANE LENTZ-SMITH

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Richard H. Cummings, *Cold War Radio: The Dangerous History of American Broadcasting in Europe, 1950–1989* (Jefferson: McFarland and Company, 2009, \$45.00). Pp. 319. ISBN 978 0 7864 4138 9.

Since the end of the American–Soviet conflict scholars have been preoccupied with the controversial question: who won the Cold War? Yet few have asked at what cost the battle was fought. Richard H. Cummings, the former director of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty during the 1980s and 1990s, addresses this issue in his recent history of the radio stations.

No doubt the traditional accounts of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are familiar to the readers of this journal. You are probably aware, for example, that both stations were funded by the Central Intelligence Agency until 1972. And that the American public first learned of the CIA’s sponsorship in 1967 when *Ramparts* magazine ran its famous exposé of the agency’s connection to a number of domestic organizations including student and women’s groups. However, these stories pale in comparison to Cummings’s account of the bombing of RFE/RL headquarters in Munich, in 1981, by Ilych Ramirez Sanchez, better known as Carlos the Jackal. Or the murder of Georgi Markov by Bulgarian intelligence, a murder in which the head of the KGB at the time, Yuri Andropov, was directly involved. This is of course the same Yuri Andropov who later became the General Secretary of the Soviet Union and who served as one of Mikhail Gorbachev’s most ardent supporters as he rose toward his assumption of power in 1985. Today Markov’s murder – he died of

septicaemia, a form of blood poisoning caused by bacterial toxins, which entered his system through a poison pellet shot from an umbrella – remains one of the great unsolved murders of the Cold War.

These stories are part of a larger narrative that revolves around the trials and tribulations faced by those who worked on the front lines of the propaganda war. Throughout his work Cummings maintains, and correctly so, that the battle was fought at a great cost to those émigrés who were recruited for the job. His is a blood-and-guts history, the kind we often forget about in the less emotional accounts of the past that we seem to privilege. Indeed the emotive nature of Cummings's work should not be dismissed despite his attempts to absent himself from the story he is uniquely tied to.

Notwithstanding his claim that his goal was to detach himself from the events and remain "objective," there is a palatable and persistent emotional undertone to his work. While this helps bring his stories to life it also has a downside because Cummings appears unable to distance himself from the traditional narrative of the Cold War. As a result he refuses to see the radio stations for what they really were: propaganda. This is problematic because the critical reader is left wondering why the stations were targeted so frequently by East European intelligence. Certainly it was not simply that the Soviets and their East European counterparts were antagonized by the release of "truthful information." For despite Cummings's protestations to the contrary, the information was not always "truthful," nor was it always American in origin. Indeed, many of the émigrés who worked for the stations were able to write their own scripts because successive governments failed to provide the necessary policy guidance to keep the programs in line with US policy.

But this is not the story that interests him. Instead he wants to focus our attention on what he terms questions of "security and intelligence." Compelling topics certainly, but are they, in and of themselves, enough to hold the reader's attention? In my view, no. Unfortunately, I found much of his discussion difficult to follow. Aside from his claim that the histories of the radio stations needed to be updated there was no central argument that holds the various sections of the book together. The chapters rarely include introductions or conclusions and there is no discussion about why the stories he chooses to outline are important or what they tell us about the larger issues that surround the Cold War. In this sense Cummings's work raises more questions than it answers.

There are also sections of the book that should have provided a more in-depth discussion. For example, I would like to have seen a more detailed examination of the origins of the radio stations and how they fit into a general history of American propaganda. There is also no mention of the importance of the Voice of America or how the three radio stations differed from each other. The standard interpretation is that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty were more hard-hitting than VOA. Although Cummings is not interested in questions of policy, I was left wondering, was this the reason why RFE was targeted by terrorists and not the Voice? I also wished he had provided his take on the role RFE played in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. This is still a controversial subject and one that I think should have been explored in his history.

Clearly the stories Cummings tells need to be told, but given the problems I outlined above I have to wonder whether a book was the best format. I think that

many of these tales would have been better suited to a series of articles. In that format they would have garnered much more attention from the general public, which seems to be what Cummings was most interested in. It is highly unlikely that this book will achieve the same ends. Nor, I believe, will it meet the expectations of scholars who tend to prefer a little analysis along with their narratives, no matter how dramatic and tragic those narratives are.

*Dalhousie University*

SARAH-JANE CORKE

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Rebecca M. Schreiber, *Cold War Exiles in Mexico: U.S. Dissidents and the Culture of Critical Resistance* (London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008, £42.00 cloth, £14.00 paper). Pp. 303. ISBN 0 8166 4308 3, 978 0 8166 4308 0.

Much of the most engaging scholarship on the Cold War in recent years has explored the ways in which US government agencies viewed culture – whether jazz, visual art or literature – as a key battleground in the campaign to win over the hearts and minds of individuals across the globe. While scholars including Tim Borstelmann (*The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (2003)) and Mary Dudziak (*Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of Democracy* (2000)) have convincingly linked US racism during this period to imperialism, the transnational slant of recent criticism rarely extends beyond the boundaries of the US, Africa and Western Europe. Rebecca Schreiber's first book, *Cold War Exiles in Mexico*, examines the ways in which the political and cultural climate of the 1940s and 1950s forced large numbers of US writers, artists and filmmakers into exile, examining how and why so many settled in Mexico. Although Schreiber explores the migration and impact of a disparate group of individuals, she convincingly argues that the work of US exiles in Mexico during the early Cold War era “was characterized by a distinctly transnational mode of cultural production” (xii), countering the dominant ideology of “American nationalist globalism” (xiv). Schreiber charts the arrival of three main groups of exiles: visual artists (including Elizabeth Catlett and Charles White) after World War II; blacklisted individuals from the Hollywood film industry in the early 1950s (Hugo Butler, Dalton Trumbo); and poets, writers and literary agents (including Willard Motley).

*Cold War Exiles* is characterized by attentive archival research and a largely well-written blend of literary and filmic history and analyses of Cold War cultural production. For Schreiber, the work produced by Cold War exiles “constitutes a form of critical transnationalism that challenged the official versions of U.S. national culture from the mid-1940s to the mid-1960s” (202). In her most illuminating chapter, Schreiber explores the impact of the African American artist Elizabeth Catlett, whose work, including the Negro Woman series (1946–47), championed African American resistance to racism, later highlighting the global perspective of injustice by connecting US racism and imperialism to Latin America, Asia and Africa. Though she was refused a visa to return to the US for many years, Catlett was a seminal influence on the Black Arts movement.