

194 Left History 15.1

streetcar movement is distinct from the earlier train and horse-car movements. This chapter seems out of place as it is, especially since the earlier movements took place outside the South and speak to the ways in which space on transportation socially stratified communities more broadly in a national scope. The same could be said for connecting these streetcar movements on to Rosa Parks in the 1950s. This is indicative of the weaknesses of the book, when the author moves outside these three cities and this time, her argument is hard to visualize and connect to her example cities.

However, the core of the book and the chapters that explain the New Orleans, Savannah and Richmond movement are exceptional, clear and persuasive. The author conceives her theory more narrowly than the material deserves however. Kelley is doing groundbreaking work on these three cities and this movement, but engages some of the more archaic scholarship on race like Meier and Rudwick rather than Howard N. Rabinowitz, Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham and Kevin K. Gaines who all address the intersection of race, class and gender but outside the confines of streetcars during this time. She clearly manoeuvres through this scholarship throughout the text, but framing the introduction and conclusion in these works rather than Meier, Rudwick, W. E. B. Dubois, James Weldon Johnson and Booker T. Washington would have helped the reader better understand the theoretical frameworks she engages throughout the middle chapters. Additionally, the use of the idea citizenship as opposed to “civil rights” might also confuse readers. Kelley is making a contribution to the history of African American Civil Rights, a pretty significant contribution, yet she litters her framework with the jargon of “citizenship” without fleshing out that literature which seems to include African American Civil Rights history yet is so broad as to encompass much more than the scope of this study and African American Civil Rights generally. An explanation of “citizenship” as an idea and its historiography and how and whether it is different from African American Civil Rights as an operating paradigm is needed to frame the argument for the reader.

These criticisms are minor distractions from a book that is compelling and fresh. This book and its argument will be around for a long time and will be the foundations of future studies of segregation and transportation for years to come.

Robert Cassanello
University of Central Florida

Robert R. Korstad and James L. Leloudis, *To Right These Wrongs: The North Carolina Fund and the Battle to End Poverty and Inequality in the 1960s America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

In 1964, Lyndon Johnson signed into legislation the Economic Opportunity Act

(EOA), setting into action America's War on Poverty. The EOA sought to address the roots of poverty through a series of local programs aimed at supporting education, job training and development. Historical accounts of this period have tended to overlook the story of the North Carolina Fund, an antecedent to the national anti-poverty effort that in many ways served as both its model and testing ground. Established in 1963 by North Carolina Governor Terry Sanford, the Fund was an effort to address poverty through the creation of locally governed programs which would rely on direct participation from the poor to address community issues. In *To Right These Wrongs*, Korstad and Leloudis offer one of the first detailed accounts of the Fund and its relationship to the decade's larger anti-poverty agenda. While the Fund only operated for five years, the authors present an engaging narrative of transformation as the agency came to understand poverty in distinctly political terms, adopting a radical strategy that sought to bridge historical racial divides in organizing the poor to challenge existing relationships of power. The story of the Fund stands out in a Southern landscape marked by significant racial violence and its lessons remain highly applicable to contemporary attempts to address poverty and inequality.

When Terry Sanford took office in 1961, more than a third of North Carolina families lived below the poverty line. Sanford sought to address race and poverty as interrelated issues by circumventing the conservative legislature and instead appealing directly to private philanthropies to fund an agency that would empower local communities to address their own issues. Initially the Fund's approach was distinctly top-down, relying on existing agencies to distribute funding. The limitations of this strategy soon became apparent as many of the agencies appeared committed to maintaining the status quo. Fund leaders felt a more directly democratic vision was needed: one that organized the poor to make demands on the government. Korstad and Leloudis provide a meticulously documented account of how the Fund came to reorient itself from an advocacy approach centered on providing services, to a far more militant activist approach that embraced conflict as a means to social change. As they trace this transition, they provide a captivating sense of the possibility and promise felt by the Fund's leaders.

One of the most interesting elements of the story, and indeed of the book, is the role played by the North Carolina Volunteers in shifting the Fund's direction. Envisioned as the "foot soldiers in the battle against poverty," (109) the Volunteers were a mixed-race group of primarily middle-class college students, sent out around the state to support the Fund's community programs. As they worked and interacted with the poor, many of the volunteers moved from an understanding of poverty as an individual problem, to one that saw it embedded in larger structural issues of power. In telling the volunteers' stories, the authors really hit their stride, devoting an entire chapter to examining the work. Relying on diaries and oral histories, the voices of the students themselves provide paral-

lel narratives of personal and broader social transformations.

During its years of operation the community action programs sponsored by the Fund were able to translate small scale successes, like organizing local clean-up projects or challenging a particularly delinquent landlord, into larger efforts that indeed did challenge the power structure. Much of the book's analysis of these events relies on organizational records and interviews with leaders. One consequence of this approach is that we are sometimes unable to see how the participants themselves understood these events and what sort of lasting mark these confrontations made. That said, the faces and voices of residents are brought into sharper focus in a series of moving photographs taken by Billy E. Barnes which appear throughout the book, as well as in the DVD documentary *Change Comes Knocking* which accompanies the book.

The radical approach of the Fund meant that by 1968 when it shut its doors, the work had begun to come under severe attack from businesses and politicians who complained bitterly about the seemingly partisan nature of the effort. A major strength of the book is its ability to show the interplay between the local, state and national contexts as this political drama unfolded. The authors adeptly demonstrate how national debates came into play with conservative powers in the state and the stark reality of poverty and racial tension on the ground. While the Fund ultimately failed to realize its grand anti-poverty goals, its work created a network of community agencies that still exists in North Carolina. Moreover, the story and lessons of the Fund make this an important book for those interested in understanding the process of social change, and the power and corresponding threat posed by organizing the poor to demand the nation fulfill its democratic promise.

Clare Hammonds
Brandeis University

Scott Laderman, *Tours of Vietnam: War, Travel Guides, and Memory* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009).

Thanatourism - also known as death, dark, or trauma tourism- is a practice that has gained increasing attention in the last decade and refers to the attraction to places or events associated with death, disaster, and suffering.¹ Scott Laderman attributes the motivation for this brand of tourism to "martial fascination" (183). To the burgeoning literature on this topic, *Tours of Vietnam* adds a critical analysis of how travel guides, such as the Lonely Planet series, construct an ideologically skewed history of Vietnam in the minds of Western tourists and both rationalize and naturalize US intervention in Vietnam. In addition, as a cross-disciplinary study, it contributes to the field of memory studies, arguing that tourist literature shapes American national memory, reinforcing images of heroism as depicted in