

Reframing Black Internationalism and Civil Rights during the Cold War

John Munro and Ian Rocksborough-Smith

Consider the following clash of interpretations. In his recent biography of Ferdinand Smith, the Jamaican-born vice president of the National Maritime Union who like many other trade unionists with Communist Party affiliations, was expelled from the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) during the early cold war. Historian Gerald Horne argues that cold war anticommunism had a decidedly deleterious impact on the prospects for substantive Black freedom in the United States. Horne posits that “the trade union movement in the nation was deprived of its most class-conscious proletarians when the NMU was downsized. African Americans, likewise, were deprived of jobs that had sustained them since the era of slavery. For blacks, the gains brought by the civil rights movement were bitter-sweet indeed, as they gained the right to eat in restaurants just as their means to pay the bill deteriorated” (*Red Seas* 288).¹ Historian Jonathan Rosenberg presents a rather contrasting depiction of cold war civil rights. For him, “the contention that, on the whole, America’s conflict with the Soviet Union had a baneful impact on the civil rights struggle is difficult to sustain. What race reform leaders had been seeking for some five decades—the abolition of legally sanctioned segregation in the military, education, employment, public accommodations, and voting—came to pass during the cold war” (232).² These recent arguments tell us that disagreement about the cold war’s intersection with the Black freedom struggle is far from resolved. It also tells us that this debate is at something of an impasse, in that historians have been marshalling evidence on each side for some time without bringing about an overall shift of paradigm. And in a related point, Horne and

1 Horne’s study of Ferdinand Smith stands amid a sizable tradition of sophisticated works that have found the cold war’s impact on the Black freedom struggle to be deleterious. Indeed, Horne’s prodigious scholarship has had considerable influence in establishing this interpretation. See for example, Horne, *Black and Red*; Korstad and N. Lichtenstein; Marable; Sullivan 613-626; Von Eschen, *Race Against Empire*; Anderson.

2 Other works that have stressed the salutary effects of the cold war on the possibilities of racial equality include Laville and Lucas; Layton; Borstelmann.

Rosenberg's skillful marshalling of evidence indicate that this dispute will not move forward on empiricism alone. We propose, then, that to reframe this debate is to think about it in new ways that might be more productive than heaping more evidence on each side.

This debate about the cold war and the color line needs to be framed so as to situate the Black freedom struggle as part of the international movement against colonialism.³ Though hardly the first to make this suggestion, we feel that American Studies practitioners can benefit from an overview that convenes a discussion between Black internationalism, communism and anticommunism, Black Studies, the new diplomatic history, and international American Studies. We contend that the rich scholarship produced through these fields can, taken together, help us rethink the ways in which cold war rivalry was not the only international context of consequence for the quest for racial equality within the United States. Our review essay begins with the suggestion that the impassioned debate about the role of the Communist Party of the United States has been too domestically focused. Provincializing McCarthyism, we suggest, enables a rethinking of the cold war assault on white supremacy, one which shows that movement setbacks in the US were accompanied by gains elsewhere that were often beyond the purview of the Wisconsin senator and the US foreign policy elite. We will then point to the lively conversation that has been taken up in the last two decades between diplomatic history, American Studies, and Black Studies. By situating the cold war civil rights debate in this broader intellectual conversation, we propose that the historical confluence of these two great events did not produce either/or outcomes, but rather constituted an intensely complex set of interconnections that advanced social justice while also reinscribing and deepening international hierarchies of inequality.

The early cold war was itself replete with insights regarding the international context of the African American movement for social and economic justice. After World War II, an internationalist anticolonialism of the left persisted throughout the 1950s by way of a conversation among a group of scholars and activists situated within the Black freedom struggle, including W. E. B. Du Bois, Paul Robeson, Ella Baker, George Padmore, Claudia Jones, Richard Wright, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Frantz Fanon, as well as lesser-known figures such as writers and organizers Esther Cooper Jackson and Jack O'Dell. This exchange was picked up by a new generation—from Stokely Carmichael to Angela Davis

3 In making this point, we are particularly inspired by some very incisive historiography, such as Robinson; Meriwether; Kelley, *Freedom Dreams*; Singh, *Black is a Country*; Smethurst *The Black Arts Movement* and "SNYC, *Freedomways*."

to Martin Luther King, Jr.—in the following decade. Although within the US the impact of McCarthyism was considerable, keeping our attention trained to the global arena reveals its diminishing reach. The resulting picture renders visible greater continuities between early cold war critiques of racial capitalism and makes clearer not only the persistence of anticolonialism in the US but also its many transnational interconnections.

The continuities of Black cold war internationalism have not always been sufficiently emphasized in the extensive scholarship that has dealt with the relationship between African Americans and US communism. On the whole, studies that have dealt with the relationship between “Blacks” and “reds,” while rich in detail, have reached an impasse that demands further analytical elaboration. On the one hand, many have viewed African American engagements with communism either through a cold war lens—whereby Black activists were token functionaries in machinations from above by Comintern dictates (Draper, *The Roots* 8; Draper, *American Communism* 315-356)⁴ or rhetorical objects in sectarian battles on the radical left as was largely the case for the white Trotskyist Opposition in the US (Phelps xxviii-xlii). On the other hand, a revisionist historiography has depicted African American Party adherents who were ultimately marginalized by the hegemony of McCarthyist witch hunts, liberal civil rights leaders, and conservative Black nationalists wary of communist association. This scholarship further countered the cold war paradigm by adopting a largely sympathetic view that amounted to social histories from below. In these renderings, rank and file activists as well as Black and white left intellectuals, cultural workers, and writers partook in local, and sometimes interracial, struggles against white racism in areas such as unemployment, labor, and civil rights that complicate our understandings of the international Black radical tradition and the assumed sectarianism of rank and file Party members.⁵ Still, debate surrounding African Americans and communism continues to revolve around the rather limiting question of whether the Communist Party substantively contributed to advances in the cause of Black civil rights in the

4 While it has often been reproached for its top-down emphasis, Theodore Draper’s work on the CPUSA assembled a useful archive and accorded the subject a relatively dispassionate seriousness that considerably advanced historical knowledge of the Party. His approach has consistently epitomized the “foreign dictates” thesis on US communism, thus allying his work in different ways with that of Wilson Record, Harold Cruse, Harvey Klehr, and John Earl Haynes.

5 See for example, Painter; Isserman; Robinson; Naison; Horne, *Black and Red* and *Communist Front?*; Foner and Allen; Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*; Honey; Johanningsmeier; A. Wald; Halpern; Solomon; Biondi; Korstad; and Davies.

United States and, implicitly, the degree to which the CPUSA's activities were either Soviet controlled or domestically initiated.

The constraints of this debate were made very clear in a recent edition of *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* where the arguments about African Americans and communism appear to have come full circle. In this issue, historian Eric Arnesen offers a biographical treatment of union leader and noted anticommunist A. Phillip Randolph in order to argue that CPUSA's "record on race and civil rights" were brought into "stark relief" by Randolph's vituperative resignation from the communist-dominated National Negro Congress (NNC) in 1940 and his scathing critique of the Soviet Union and its US supporters. Randolph's anticommunist rhetoric is deployed here by Arnesen to assail what in his estimation are insufficiently critical accounts of the relationship between African Americans and the CP. For him, revisionist historians Robin Kelley, Michael Honey, Rick Halpern, Martha Biondi, and others have "sidestepped key aspects of the anticommunist scholars' charges *and* the voices of contemporary African American opponents of the party, such as Randolph" (19, 37). The back-and-forth between orthodoxy and revision in US communist studies is often quite subtle and nuanced—Arnesen is not merely rearticulating Draper's cold war machinations thesis, but providing a new layer of complexity by focusing our attention on the arguments of anti-communists like Randolph. Moreover, supple interpretations offered by recent scholarship from the revisionist school further point towards a synthesis of top-down vanguardism, taking seriously the role of Stalinism but at the same time reiterating the importance of local traditions from below (Keeran 165; A. Lichtenstein; Solomon xxi; Storch 4, 37). At the same time, while generations of extremely sophisticated work has been produced, the bone of contention remains largely the same, thus giving the debate as it now stands a ring of circularity.

Largely missing from this exchange, however, is a deeper consideration of the crucial internationalism that often attracted both communist and non-communist African Americans to the communist left for its multi-faceted advocacy of anti-imperialism and racial justice. Anticolonialism played a central role alongside the cold war in the shifting discursive and material boundaries of racial oppression over the course of the twentieth century. In this sense, despite Arnesen's focus on Randolph's fallout with the National Negro Congress and Arnesen's own admirable and very extensive review of the secondary literature concerning African Americans and communism, his analysis would have greatly benefited from a wider understanding of the emergence of the NNC and its interconnectedness with other Black-led organizations of the 1930s

and 1940s such as the Council on African Affairs (headed by Robeson and Du Bois among many others) which were more explicitly involved in left-inflected anticolonialism, notably in Africa.⁶

Moreover, the terms of the debate concerning US communism and its relationship to the African American freedom struggle has been constrained by the poles of a rigid cold war anti-communist versus communist binary. Thus, Arnesen's reliance on Randolph's anticommunist rhetoric conceals some crucial developments in the union leader's own biography beyond World War II in the 1950s. Randolph did maintain his anticommunism in line with the growing consensus among liberals and conservatives, but also continued to associate with leftists of many sorts. For example, Randolph headed the organizing committee for the 1959 March on Washington Movement for integrated schools which included among its organizers former communists Jack O'Dell and Bayard Rustin.⁷ This was an impressive cast of leftists, especially since this movement for integrated schools occurred deep into the cold war, long after all "reds" had supposedly been purged from US progressive movements. In addition, Black leftist influence in unions sometimes outlived the House of Labor's rightward turn in the early cold war to have an impact on later civil rights struggles and Black Power activism.⁸

In addition, the debate surrounding African Americans and communism is only enriched by transcending a US-centric focus to consider the truly international dimensions of the vibrant intellectual and activist discussions on race and colonialism that extended well beyond the US communist left during the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s. Scholars of international communism such as Oscar Berland have already noted that the Communist International was actually more concerned with political developments in Asia than with establishing native

6 For an extensive treatment of the CAA, see Von Eschen, *Race against Empire*.

7 While Rustin became a staunch anti-communist, O'Dell remained a sympathetic fellow traveler who also got involved with broader struggles for social justice. Thus, after his years with the NMU, SNYC, and CPUSA, O'Dell worked as head of fundraising in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference with Martin Luther King, Jr., became an editor for the Black leftist and anticolonial magazine *Freedomways*, and later became Director of International Affairs for Operation People United to Save Humanity with Rev. Jesse Jackson. For more on O'Dell see, Rocksborough-Smith 26-27; and O'Dell, "Fighting Jim Crow" 502.

8 Two examples from Detroit are the left caucuses, such as the National Negro Labor Council, within Local 600 of the United Auto Workers, and Revolutionary Union Movements that organized against racism and the UAW bureaucracy. See N. Lichtenstein, *Walter Reuther* 315-317; Georgakas and Surkin; and Zieger 167-168, 171.

republics in the Americas or Africa (226). At the same time, the Soviet experience clearly had an impact on the writings of black left literati such as Claude McKay, Langston Hughes, W. E. B. Du Bois and Paul Robeson (Baldwin). Also, the notion of self-determination in the Black Belt of the US South, if not perfectly attuned to how African Americans articulated their aspirations, served as a platform that galvanized internationalist campaigns against the Jim Crow order. Indeed, the communist-sponsored campaign to free the Scottsboro Boys clearly resonated in Europe as well as parts of Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America as it did in the US context. It is instructive that transnational and comparative methods convening national narratives have the potential to be further internationalized and explored beyond a domestic cold war paradigm. Tracing such connections sets into relief anti-racist projects for social change demarcated by a national scope and simultaneously reveals their limitations as an inextricable part of wider discursive moments that deployed similar racial constructions. Such projects invariably place what James Miller, Susan Pennybacker, and Eve Rosenhaft have called an “international constituency” at the “heart” of “an investigation that crosses borders and languages, holding constant the people of the story and the episode they are involved in . . .” (389-390).

Raging unabated since at least the well known *New York Review of Books* exchange of 1985, the scholarly debate about the CPUSA evolved concurrent to other significant intellectual developments of direct relevance to the academic discourse on civil rights and the cold war.⁹ Bringing several fields into more direct conversation suggests productive ways to think anew about the relationship between civil rights and the cold war. In light of the existing international scope of their work, historians of US diplomacy have been well placed to examine the intersection of Black liberation and the cold war, though this field has sometimes been hampered by its traditional emphasis on government representatives over the totality of state and non-state historical actors and phenomena that comprise “foreign relations” (Hogan). Historian Brenda Gayle Plummer has helpfully chronicled the recent historiography that interprets international relations by attending to gender, culture, and race, much of which has resulted from new scholarly paradigms ushered in with the cold war’s end as well as the greater numbers of women and scholars of color in this field (“The Changing Face”).¹⁰

9 See the various contributions in “Revisiting American Communism: An Exchange” from the *New York Review of Books* (40-44). The letters collected here were themselves responses to Theodore Draper’s review articles which appeared in the 9 May and 30 May issues of the *Review* in 1985.

10 Also see, Plummer’s article “Afro-American Response” and especially her book *Rising Wind*.

One need only contrast the essays in the journal *Diplomatic History* over the past fifteen years with those of previous decades to get a sense of current trends of inquiry: articles on white supremacy in the US and South Africa, domestic segregation and international diplomacy at the Tennessee Valley Authority's International Visitors Center, and the 1955 Bandung Conference constitute just a slice of this large new body of work. Such articles join a growing number of remarkable monographs—some of which emphasize cold war openings, others its restraints—that examine civil rights and the cold war amid shifts in the global racial order (Dudziak; Winant; Borstelmann; Meriwether; Anderson; Westad). Collectively, this scholarship indicates that the struggle for racial equality in the United States during the cold war was—as at other times—situated within hierarchies of colonialism and racism that were global in scope. The insights within diplomatic history illuminate that the contest between the US and USSR was not one that had a uniform impact on Jim Crow's exclusively domestic career; rather the cold war allowed for opportunities and setbacks in interconnected movements for substantive racial justice around the world after 1945.

Before the 1980s, it might have made sense to suggest that diplomatic history was to state actors what American Studies was to canonical US culture. But as in diplomatic history, the last few decades have also seen a notable broadening of concerns within the American Studies, of which its flagship journal, *American Quarterly*, is but one indicator. Given the expertise in American Studies on cultural expression and its connectedness to structures of oppression and forms of resistance, plus the ways in which this field has undertaken both a transnational turn and an exploration of US imperialism, scholars in this area have adeptly contributed additional layers of complexity to the debate about the cold war, the Communist Party and the Black freedom struggle. One of the most significant texts in this lineage is the 1993 collection *Cultures of United States Imperialism*. Through Amy Kaplan's pivotal introduction and the wide-ranging pieces that follow it, this book called attention to the provincially national—if not nationalist—bent in American Studies, while it clarified the mutual relevance of diplomacy and culture for any understanding of the United States and its relationship to the wider world.

Since 1993, much of the best work in American Studies has shifted old paradigms such that analyses of what might have once appeared exceptional to US cultural formations might now appear lacking in-depth global context. Michael Denning on New Left culture, David Noble on US academic nationalism, Melani McAlister on the mobilization of culture for US foreign policy in the Middle East, and George Lipsitz on epistemologies, movements, and postindustrial

popular music in an age of containerization: such investigations complement diplomatic and related historiographies, further directing our attention to the imbeddedness of US movements such as those for racial equality within intertwined international efforts (Lipsitz, *Footsteps and American Studies*). Combined with prominent statements and cautions in American Studies about transnationality and the centrality of empire to US culture, this field has become one of the most influential in helping reframe how a variety of scholars think about the United States and its history (Desmond and Dominguez; P. Wald; Lipsitz, "Abolition Democracy"; Shamir; Elliott).

Of greatest significance to how we might conceive of the international dimensions of the African American civil rights movement is the intellectual production in Black Studies that has continued the conversation about social justice and the cold war that began after World War II. Much of the nuanced internationalism of those postwar generations of thinkers and activists continued into the 1960s and 70s. Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael were both subject to pressures generated by the cold war priorities of the US but neither muted their insistence that African American liberation was part of an international uprising.¹¹ This pattern continued throughout the 1970s, when a variety of statements on the international dimension of cold war Black liberation were produced through interviews, pamphlets, biographical accounts, the left press, and formal scholarship.

Ronald Reagan's entrance to the White House marked something of a political throwback to the McCarthy years, but leftist Black internationalism persisted as it had in the 1950s. Writing in the same year as Reagan's inauguration, Jack O'Dell, whose career spanned the National Maritime Union, Southern Negro Youth Congress, Communist Party, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, *Freedomways*, and People United to Save Humanity, looked back on events he had participated in to conclude that "from an international perspective, the mass movement of the 1950s and '60s created a moral and political crisis for the rulers of the U.S.," because the movement itself was transnational ("Notes on the Movement" 6).¹² In a similar vein, the 1980s saw new work on the anticolonial

11 This sentiment pervades the pieces collected in George Brietman edited volume *Malcolm X Speaks*, as it does Carmichael's autobiography with Ekwueme Michael Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution*.

12 O'Dell put the matter even more starkly in an earlier essay: "The confluence of our Freedom Movement with the mighty tidal wave of liberation from colonialism engendered by the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, and the role of the US government as the chief defender of the old dying colonial regimes became an objective law of development of American society." See, O'Dell, "A Rock in a Weary Lan" 111.

roots of Black Studies, a renewed anti-imperialist feminism indebted to Claudia Jones, a reconsideration of Martin Luther King's international solidarity, and the singular contribution of Cedric Robinson's 1983 *Black Marxism*, a work that more than any other of that decade established that the Black radical tradition corrected Marxism's racial myopias and was, as a negation of racial capitalism, centuries in the making. In comparison, cold war anticommunism looked provincial indeed (Drake; Cone; Combahee; Davis; Robinson).

As we take this review into the last twenty years, the scholarship becomes so voluminous as to defy even cursory summary, and the suspect interdisciplinary boundaries that we have deployed to organize our argument makes even less sense for the past two decades than for earlier years. The work of Brenda Gayle Plummer, Carol Anderson, and Howard Winant, who we cited above when discussing diplomatic history, also belongs on the "recent internationalist Black Studies" shelf, while Mary Helen Washington, Penny Von Eschen, Nikhil Pal Singh, and Kevin Gaines have offered models of progressive scholarship that speaks to both American Studies and African American Studies. If one can say anything about the proliferation of exciting recent work that takes a transnational perspective—without eviscerating the specificities of place and locality—on the Black freedom struggle after World War II, it is that the cold war conversation initiated by Du Bois and joined by activists and intellectuals such as George Padmore, Claudia Jones, and Jack O'Dell has more participants than ever.

When viewed comprehensively, the insights from diplomatic history, American Studies, Black Studies, and the subfield of US communism have much to caution us about dichotomous thinking on the African American civil rights movement and the cold war. Together, these fields remind us that the cold war was not only an international phenomenon that influenced the development of a primarily domestic Black freedom struggle, but rather cold war confrontation and the struggle against Jim Crow were both intricately connected to postwar anticolonialism and empire building. We concede to the rhetorical facility of singling out two authors to best illustrate these conventions in Gerald Horne and Jonathan Rosenberg. This is particularly the case with Horne, who has done so much to advance the scholarship of cold war civil rights—especially through his exhaustive biographical treatments of left wing Black anticolonial figures such as W. E. B. and Shirley Graham Du Bois, Benjamin Davis, and others. Nonetheless, Horne and Rosenberg still represent the strongest polar articulations of either side of this debate. As thorough scholars, they can hardly be faulted for lack of attention to archival substantiation; like much of the scholarship on this

question, *Red Seas* and *How Far the Promised Land?* are exhaustively researched. Yet, as these two volumes indicate, the debate continues with little attempts to bridge differences.

While not rejecting an empiricist positivism totally, we feel that generating new knowledge about the struggle against US white supremacy during the cold war requires more than additional evidence. As indicated above, this task calls for a renewed thinking through of how the topic is framed. To that end, we propose a framework that situates the cold war as a key chapter in US empire building—an endeavor continuous with European imperialism—during an era of worldwide anticolonialism. To accomplish this task, we have pointed to insights gleaned from four intellectual traditions: Black Studies, diplomatic history, American Studies, and the study of communism and anticommunism in the US. Each of these extensive and diverse fields enables us to see Black liberation within US imperialism in different ways; all suggest potential future research agendas that further explore the relationship between the local, regional, and transnational, or the spatiality of empire, or the extent to which anticolonialism and antiracism can be defined as equivalent political projects. From the voluminous papers of W. E. B. Du Bois spread across several institutions, to those of the SNYC at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture and Howard University, the NNC at the Chicago Public Library and also at the Schomburg, and the newly added CPUSA records bolstering an already impressive collection on African Americans and the radical left at NYU's Tamiment Library over fifteen years after the opening up of the Comintern archives in Moscow, there is much archival material awaiting interpretation and reinterpretation for students and scholars across the disciplines (Nash 269; Cohen).

Conceptualizing the debate over civil rights during the cold war through these fields brings to light how, on the one hand, the negative position represented by Horne gives anticommunism too much weight as a rupturing force, while on the other, Rosenberg's positive appraisal conceives Black liberation in rather narrower terms than did many of its movement's participants. Framing this topic as one of imperialism and civil rights shows US anti-communism to be a considerably destructive *and* relatively passing manifestation of racial capitalism's long dureé, a realization that many rank and file communists, former Party activists, and fellow travelers consistently had throughout the mid-twentieth century.

Works Cited

- Anderson, Carol. *Eyes Off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944-1955*. New York: Cambridge, 2003.
- Arnesen, Eric. "No 'Graver Danger': Black Anticommunism, the Communist Party, and the Race Question." *Labor: Studies in Working Class History of the Americas* 3.4 (2006): 13-52.
- Baldwin, Kate A. *Beyond the Color Line and the Iron Curtain: Reading Encounters between Black and Red, 1922-1963*. Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2002.
- Berland, Oscar. "Nasanov and the Comintern's American Negro Program." *Science and Society* 65.2 (2001): 226.
- Biondi, Martha. *To Stand and Fight: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Post-War New York City*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2003.
- Borstelmann, Thomas. *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2001.
- Brietman, George, ed. *Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements*. New York: Grove Press, 1965.
- Carmichael, Stokely, with Ekwueme Michael Thelwell. *Ready for Revolution: The Life and Struggles of Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture)*. New York: Scribner, 2003.
- Cohen, Patricia. "Communist Party USA Gives its History to NYU." *New York Times* 20 Mar. 2007. Web. 22 Apr. 2008.
- Combahee River Collective. "A Black Feminist Statement." *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*. Eds. Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa. New York: Kitchen Table, 1981. 210-218.
- Cone, James H. "Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Third World." *Journal of American History* 74.2 (1987): 455-467.
- Cruse, Harold. *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual: A Historical Analysis of the Failure of Black leadership*. New York: William Morrow, 1967.
- Davies, Carole Boyce. *Left of Karl Marx: The Political Life of Black Communist Claudia Jones*. Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2007.
- Davis, Angela Y. *Women, Race and Class*. New York: Vintage, 1981.

- Drake, St. Clair. "Black Studies and Global Perspectives: An Essay." *Journal of Negro Education* 53.3 (1984): 226-242.
- Denning, Michael. *Culture in the Age of Three Worlds*. New York: Verso, 2004.
- Desmond, Jane C., and Virginia R. Dominguez. "Resituating American Studies in a Critical Internationalism." *American Quarterly* 48.3 (1996): 475-490.
- Draper, Theodore. *The Roots of American Communism*. New York: Viking Press, 1957.
- . *American Communism and Soviet Russia*. New York: Viking Press, 1960.
- DuBois, W.E.B. *The World and Africa: An Inquiry into the Part which Africa has Played in World History*. 1946; New York: International Publishers, 1965.
- Dudziak, Mary L. *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2000.
- Elliott, Emory. "Diversity in the United States and Abroad: What Does It Mean When American Studies is Transnational." *American Quarterly* 59.1 (2007): 1-22.
- Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York: Grove Press, 1967.
- Foner, Philip S., and James Allen, eds. *American Communism and Black Americans*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple UP, 1987.
- Gaines, Kevin. *American Africans in Ghana: Black Expatriates and the Civil Rights Era*. Chapel Hill, NC: U of North Carolina P, 2006.
- Georgakas, Dan, and Marvin Surkin. *Detroit, I Do Mind Dying: A Study in Urban Revolution*. 1975; Boston, MA: South End Press, 1998.
- Halpern, Rick. *Down on the Killing Floor: Black and White Workers in Chicago's Packinghouses, 1904-54*. Urbana, IL: U of Illinois P, 1997.
- Hogan, Michael J. "The 'Next Big Thing': The Future of Diplomatic History in a Global Age." *Diplomatic History* 28.1 (2004): 1-21.
- Honey, Michael K. *Southern Labor and Black Civil Rights*. Urbana, IL: U of Illinois P, 1993.
- Horne, Gerald. *Red Seas: Ferdinand Smith and Radical Black Sailors in the United States and Jamaica*. New York: New York UP, 2005.
- . *Race Woman: The Lives of Shirley Graham Du Bois*. New York: New York UP, 2000.
- . *Black Liberation/Red Scare: Ben Davis and the Communist Party*. Newark, DE: U of Delaware P, 1994.

Reframing Black Internationalism and Civil Rights

- . *Communist Front: The Civil Rights Congress, 1946-1956*. Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 1988.
- . *Black and Red: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Afro-American Response to the Cold War, 1944-1963*. Albany, NY: State U of New York P, 1986.
- Isserman, Maurice. *Which Side Were You On? The American Communist Party During the Second World War*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan UP, 1982.
- Johanningsmeier, Edward P. *Forging American Communism: The Life of William Z. Foster*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1994.
- Kelley, Robin D.G. *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2002.
- . *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists during the Great Depression*. Chapel Hill, NC: U of North Carolina P, 1990.
- Korstad, Robert. *Civil Rights Unionism: Tobacco Workers and the Struggle for Democracy in the Mid-Twentieth-Century South*. Chapel Hill, NC: U of North Carolina P, 2003.
- and Nelson Lichtenstein. "Opportunities Found and Lost: Labor, Radicals, and the Early Civil Rights Movement." *Journal of American History* 75.3 (1988): 786-811.
- Klehr, Harvey, and John Earl Haynes. *The American Communist Movement: Storming Heaven Itself*. New York: Twayne, 1992.
- Laville, Helen, and Scott Lucas. "The American Way: Edith Sampson, the NAACP, and African American Identity in the Cold War." *Diplomatic History* 20.4 (1996): 565-590.
- Layton, Azza Salama. *International Politics and Civil Rights Policies in the United States, 1941-1960*. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge UP, 2000.
- Lichtenstein, Alex. "Scientific Unionism; and the 'Negro Question:' Communists and the Transport Workers Union in Miami, 1944-1949." *Southern Labor in Transition*. Ed. Robert Zieger. Knoxville, TN: U of Tennessee P, 1997.
- Lichtenstein, Nelson. *Walter Reuther: The Most Dangerous Man in Detroit*. Chicago, IL: U of Illinois Press, 1995.
- Lipsitz, George. *Footsteps in the Dark: The Hidden Histories of Popular Music*. Minneapolis, MN: U of Minnesota P, 2007.
- . "Abolition Democracy and Global Justice." *Comparative American Studies* 2.3 (2004): 271-286.

- . *American Studies in a Moment of Danger*. Minneapolis, MN: U of Minnesota P, 2001.
- Marable, Manning. *Race, Reform, and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction in Black America, 1945-1990*. Jackson, MI: UP of Mississippi, 1991.
- McAlister, Melani. *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. Interests in the Middle East, 1945-2000*. Berkeley, CA: U of California P, 2001.
- Meriwether, James H. *Proudly We Can Be Africans: Black Americans and Africa, 1935-1961*. Chapel Hill, NC: U of North Carolina P, 2002.
- Miller, James A., Susan D. Pennybacker, Eve Rosenhaft. "Mother Ada Wright and the International Campaign to Free the Scottsboro Boys, 1931-1934." *American Historical Review* 106.2 (2001): 387-430.
- Naison, Mark. *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*. Urbana, IL: U of Illinois Press, 1983.
- Nash, Michael. "Communist History at the Tamiment Library." *American Communist History* 3.2 (2004): 280-281.
- Noble, David W. *Death of a Nation: American Culture and the End of Exceptionalism*. Minneapolis, MN: U of Minnesota Press, 2002.
- O'Dell, Jack. "Fighting Jim Crow." *Red Scare: Memories of the American Inquisition—An Oral History*. Ed. Griffin Fariello. New York: Norton, 1995: 500-506.
- . "Notes on the Movement: Then, Now, and Tomorrow." *Southern Exposure* 4.1 (1981): 6-11.
- . "A Rock in a Weary Lan." *Paul Robeson: The Great Forerunner*. By the Editors of *Freedomways*. New York: International Publishers, 1998 [1965].
- Painter, Nell Irvin. *The Narrative of Hosea Hudson: His Life as a Negro Communist in the South*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1979.
- Phelps, Christopher. Introduction. *Race and Revolution: A Lost Chapter in American Radicalism*. by Max Schachtman. New York: Verso, 2003: xxviii-xlii.
- Plummer, Brenda Gayle. "The Changing Face of Diplomatic History: A Literature Review." *History Teacher* 38.3 (2005): n.p. Web. 3 Mar. 2008.
- . *Rising Wind: Black Americans and U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1935-1960*. Chapel Hill, NC: U of North Carolina P, 1996.

Reframing Black Internationalism and Civil Rights

- . “The Afro-American Response to the Occupation of Haiti, 1915-1934.” *Phylon* 43.2 (1982): 125-143.
- “Revisiting American Communism: An Exchange.” Editorial. *New York Review of Books* 32.15 (1985): 40-44.
- Robinson, Cedric J. *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*. 1983; Chapel Hill, NC: U of North Carolina P, 2000.
- Rocksborough-Smith, Ian. “Filling the Gap: Intergenerational Black Radicalism and the Popular Front Ideals of *Freedomways* Magazine’s Early Years, 1961-1965,” *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 30.1 (2007): 1-41.
- Rosenberg, Jonathan. *How Far the Promised Land? World Affairs and the American Civil Rights Movement from the First World War to Vietnam*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2006.
- Shamir, Milette. “Foreigners Within and Innocents Abroad: Discourse of the Self in the Internationalization of American Studies.” *Journal of American Studies* 37.3 (2004): 375-388.
- Singh, Nikhil Pal. “The Afterlife of Fascism.” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 105.1 (2006): 71-93
- . *Black is a Country: Race and the Unfinished Struggle for Democracy*. Boston, MA: Harvard UP, 2004.
- Smethurst, James Edward. “SNYC, *Freedomways*, and the Influence of the Popular Front in the South on the Black Arts Movement.” *Reconstruction* 8.1 (2008): n.p. Web. 25 Mar. 2008.
- . *The Black Arts Movement: Literary Nationalism in the 1960s and 1970s*. Chapel Hill, NC: U of North Carolina P, 2005.
- Solomon, Mark. *The Cry Was Unity: Communists and African Americans, 1917-1936*. Jackson, MI: U of Mississippi P, 1998.
- Storch, Randi. *Red Chicago: American Communism at its Grassroots, 1928-1935*. Urbana, IL: U of Illinois P, 2007.
- Sullivan, Patricia. *Days of Hope: Race and Democracy in the New Deal Era*. Chapel Hill, NC: U of North Carolina P, 1996.
- Von Eschen, Penny M. *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2004.
- . *Race Against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937-1957*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1997.

- Wald, Alan. *Writing from the Left: New Essays on Radical Culture and Politics*. New York: Verso, 1994.
- Wald, Priscilla. "Minefields and Meeting Grounds: Transnational Analyses and American Studies." *American Literary History* 10.1 (1998): 199-218.
- Mary Helen Washington, "Alice Childress, Lorraine Hansberry, and Claudia Jones: Black Women Write the Popular Front." *Left of the Color Line: Race, Radicalism, and Twentieth-Century Literature of the United States*. Eds. Bill V. Mullen and James Smethurst. Chapel Hill, NC: U of North Carolina P, 2003.
- . "Disturbing the Peace: What Happens to American Studies If You Put African American Studies at the Center?" *American Quarterly* 50.1 (1998): 1-23.
- Westad, Odd Arne. *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2005.
- Winant, Howard. *The World is a Ghetto: Race and Democracy since World War II*. New York: Basic, 2001.
- Zieger, Robert H. *For Jobs and Freedom: Race and Labor in America since 1865*. Lexington, KY: UP of Kentucky, 2007.