

Subsequent chapters are organised around the conferences Third World leaders used to promote a global agenda against colonialism inspired by the meeting of twenty-nine non-aligned nations at the Afro-Asia conference held in Bandung (1955), which radical intellectuals and politicians articulated as the 'Bandung spirit'. Prashad introduces the reader to the leaders of the Third World project including, but not limited to: India's Jawaharlal Nehru, Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser, Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, and Cuba's Fidel Castro. This investigation suggests the centrality of ideology and institutions in the Third World political project's internationalist programme for national autonomy independent of the bipolar cold war order. In addition to offering an analysis of the 'economics of politics' and 'politics of economics' that defined the project, he investigates the politics of culture and culture of politics of prominent anti-colonial cultural workers that shaped the ways of seeing emergent during the period in question.

The section entitled 'Pitfalls' examines the internal and external contradictions experienced by the national liberation movement, keying in on the issue of the centralisation of power, militarism, bureaucracy, and separation of people and party that occurred in the context of imperialist aggression. Prashad follows Frantz Fanon's theoretical lead in considering how the Third World social struggle led to the centralisation of power in the hands of the party and the state, which in turn created a division between party and people and a move away from anti-racist and anti-imperialist nationalism and towards a cultural nationalism seduced by a cruel racialism masquerading as radicalism. Such a transformation, Prashad argues, was no less than a Trojan horse for IMF-led globalisation. The final section investigates how the national liberation state's struggle to implement a social wage – through education and healthcare in particular – was undermined by the nefarious advances of global capital accumulation. Third World freedom struggles, Prashad argues, were antagonised by finance capital and the structural adjustment programs of the International Monetary Fund; which taken together lead to the 'assassination of the Third World project' through the imposition of debt regimes on the darker nations. Yet, he concludes by suggesting that when indigenous struggles, women's rights movements, campaigns over water and land rights, for economic equality and dignity – accumulating in the context of long waves of planetary struggle emergent on every continent, but perhaps most visible in Latin America – become more fully articulated the Third World political project will have found its successor.

Like other critical works of this reach and scale, the very strengths of *The Darker Nations* may themselves draw criticism. Given his scope, one might anticipate that Prashad comes to conclusions about his evidence that will cause debate amongst radical intellectuals. For example, he might have painted a fuller portrait of the debated meaning of revolutionary socialism during the period (here one thinks of C. L. R. James and

Dr Walter Rodney's elaboration of the materialist philosophy of self-emancipation), especially when thinking of lessons for contemporary left politics. Furthermore, social historians may, with some good evidence, wonder why there was not more attention to everyday struggles in a 'people's' history (even while it provides the standpoint of the Third World project). Still others will raise questions about the links between chapter titles and content. Organisational decisions, however, should not distract scholars from learning from the research design of Prashad's expansive study.

*The Darker Nations* is an excellent model for historically grounded transdisciplinary research about global inequality and resistance to it. Prashad's argument that: '[i]t was unique to world history for the majority of the world to agree on the broad outlines of a project for the creation of justice on earth. But it did not last. External and internal pressures crippled the project' is crucial to understand the *force of our own historical circumstance*. Scholars of global inequality, development, political theory, and Third World social movements will gain much from this original and generative contribution to the new historiography of anti-colonial movements and the cold war. The ambition of the book enables him to connect many of the necessary dots between leaders, institutions, and ideologies to produce a political history of substantive reach. With this critical methodological framework in hand, Prashad shows that it was the accumulation of social forces and knowledge that led to the advance in freedom struggles won during the national liberation struggles; while the assassination of the Third World project was ensured by capital and the conceits of an inverse racialism and nationalism that had been used by imperialists to exploit the darker nations.

Scholars and activists of transnational social movements and global capital overlook this political history to their peril. Without a doubt, this is a book for undergraduate courses, graduate seminars, and activist circles alike. In the final analysis, Prashad has opened a terribly important and timely window onto the world in which we live. *The Darker Nations'* profound lessons about the past teach us about the present circumstances of neoliberalism crucial to imagining a different future. For that reason alone, Prashad's study deserves the widest possible readership.

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★ *Left of Karl Marx: the political life of Black Communist Claudia Jones*

By CAROLE BOYCE DAVIES (Durham and London, Duke University Press, 2008), 311 pp., \$22.95.

Claudia Jones is introduced by Carole Boyce Davies in the opening lines of the preface to her account of Jones' 'political life' as a 'black woman

and a communist'. The title of that account on the other hand, *Left of Karl Marx*, describes the position for the visitor to Highgate cemetery of Claudia Jones's grave relative to that of Karl Marx. 'Claudia Jones's tombstone', writes one of those visitors, the author of the political biography, is 'a flat stone in the ground, to the left of Karl Marx's as one stands in front of the huge Marx bust'. 'Left of Karl Marx', however, does more than situate the 'flat stone' on the 'newer side' of the vast wooded site where Marx's grave serves as an eminent landmark; the phrase also identifies Boyce Davies's own posthumous re-positioning of her biographical subject. Claudia Jones, born in Trinidad in 1915 and deceased in London not quite half a century later in 1964, 'lived and organized', according to Boyce Davies, 'at the intersection of a variety of positionalities (anti-imperialism and decolonization struggles, activism for workers' rights, the critique of appropriation of black women's labor, the challenge to domestic and international racism and their links to colonialism) and was therefore able to articulate them earlier than many of her contemporaries'.

Meanwhile, between her West Indian origins and her premature death in London, Claudia Jones lived for nearly thirty years in the United States, in particular in Harlem, 'the only black woman among communists tried in the United States, sentenced for crimes against the state, incarcerated, and then deported' in 1955. Deportation is itself a critical – if ambidextrous – organising principle in Boyce Davies's rendition of Jones' 'political life': deportation denotes, to be sure, the geo-political, 'expedited', removal of the alleged offender from the territorial premises whose regulation she is deemed to have breached; of equal concern to the intellectual biographer, however, is Jones' apparent 'deportation', or at the very least 'disappearance', from any 'major consideration in a range of histories'. The work of *Left of Karl Marx* is then, in its own way, an act of repatriation: Claudia Jones' papers are now in significant part housed in New York's Schomburg Collection and her intellectual and political legacy is relocated by Boyce Davies retrospectively across some of the determining narratives culled from that extended 'range of histories'.

The critical recuperation – and its methodological challenges – of the contributions of the 'black woman and communist' is elaborated in Boyce Davies's introduction, 'Recovering the radical black female subject'. Jones, who already in the 1940s and 1950s, as an active member of the Communist Party (CPUSA), had insisted on the centrality of black women to its theoretical policies and organising practices, anticipated as well both the feminist movement's critical addresses and their consequential glossing through a more critical race theory in later decades. But if Jones has too long been the 'missing black woman in a variety of discourses', including what Boyce Davies notes as the 'absence of a geopolitical approach to black identity', her biographical itinerary is

written strongly, if controversially, into *Left of Karl Marx*. The volume's six chapters each recapitulate that itinerary as it is introduced through the several lived dimensions – and multiple literary genres – of Claudia Jones's life's work.

While Boyce Davies is scrupulous in observing that 'one should always use caution in recuperating historical figures, in order not to make them seem what they were not', she is insistent that Claudia Jones's story remains historically resonant – and exemplary – for her various successors. 'Women's rights/workers' rights/anti-imperialism' (the first chapter) examines in particular Jones' contributions, 'challenging the superexploitation of black working-class women', to the deliberations – and debacles – of the CPUSA in the decades that built up to McCarthyism's attempt at a ruthless decimation of US radical politics. Even while engaging in the campaigns around the Scottsboro Boys case, Jones addressed her fellow party-goers as well, especially in her emphasis on the degree to which the 'black woman's position renders her both pivotal and vulnerable to struggles'. For Boyce Davies, half a century later, it is all the more paramount that 'relocating Claudia Jones centrally in particular national or international black/feminist genealogies does not interfere with defining her also as a communist woman. In fact, it means that easy linear historical narratives of any sort have to be disrupted.'

Those 'disruptions' are made manifest in the subsequent chapters, each dealing with a punctuated reiteration of the biographical itinerary through a sequence of Jones' generic engagements: journalism, prison poetry, carnival, and autobiographical writing. 'From "half the world" to the whole world' follows Jones's journalistic endeavours and accomplishments, or 'journalism as a black transnational political practice', from her columns – especially 'Half the world' – in the CPUSA's *Daily Worker* through her founding and editing of the *West Indian Gazette* (later the *West Indian Gazette and Afro-Asian Caribbean News*) shortly after her celebrated 'voluntary departure' from the US and less-heralded arrival in London. 'Prison Blues' provides a close reading of Jones' poetry, written in particular from and/or about prison, noting the intimate relation between 'literary activism and a poetry of resistance', together with other political intimacies with fellow inmates, such as her comrade in Alderson Women's Penitentiary, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, just prior to Jones's deportation. As Alrick Cambridge describes it in a conversation with Boyce Davies, a 'new geographical location' does not always have to be a 'punishment but rather a different strategic location'. Thus, in the following chapter, 'Deportation: the other politics of diaspora', Boyce Davies raises questions about the ways in which Jones' 'own personal (self) re-definition was already in progress' in the course of her removal across the Atlantic, redefinitions that will emerge riotously and raucously in the next chapter, 'Carnival and diaspora', and the discussion of 'Caribbean community, happiness and activism' which traces the

peripeties of Jones's tentative relationship with the CPCGB, her work in Notting Hill, the *West Indian Gazette*, the founding of the London Carnival and the formation of the Afro-Asian Conference – all activities that gave full expression to renewed working definitions of her anti-colonial and anti-imperialist 'theoretic'. For Boyce Davies, the carnival in particular is a dynamically pivotal point in any discussion of Claudia Jones' 'intellectual property rights'.

*Left of Karl Marx's* final chapter, 'Piece work/peace work' examines, by way of several résumés, the disputed renditions of the at once neglected and championed 'political life of black communist Claudia Jones'. Boyce Davies reads Jones' own autobiographical writings – including her 'statement from the dock' – against the three-volume file compiled over the years by the FBI, that 'mad bibliographer' which, as if functioning as 'Claudia Jones's amanuensis', has bequeathed 'one of the most significant of [Jones's] biographical documents'.

Claudia Jones, then, 'a black woman and a communist' – and now – 'left of Karl Marx', but 'ahead of her time'. This is, indeed, no 'easy linear narrative', as Boyce Davies testifies.

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*Blood and Rage: a cultural history of terrorism*

By MICHAEL BURLEIGH (London, Harper Press, 2008), 545 pp. £25.00.

Michael Burleigh is the author of a number of important books on the history of the Third Reich. The volume he co-authored with Wolfgang Wipperman, *The Racial State*, is particularly impressive and I have recommended it to students for a number of years now as a model of humane scholarship, as one of those indispensable books that all historians and everyone with a serious interest in history should read. Alas, as the book under review here shows, Burleigh has enlisted in the 'war on terror'.

Attitudes toward the 'war on terror' depend on how the world is perceived. Is western civilisation under threat from Islamism? This seems most unlikely. There are no 'Christian' countries under Islamist occupation or even remotely threatened by any emerging Islamist super power. Instead, the world today is defined by the 'United States' desperate attempt to maintain the dominant position it briefly attained at the end of the cold war. This domination has not been based on economic supremacy but on the 'United States' overwhelming conventional military supremacy. Far from Islamism threatening the world, today we see the US occupying Iraq and Afghanistan, and effectively arming and financing the Ethiopian occupation of Somalia and the Israeli occupation of

Palestinian territory. And the US is also engaged in a covert war against Iran that threatens to become a full-scale assault on that country at any moment. Clearly, the 'war on terror' is an ideological construct rather than a strategic reality. It is a convenient, all-embracing pretext that can and is used to justify US aggression. Whereas once the cold war provided a convenient justification for the exercise of US power throughout the world, now the 'war on terror' has to serve a similar purpose. The problem for the US and its allies is that it is just not credible as a strategic threat and consequently has had to be reinforced by Islamophobia. The proponents of the 'war on terror' have either condoned or embraced Islamophobia. If the people back home cannot be roused by fraudulent claims to be 'liberating' Iraq and Afghanistan, then they will have to be scared by the supposed Muslim danger to western civilisation instead. A growing number of 'intellectuals' have been recruited, whether inadvertently or not, as propagandists in this war. Among them, it seems, is Michael Burleigh.

The starting point for any serious consideration of terrorism as a global phenomenon is recognition that the most dangerous terrorist organisation at work in the post-1945 period has been the Central Intelligence Agency. This multi-billion dollar criminal conspiracy has overthrown governments, sponsored insurgencies and wars, carried out assassinations, tortured prisoners throughout its history, helped sustain some of the most brutal regimes in the world in power, has run guns and drugs and, of course, has worked with the Mafia. All of this, in the service of the US empire.

This is not just an abstract political point but has been spelled out in blood and pain throughout the world. Let us consider just one of the CIA's forgotten victims. During the CIA-sponsored Contra campaign against revolutionary Nicaragua, the radical journalist Leslie Cockburn visited the war zone. In her outstanding 1998 memoir, *Looking for Trouble*, she remembers the testimony of a young girl, Guadalupe Davila, who had seen the Contras at work: her four-year-old brother shot dead, her father with his throat cut and her mother stripped naked before 'they peeled off her face', all courtesy of Ronald Reagan. This was part of a calculated strategy of terrorism. There is, of course, no mention of the Contras in Burleigh's book, no consideration of the CIA's sixty-year role in world terrorism. Indeed, a good case can be made that, for all its academic apparatus, *Blood and Rage* is of less use as a study of terrorism than as a guide to his particular reactionary prejudices.

There are chapters on 'The Fenian dynamiters', 'Russian nihilists and revolutionaries', 'Anarchists and terrorism', 'Terror and decolonisation', 'Black September and international terrorism' and even a chapter on 'The Red Brigades and the Red Army Faction'. This last chapter is the second longest in the book, something that reflects the extent to which these organisations have annoyed Burleigh, rather than their slight