Jayne Cortez, and others who emphasize the surreal, which, we must understand, is a "tool to help create a strong revolutionary movement and a powerful, independent poetry" (p. 187).

By the end of *Freedom Dreams* we are still left to wonder why we should (re)consider the ideas Kelley lays before us. At points Kelley seems to be arguing that such an exercise—reviewing the black radical imagination—can serve as a catalyst for progressive politics. At other places, however, Kelley asserts the opposite: that movements create new ideas (pp. 8, 10). That sounds almost like an argument against the premise of the book.

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Carl B. Stokes and the Rise of Black Political Power. By Leonard N. Moore. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002. x, 242 pp. $34.95, ISBN 0-252-02760-4.)

When the voters of Cleveland, Ohio, narrowly elected Carl B. Stokes mayor in 1967, a new chapter in American political history was begun. Within two years of Stokes's departure from office, voters in Los Angeles had elected Tom Bradley, voters in Detroit had elected Coleman Young, and voters of Atlanta had elected Maynard Jackson.

Within a generation, the election of black mayors in major cities had become so commonplace that the civil rights leader (and former presidential candidate) Jesse Jackson took some umbrage when, after his son, Jesse Jr., had been elected to Congress, pundits speculated that the ultimate destination would, of course, be the mayoralty of Chicago rather than a seat in the United States Senate, the governor's mansion, or even the White House. Back in 1967, when Stokes first ran, success in local politics seemed the first step on a longer journey to political success in a multiracial electorate. The mayoralty seems to have become another glass ceiling for African Americans in politics, as the former Dallas mayor Ron Kirk's failed bid for the U.S. Senate in 2002 was but the most recent reminder.

The mayor's office has never been the best office from which to launch a national career. By the middle 1960s, as Leonard N. Moore demonstrates very effectively, large shifts of capital and people away from the central cities and toward suburbs made for an especially unforgiving apprenticeship in executive political leadership. Moore's book is, first, a reminder that, well before the long hot summers that exploded with seeming suddenness in major American cities between 1964 and 1968, political activism aimed at achieving a more equitable representation of African Americans in state legislatures, ending institutional racism on the police force, and improving public education was fully underway in the North even as the national media focused on confrontations in the South.

Second, while Moore documents the political consequences of white flight and white backlash in Cleveland, he also focuses much-needed attention on class divisions within the African American community, which sometimes spilled into the public realm and were expressed in a rhetorical code sometimes as divisive and polarizing as that invoked by George Wallace and his political imitators. In addition, Moore also documents the importance of the business elite and some moderate and liberal Republicans to the fragile coalition that twice elected Stokes to office. As a political biographer, Moore's obvious sympathy for his subject does not keep from him being objective, as when he criticizes Stokes for a political approach that could become unproductively "confrontational and heavy handed" (p. 105).

Carl B. Stokes and the Rise of Black Political Power is a monograph equal in quality to the historical importance of its subject. It is also a worthwhile introduction to a growing literature on the complex urban politics that developed in the aftermath of the Great Migration.

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"¡Mi Raza Primero!" (My People First!): Nationalism, Identity, and Insurgency in the Chicano Movement in Los Angeles, 1966–1978. By Ernesto Chávez. (Berkeley: University of Cali-

fornia Press, 2002. xviii, 166 pp. Cloth, $44.95, ISBN 0-520-23017-5. Paper, $18.95, ISBN 0-520-23018-3.)

Any scholar of the Chicano movement inevitably enters dangerous waters. Partisanship persists because, as in all analyses of political insurgencies, the questions of why the movement failed, what could have been done differently, and what tactical and ideological errors might prove instructive for the present yield often unstated agendas. That the field of Chicano studies was a product of that very Chicano movement, and that many Chicano scholars were participants or at least partisans, further complicates the matter. Ernesto Chávez navigates these waters quite well.

The first chapter amply demonstrates how such service groups as the Community Service Organization and reform electoral formations such as the Mexican American Political Association fell prey either to McCarthyism, to infighting and personal rivalry, or to political irrelevance. Thus it was that by 1966 no significant Mexican voice could be raised in Los Angeles to address the issues of the displacement of Mexicans for freeways and redevelopment, poverty, poor education, police abuse, and discrimination. Chávez's next chapters describe and analyze the four most important Chicano nationalist organizations in Los Angeles of the late 1960s and early 1970s: the Brown Berets, the Chicano Moratorium Committee, La Raza Unida party, and the Centro de Acción Social Autónomo (CASA). Each assumed that the Mexican-descent population of California should and would unite to achieve political power because all of *la raza* (which means "the people," not "the race") shared a common culture, a history of exploitation, and a condition of discrimination and oppression. Each produced a fair amount of excitement in the communities (and the police and the Federal Bureau of Investigation), but neither shared experience nor *carnalismo* (brotherhood of the flesh) could surmount the reality of an actually multifaceted and diverse Mexican population in Los Angeles, one that could not and would not embrace ideological and organizational unity.

Like other movements of the era, Chicanismo, the affirmation of Mexican American culture and a rejection of assimilation, was a product of youthful idealism and energy and responded to the discrepancy between promises of American justice and prosperity and the lived reality of minority peoples. But each grouping emphasized different sectors of Los Angeles Mexicans for political work: the Brown Berets, "young street thugs, the *vatos locos,* who were being brutalized by the police"; the Chicano Moratorium, "draft-aged Chicanos"; for La Raza Unida party "the ballot box and Chicano voters were key to Chicano empowerment, whereas, for CASA, Mexican immigrant workers emerged as the crucial constituency" (p. 6). So not only could none of these organizations "get away from nationalism's protean grip" (p. 120) and male supremacy, they could not even agree on which sector of the Mexican population would provide the core and leadership for the Chicano movement.

Those were heady days of optimism about *el movimiento,* even revolution. These days of postmodern skepticism about fundamental political change and of a massive immigration of Mexicans who seem to like America make such challenges to Anglo supremacy seem remote, perhaps even unreal. *"¡Mi Raza Primero!"* helps us understand how Chicano nationalism in Los Angeles came to be, what it sought, and how it declined, and it will prove essential as we debate that movement's legacy.

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Freedom Is an Endless Meeting: Democracy in American Social Movements. By Francesca Polletta. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002. xii, 283 pp. $35.00, ISBN 0-226-67448-7.)

In my view one reason that American social movement theory has not advanced very far is that it has not penetrated into the real-life texture of movement building, partly because of the need for comparative analysis. In *Freedom Is an Endless Meeting,* Francesca Polletta has produced a remarkable work of historical soci-