examines the struggles of Selma's black majority from the start of the twentieth century to the present in an effort to understand why greater opportunity did not follow the theoretical end of state-sponsored segregation and voter discrimination.

Forner adopts a simple chronological approach, starting with an exploration of Alabama's 1901 constitution, which systematically disfranchised black citizens and ensconced white rule. Marginalized by law and denied the vote, African Americans in Alabama's "black belt" had few options, according to Forner, save for cotton production, which, with few exceptions, was done through the sharecropping system. *Why the Vote Wasn't Enough for Selma* follows well-worn paths of southern political history that readers versed in civil rights historiography will find familiar. Throughout, Forner utilizes excerpts from oral history interviews to punctuate her points. By the 1970s, businesses began leaving and farm work disappeared from the area as the commercial livestock industry displaced traditional agricultural pursuits, leaving those without property especially hard hit. The closing of Craig Air Force Base in 1977, which once pumped millions into the local economy, compounded the economic problems. Lack of economic opportunity in conjunction with conservative political efforts to slash assistance programs effectively cut Selma's black community adrift. Far from seeing tangible and immediate change after the 1960s, African Americans, according to Forner, remained mired in poverty.

There is much to commend in Forner's work, especially its insights on how the legal dismantling of the Jim Crow edifice failed to alter the economic status quo. Removing segregation and its satellite institutions did not level the playing field, which still tilted in favor of Selma's white minority as a result of decades of systemic discrimination. Forner could have enhanced the relevance of her work by tying it more directly to contemporary social issues. Her emphasis on the dual nature of the civil rights fight in Selma, which focused on suffrage and economic opportunity, is refreshing and directly challenges traditional narratives that dwell exclusively on the franchise to the exclusion of upward economic mobility. Unfortunately, the clearest articulation of this viewpoint comes in the concluding chapter rather than serving as a guidepost throughout the text. For Selma's black community, suffrage and economic opportunity were inseparable goals. Failure to achieve both objectives in the 1960s condemned not just the citizens of Selma but poor communities everywhere to generations of poverty. Forner succeeds in highlighting the consequences of Selma's tragic racial past and reminds us how much work remains before something approaching equality is reached.

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From Selma to Moscow: How Human Rights Activists Transformed U.S. Foreign Policy. By Sarah B. Snyder. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018. xiv, 301 pp. Cloth, $90.00. Paper, $30.00.)

As its title suggests, this book argues that human rights activists transformed U.S. foreign policy during the "long sixties" (1961–1977). Covering the administrations of Lyndon B. Johnson, Richard M. Nixon, and Gerald R. Ford, the book details human rights activism in the United States, including Americans' response to white rule in Rhodesia, the plight of Soviet Jews, and military coups in Greece, South Korea, and Chile. Sarah B. Snyder researched in an impressive array of archives, ranging from presidential libraries to records of various human rights groups, to highlight the role played by transnational connections, social movements, and political entrepreneurs (such as Democratic congressman Donald Fraser) in refocusing U.S. foreign policy on human rights and creating laws and institutions to limit U.S. aid to countries guilty of international human rights abuses.

The author admits that many factors led to the rise of human rights in foreign policy, namely the failures of the Vietnam War and congressional push back against executive overreach. But she wants to make the case for the importance of educated policy elites, inspired by 1960s-era social movements or by trans-

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national personal connections with the countries in question. Sometimes this examination seems a little beside the point, such as when she asks why there was so much attention on Chile, "given how limited U.S. interests were there" (p. 144). Her answer to this question is not the Central Intelligence Agency–sponsored coup, nor the history of U.S. imperialism in Latin America, but rather the "numerous personal connections" of activists to Latin America (p. 145). Moreover, Snyder stops her analysis with Ford, which means that most of the activism takes place during the Nixon and Ford administrations, under Henry Kissinger, who is known for not caring about human rights as a foreign policy issue. Thus, readers never get to see how these reforms played out (or not) in later administrations. So, yes, the rhetoric around "human rights" increases, but how much does it actually change U.S. foreign policy, and for the political benefit of whom? The political scientist Tony Smith has argued that Ronald Reagan put human rights at the center of his foreign policy (*America's Mission,* 1994), but the outcome is not what most human rights activists had in mind. Likewise, the author's focus on the category of human rights activism leads her to conflate anticommunist activists in the case of the Soviet Jews with pro–Salvador Allende activists in the case of Chile, ignoring the struggle between the burgeoning neoconservative right and the New Left–inspired liberals over the meaning of human rights.

In fairness to Snyder, she wrote the book her sources and research demanded. For those looking for details about human rights groups in the 1970s, this book is for you. But for those looking for answers to larger questions the book raises about the origins and role of human rights in U.S. foreign policy, this is only one tiny piece of the puzzle.

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An Unseen Light: Black Struggles for Freedom in Memphis, Tennessee. Ed. by Aram Goudsouzian and Charles W. McKinney Jr. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2018. 414 pp. $45.00.)

Collections of essays often lack focus and struggle to hold a theme. This is not the case with *An Unseen Light*. Both of the editors and most of the sixteen contributors have strong connections to Memphis and grasp its rather unique position at the crossroads of the Deep South and the mid-South, a place governed by a rural plantation mentality, even as it often promoted a cultural and commercial vitality. Some of the essays are stronger than others; some have implications beyond Memphis; a few are focused on a small piece of the local black struggle. Yet, each is carefully researched and directly tied to black struggles for freedom in the city. *Unseen Light* is not a full narrative history by any means, but it lays much of the foundation for one.

Against what were African Americans in Memphis struggling? Political suppression (covered in the collection's essays by Brian D. Page, Jason Jordan, and Elizabeth Gritter), lynching (by Darius Young), religious harassment (by Elton H. Weaver III), discrimination in social services (by David Welky), the impact of discrimination on self-esteem (by Beverly Greene Bond), gender discrimination and vulnerability (by Laurie B. Green), segregation in public services (by Steven A. Knowlton), limitations on black musical expression (by Charles L. Hughes), violence against peaceful protest (by Aram Goudsouzian), control of the War on Poverty (by Anthony C. Siracusa), discriminatory control of schools (by James Conway), the definitions of beauty and black power at Memphis State University (by Shirletta Kinchen), control of neighborhood revitalization (by Zandria F. Robinson), and opposition to labor unions and economic equality (by Michael K. Honey).

Of course, the real force defining the black struggle for freedom was white power. White supremacy retreated occasionally but never willingly. African American victories could become hollow when black majorities and federal legislation finally allowed control of political and educational institutions, finding that financial resources had accompanied white flight. Page observes in the first essay that "practical concerns often led elite white men

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