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**Author**

Smith, Earl

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## DU BOIS AND AFRICA, 1933-1963

by

Earl Smith

To say that a nation is in the way of civilization is a contradiction in terms and a system of human culture whose principle is the rise of one race on the ruins of another is a farce and a lie. It represents a field for stalwart manhood and heroic character, and at the same time for moral obtuseness and refined brutality. These striking contradictions of character always arise when a people seemingly become convinced that the object of the world is not civilization, but Teutonic civilization.

--W.E.B. Du Bois

"Jefferson Davis As A Representative of Civilization"<sup>2</sup>

Harvard University Commencement Address -- (1890)

## I

Dr. William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, Black scholar, was born (February 23, 1868) "by a river and in the shadow of two great hills, five years after the Emancipation Proclamation,"<sup>3</sup> in the town of Great Barrington, Massachusetts. He was laid to his final rest on the continent of Africa, Accra, Ghana August 27, 1963.

The history of Du Bois' ninety-five years is, in effect, a history of the making of America. From his early youth in Great Barrington, New England to his final days in Ghana, Du Bois was as much a part of this history as any individual could possibly endeavor to be.

Although much has been written about Du Bois,<sup>4</sup> there is no complete essay on his thought and endeavors as these relate to Africa. Du Bois starts his second chapter *In Battle for Peace*, with these words: "I am not sure just when I began to feel an interest in Africa."<sup>5</sup> But, from some of his earliest correspondence we can now date that beginning somewhere between 1885 and 1890. This is deduced from his correspondence with,

for example, the John F. Slater Fund and Rutherford B. Hayes.<sup>6</sup> The point here is that Du Bois had an interest in Africa throughout his long and rewarding life.

The task of surveying and analyzing Du Bois' thought and work on Africa cannot be given its fullest treatment herein. The long range goal is to take the entire lifespan of Du Bois as this relates to Africa, of which this essay is only a beginning. Therefore, we will not make use of such epoch making works as *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade*,<sup>7</sup> *The Negro*,<sup>8</sup> or the stunning 1915 essay "The African Roots of War."<sup>9</sup> This essay will be limited to the years 1933-1963, in my opinion some of the most fruitful in terms of Du Bois' work on Africa. This is the period that he closed out his editorship of the *Crisis* and returned to Atlanta University to devote most of his research time to questions that were of grave concern to Africa, especially the eradication of colonialism. It was at this time that Du Bois became relentless in his critique of conventional wisdom and the role of colonialism and imperialism on the African continent.<sup>10</sup>

The present essay is long overdue, especially in light of a work by Isaacs treating the same subject, although it does so in a cynical and unsystematic manner. The misinterpretation of Harold Isaacs put forth in a leading journal on race relations entitled "Du Bois and Africa"<sup>11</sup> is unfortunate. The caricature of Du Bois and his views on Africa by Isaacs and his false contemptuous statement that Du Bois' "view was downright myopic"<sup>12</sup> is merely a subjectivist assertion which is proven false by the factual material presented below. Isaacs feels that Du Bois was an out and out individualist and "a romantic racist"<sup>13</sup> and sees these as singular threads that run through most, if not all of his work.

Closing his paper saying that it is hard to imagine what would have happened if Du Bois had not failed in his life-long pursuits, Isaacs adds that this "leaves one only to guess what a great man he might have become had he been able to set himself resolutely all his life against all forms of tyranny."<sup>14</sup> Isaacs, like so many ardent bourgeois intellectuals, cannot see the greatness in Du Bois. He fails to understand the nature of the struggle for democracy as a world-wide struggle let alone that same struggle for democracy as it applies to the liberation of millions upon millions of Black people in Africa. Dr. Du Bois devoted most of his life to that struggle and at the same time to the struggle of his own people here in America. The dialectical unity of these two struggles escapes Isaacs and others who rebound into cynicism while essentially giving false views on the man, W.E.B. Du Bois.

## II

In 1933 the world capitalist system was still trying to recover from the events caused by contradictions of capital. The continued efforts toward capital accumulation, high prices on produced commodities and low wages, in the long run resulted in the steep decline of industrial production, the backbone of the American economy. The depression of 1929-1933 resulted in the degradation of the American working population where unemployment reached seventeen million. However, since this was a world-wide phenomenon, a world-wide economic crisis, the effect was felt in colonized Africa as well.<sup>15</sup>

Dr. Du Bois at this time was still hard at work as editor of the *Crisis* which he founded in November, 1910<sup>16</sup> as organ of the NAACP. It is from his desk as editor of the *Crisis* that he set forth the following view he held until the end of his life:

Pan-Africa means intellectual understanding and cooperation among all groups of Negro descent in order to bring about at the earliest possible time the industrial and spiritual emancipation of the Negro people.<sup>17</sup>

To understand the philosophy of Du Bois as it related to Africa at a time when the continent was partitioned to the capitalist powers of Europe and North America, it is necessary to understand that it took a strong belief such as Du Bois had to refute the racist propaganda of colonial-capitalism in Africa which by the end of World War I was very deeply entrenched there.<sup>18</sup> A central part of this propaganda, embedded within the ethnocentrism of mainstream historiography on Africa, was being taught at all leading institutions of higher learning, among these Clark, Harvard and Yale.

The struggle of Du Bois was not a moral struggle (important as morality is) of a man yearning to tie together in some romantic way the African past with the Afro-American present. Du Bois' view was not a part of the fashionable back to Africa idea of this decade.<sup>19</sup> Du Bois repeatedly stated: "I do not advocate the return of Negroes to Africa."<sup>20</sup> Rather, it was a struggle that first and foremost recognized the economic, political, social and ideological oppression of African people who, for the most part, during his lifetime were conceived of as inhuman, heathen and merely objects of ethnographic study.

Pan-Africanism<sup>21</sup> as a philosophical outlook became a

strategy and tactic to arrest the perpetuation of colonialism - a way to unite Africa against the export of commodities, expropriation of land and enslavement of labor by the dominating European powers. This Du Bois understood very well and in his survey of what is now called Black History, *Black Folk Then and Now: An Essay in the History and Sociology of the Negro Race*, he set out to correct the record of what he saw as "neither reasonable nor probable" the dictum that "Black people have no history."<sup>22</sup> Du Bois was indefatigable in his criticisms of African historiography which was based on the *racist* assumptions that the history of African whites was the history of Africa! He saw in the people of Africa the need *not* to serve the hegemony of the white world but a self determination which did not include in any way, subjugation to European rule. To believe otherwise, as many at that time did, was to believe in something that Du Bois called a "modern philosophy." He was quick to add:

This philosophy is the child of the African slave trade and the industrial expansion of Europe during the nineteenth century.<sup>23</sup>

This was not all. In his analysis of Africa Du Bois was very clear and consistent on the role that labor played as a commodity in the development of Europe. Recently this concept has been referred to as the "development of underdevelopment."<sup>24</sup> Although in 1939 when *Black Folk Then and Now* was published Du Bois was not a Marxist<sup>25</sup> in the strict sense, his frame of reference was decidedly so. His analysis of labor as a commodity verifies this:

Thus there arose and made itself manifest, by the middle of the eighteenth century, the new method of increasing income based on the buying and selling of labor as a commodity. The profit which arose therefrom furnished the first great accumulations of capital. . . and was the incentive and technique which started the world. . . These were the cotton gin, the steam engine, the flying shuttle, [and] the power loom. . . . These things were not the cause of the Industrial Revolution: they were the result of the African slave trade.<sup>26</sup>

The attention Du Bois paid to economic matters was a part of his overall concern for *decolonization* in Africa. It was this concern that led his sharp critique of the conventional wisdom prepared by the newly organized committee on Africa

at the initiative of the Phelps Stokes Fund<sup>27</sup> in 1942 entitled *The Atlantic Charter and Africa from an American Standpoint*. Du Bois' critique acknowledged that there were Black people serving as collaborators on this project. He says of this:

and while at first thought it may be over-stressing the race element to mention it, yet we must remember that in most modern countries today, Africa is discussed and dissected without the presence of Africans.<sup>28</sup>

The principle concern of Du Bois however comes at the end of his review as a two part criticism. First he says that the report is pro-British but in his own words, "it [the report] believes in the British colonial system by and large and in the British attitude toward colored people" (p.436). Seeing this as unfortunate, he continues, giving the second and most important part of his critique:

a second criticism would be the failure to stress adequately the dangers of the economic exploitation of Africa. . . . The committee should remember that the amount of capital invested in Africa has greatly increased since the first world war and especially American capital. . . . This capital is invested in Africa without any of the controls which surrounded invested capital in Europe and America. . . . Under these circumstances to leave out strong reference to the curbing of investment would leave us open to blame either for a lack of knowledge or lack of courage.<sup>29</sup>

It was at Atlanta, first temporarily as a visiting professor and then as head of the Department of Sociology that Du Bois developed systematically his anti-imperialist stand on Africa. Under the presidency of Dr. John Hope at Atlanta University, he was given the range to develop and research topics on Africa as he saw fit - the necessity being for a fuller understanding of the colonial history to provide ways to disseminate a more correct history than were available at the time.<sup>30</sup> The stress that Du Bois put on research, writing and lecturing is important to our understanding of what was to be his style for the rest of his life.<sup>31</sup>

It was while Du Bois was at Atlanta, near the end of his second term, that one of the clearest statements by him on Africa appeared. In *Foreign Affairs* an essay entitled "The Realities in Africa: European Profit of Negro Development?"

Du Bois asks a question that was appropriate for the time and is still relevant today.

If armed natives were going to be used in European disputes, would not native colonial revolt be a matter of years?"<sup>32</sup>

Tying together for this era developments on the continent of Africa and the second World War, Du Bois saw as important "the competition for profit."<sup>33</sup> Among the European powers Africa played a significant role in "the private profits of foreign investments,"<sup>34</sup> so much so that international world peace was constantly in a state of flux. It was with World War II that "a substantial impact on the subsequent development of American imperialism"<sup>35</sup> began. All of Africa played a central role in the consolidation of American monopoly control over colonized Africa on which Dr. Du Bois reflected in 1943. Shortly after the appearance of his article "The Realities in Africa" Du Bois received a letter of bewilderment asking for clarification from one "interested in the future problems of the United Nations in the post-war era." Specifically the inquirer wanted to know why Du Bois advocated taking away political control from "commercial and business interests." His reply dated July 6, 1943 from his home in Baltimore said:

[It] wishes the United States to seize territory and administer it for private profit, and the only conditions [that] would [be] impose[d] would be to use local materials and local labor. There would be no laws to protect labor in wage nor conditions of work, the native would have no voice in politics or industry, and the object of this "reconstruction" would be profit for American industry and not the well-being of the natives.

Characteristic of Du Bois was his frankness! In concluding this communication he went on to say - underscoring the point:

I am convinced that the development of backward races and lands cannot be left in the unguided and uncontrolled power of private investors..... This sort of profit ought to be curbed by international legislation and guardianship. And this is not solely for philanthropy, but for insurance against future war and turmoil.<sup>36</sup>

Du Bois ends "The Realities in Africa" by seeing the most dangerous situation in the world at that time as that between

"European capital and colored labor involving high profit, low wages, and cheap raw materials."<sup>37</sup>

In March, 1944<sup>38</sup> with the understanding he was to be "retired" by Atlanta University come June of that year (see note #31), Du Bois contributed one of the few articles accepted from him by the *American Journal of Sociology*,<sup>39</sup> organ of the American Sociological Association. By seeing "race conflict...playing a fatal role in the modern world" he wrote "Prospect of A World Without Racial Conflict."<sup>40</sup> Castigating the majority views of this era - those of Smuts of South Africa, Churchill of England, DeGualle of France and Roosevelt of the United States (although Du Bois did not mention the latter by name directly), he issued a critique of the racist philosophy of Gobineau as it influenced these statesmen. He wrote:

We have with difficulty reached a place in the modern white world where we can contemplate the abolition of poverty; where we can think of an industrial organization with no part of its essential co-operators deprived of income which will give them sufficient food and shelter, along with the necessary education and some of the comforts of life. *But this conception is confined almost entirely to the white race.*<sup>41</sup>

Extending his critique to the scattered disciplines of the social sciences with their role in promoting colonialism and the belief that Black people have no history, Du Bois felt that the social sciences became instruments in the hands of the colonialists to prove the inferiority of the African people who were being used as slaves for the comfort and culture of masters.<sup>42</sup> Among the comments he made were: "Economics even today cannot talk straight on colonial imperialism."<sup>43</sup> Du Bois' near final views on colonialism in Africa are reflected in the points that he made in this essay.

### III

From Port-Au-Prince, Haiti in a letter dated September 12, 1944, Du Bois informed his friend and colleague Mr. Arthur Springarn - then president of the NAACP - that he had accepted the NAACP offer of employment and would arrive in New York on September 22.<sup>44</sup> The job was Du Bois' second term of employment with the NAACP and was in the capacity of Director of Special Research which in his own words meant "to revive the Pan-African movement and give general attention to the foreign aspects of the race problem."<sup>45</sup>



After taking the position with the NAACP he became an official observer to the founding conference of the United Nations. During that time he sent a scathing communique to the United States delegation based upon his observations that said in part:

The attempt to write an international bill of rights into the San Francisco conference without any specific mention of the people living in colonies seems to me a most unfortunate procedure.<sup>46</sup>

Du Bois was busy with the question of peace and colonies in general but particularly as related to Africa. His immediate and major efforts to these ends resulted in the publication of *Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace* in 1945 and the convening of the Fifth Pan-African Congress, Manchester, England in the same year.<sup>48</sup> Another event of importance was the publication of the *Encyclopedia of the Negro: Preparatory Volume with Reference Lists and Reports* of which Du Bois was co-editor. There was to be sure, an "immediate need for such an encyclopedia to counter distortion, to provide the truth, and to promote further study"<sup>49</sup> of Black people in the United States and Africa.

Du Bois spent much time with the revival of the Pan-African movement. He felt deeply that: "Africa has come to the place where action has succeeded talk"<sup>50</sup> and

most of the people of darker skin throughout the world occupy colonial or semi-colonial status; and because of their political subordination to imperial countries they suffer from extreme poverty, great illiteracy and disease.<sup>51</sup>

Initially in his programs on Pan-Africa Du Bois felt that the leadership for such a movement "stems naturally from the West Indies and the United States,"<sup>52</sup> an incorrect position to have been taken by him especially in light of his anti-colonial stands. This view, understanding the genesis of the Pan-African movement, was quickly abandoned for "Dr. Du Bois always considered his Pan-Africanism as an aid to the furthering of the idea of national self-determination among Africans, under their own leaders, for their own benefit,"<sup>53,54</sup>

Related to Du Bois' connection with the Pan-African movement a long letter was sent to him by the West African Students Union which expressed concern for the calling of the Fifth Pan-African Congress outside of Africa "affecting the future of Africa and the welfare of peoples of African descent."<sup>55</sup> The

Western African Students Union urged that Liberia be chosen instead as the site of the Congress. The letter in part stated:

However, it will be possible to have a wider and more effective representation of different sections of progressive African opinion when the Congress is held in Liberia than would be possible in Europe.<sup>56</sup>

In his reply to the Union Du Bois stated that this Congress was in fact a preliminary congress with the real Pan-African Congress to be held in Africa in the next year of two.<sup>57</sup> We know now that this proposal was not to eventuate until 1958 in what was the First All African Peoples Conference held in Accra, Ghana. Dr. Nkrumah noting this stated: "You, Doctor, inculcated into our souls the necessity of Pan-Africa - a united Africa. When I opened the all African People's Conferences here in Accra, to which your good wife so eloquently presented your address...I told them that this was in fact the Sixth Pan-African Congress."<sup>58</sup>

Amidst much difficulty with travel arrangements due to the ending of World War II, Du Bois attended the Fifth Pan-African Congress held in Manchester, England October 15, 1945. His contribution to the Pan-African movement was acknowledged by Peter Abrahams who said:

Dr. W.E. Burghardt Du Bois, the eminent Negro scholar and writer, was unanimously elected International President of the Congress. This Congress, therefore was the most representative yet assembled by Africans and people of African descent to plan and work for the liquidation of imperialism....He [Dr. Du Bois] can, justly, be called the 'Father' of the Pan-African movement.<sup>59</sup>

Returning to<sup>60</sup> the United States Du Bois gave reports on the work of the Congress<sup>61</sup> and set out to publicize as far as possible the results. He wrote:

If the world today is art and luxury, electricity and food, among other things, Africa is contributing through its gold and diamonds, its copper and chocolate and extraordinary part. In return it is not only getting a fair share of the results, but the fact that this is true is bedevilling and will continue to frustrate

the restoration and advance of civilization.<sup>62</sup>

In an earlier mentioned work, *Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace*, published just prior to Du Bois' departure for Manchester, England, there appears what is still the classic statement on colonial-imperialism in Africa. The thesis of the book affirms "its applicability to today's world"... "has not...lessened."<sup>63</sup> Some of the major points that Du Bois makes in it are "colonies are slums of the world" (p.17) and that:

- 1) the substantial and permanent advance of a group cannot be allowed to depend on the philanthropy of a master if the desires and initiative of its members are given no freedom, no democratic expression; and if, on the other hand, the will of the master is swayed by strong motives of aggrandizement and gain (p.11).
- 2) the continuation of the belief of vested interests in the theory of racial inferiority and their dislike of minorities of any sort will be encouraged by failure to face the problem of the future of colonies - the problem of those hundreds of millions of people on whom the world long has walked with careless and insolent feet (p.57).
- 3) Once Hitler and the Nazis had obtained power they built an oligarchy, not a democracy (p.80).
- 4) The attitude of the United States in this development [of world imperialism] puzzles the observing world of liberalism. Intelligence and high wages in this land are linked with an extraordinary development of the rule of wealth and sympathy with imperial ambition in other lands, as well as steps toward greater American imperialism (p.85).

These excerpts are given to show the range of Du Bois' thinking on colonialism and imperialism at this time. He closes *Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace* with these very insightful words:

There has been surfeit of creed, dogma, and

priestly assumption to bridle the intelligence of men; there has been enough of the aimless arrogance of science used to heal and kill, destroy and build. The day has dawned when above a wounded, tired earth unselfish sacrifice, without sin and hell, may join through technique, shorn of ruthless greed, and make a new religion, one with new knowledge to shout from old hills of heaven: Go down Moses!<sup>64</sup>

The move to the NAACP and trying to settle into his new position as Director of Special Research soon proved to be of immense difficulty for Du Bois. In his posthumously published *Autobiography* he wrote:

As events soon proved, in my invitation to return to the NAACP, there were three conflicting ideas as to what my status would be. My own thought was that I was to have no power or place in the regular organization except to give such advice as I was asked. I was to have freedom to write and express my opinions, avoiding of course anything that would hurt the organization. I was to continue the long interrupted interest of the NAACP in Africa.... I naturally expected to work and to have an area of work which was mine.... That in fine I would continue to be myself, working in cooperation but not in complete subordination to anybody. It did not occur to me that anyone would expect of ask that.<sup>65</sup>

Du Bois continued by pointing out the confrontation that he had with Walter White. The *Correspondence* Volume 3, shows this confrontation carried to the point of absurdity where the Doctor had to request that "mail or telegrams addressed to me [not be] opened by anyone except Miss Irene Diggs,"<sup>66</sup> and "something must be done immediately about office space for my work."<sup>67</sup> However, these inconveniences which grew larger as time went on, did not prevent Du Bois from carrying out the research and work that he was hired to do for NAACP.

In the capacity of Director of Special Research, Du Bois published two major books,<sup>68</sup> wrote appeals,<sup>69</sup> gave lectures<sup>70</sup> and influenced the careers of many students both Black and white, while helping to mold the most positive image of Africa in world history. The late William Leo Hansberry put all this succinctly when he said:

Du Bois elected, however, to restrict himself to no single branch of human endeavor but chose rather to work untiringly for human causes. . . .<sup>71</sup>

In 1947 the second major book while with the NAACP was published, rounding out Du Bois' fullest statement on Africa. In *The World and Africa* Du Bois was able to pull together the thoughts that first appeared in *The Negro* (1915) and *Black Folk Then and Now* (1939). Believing world history that was written without reference to Africa was scientifically unsound, Du Bois stated:

[It is] also dangerous for logical social conclusions. Therefore I am seeking in this book to remind readers...how critical a part Africa has played in human history, past and present, and how impossible it is to forget this and rightly explain the present plight of mankind.<sup>72</sup>

When this work was completed Africa was still colonized. Inside of eleven chapters the story of Africa in world history was written by a scholar who honestly felt the burden of not having conducted more research for the project, a task Du Bois felt should take a lifetime of research.<sup>73</sup> By not being confined to academic questions, Du Bois was able to come forward with what he had done, a belief so strong that he castigated the Africanist William Leo Hansberry for his failure to publish his own manuscripts on Africa - saying that the "overwhelming weight of conventional opinion on Africa has overawed him." Du Bois reasoned:

I am faced with a dilemma, that either I do this now or leave it for others who have not had the tragedy of life which I have, forcing me to face a task for which they may have small stomach and little encouragement from the world round about. If, out of my almost inevitable mistakes and inaccuracies and false conclusions, I shall have at least clearly stated my main issues - that Black Africans are men in the same sense as white European and yellow Asiatics, and that history can easily prove this - then I shall rest satisfied even under the stigma of an incomplete and, to many, inconclusive work.<sup>74</sup>

This showed that Du Bois understood the dictum that his

era was "a critical time for the social sciences not a time for courtesies,"<sup>75</sup> so he went ahead and published *The World and Africa* which has stood the test of time, remaining a basic text for any social scientific study of the social history of Africa.

In looking more closely at Du Bois' discussion in this latter work, we see that he is concerned with a historical analysis of Africa through a critique of the European presence there. Being a philosopher of the materialist bend, Du Bois felt that "life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life." *The World and Africa* is reflective of this philosophical view which is:

set-out from real, active men and on the basis of their real life processes. [Du Bois] demonstrated the development of the ideological reflexes and echoes of this life process,<sup>76</sup>

in relation to Africa.

This is something that another philosopher, the great thinker Hegel, was not able to do in his reflections on Africa (cf. *Philosophy of History*). This is so because his scientific method and his philosophical world view began outside of the domain of human social relations, that is, outside of the social milieu of society.<sup>77</sup>

The situation in Africa demanded a study able to penetrate the myth of the "dark continent" and wipe out the stench of ethnocentrism that had hitherto dominated most of the work in African social studies. Du Bois, moving through his thesis on Africa from slavery to neo-slavery, wrote:

Eventually Negro slavery and the slave trade were abandoned in favor of colonial imperialism, and the England which in the eighteenth century established modern slavery in America on a vast scale, appeared in the nineteenth century as the official emancipator of slaves and founder of a method of control of human labor and material which proved more profitable than slavery.<sup>78</sup>

In *The World and Africa* Du Bois made use of the most pertinent literature available on the subject at that time. For example he extensively used the classic work by Dr. Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*. He translated the works of the German Africanist, Dr. Leo Frobenius, who is still regarded today as one of the foremost authorities on Africa.

Ms. Anna Graves' work was used as was the work of the late J.A. Rogers. The point is that Du Bois undertook the project as well prepared as was possible even if he himself had certain reservations about its completeness.

In the last chapter "On the Future of the Darker Races," a very poignant question is asked: "Does the World Need Africa?" Very quickly Du Bois answers:

The Negro race has been the foundation upon which the capitalist system has been reared, the Industrial Revolution carried through, and imperial colonialism established.... If we confine ourselves to America we cannot forget that America was built on Africa.<sup>79</sup>

Although the working of neo-colonialism are much more complex within the context of global imperialism, these do not invalidate the thesis Du Bois put forward in 1947.<sup>80</sup>

#### IV

Du Bois was fired from the NAACP effective December 31, 1948 which Volume 3 of the *Correspondence* explains in detail. At this time however, *The Council on African Affairs* was well established in its work on Africa and under the chairmanship of Paul Robeson<sup>81</sup> Du Bois officially joined its staff as Vice-Chairman.<sup>82</sup>

Although no single volume has appeared to date on the history of the Council, we can, from scattered sources, piece together Du Bois' role in furthering its work until its dissolution in 1955 ("A result largely attributable to the constant hounding of the federal government and the hostility of the commercial media").<sup>83</sup>

During his tenure with the Council Du Bois intensified efforts toward world peace, especially as related to Africa. He continued his contact with African leaders and African students who saw in the Council a vehicle for help with their respective struggles back home.<sup>84</sup> The weight that someone of Du Bois' stature carried in the struggle for African unity, acted as a catalyst for the support needed by the Council to carry forward its program of work.

Working for "peace and peace now," Du Bois at the age of eighty three continued to advocate freedom for the peoples of Africa.<sup>85</sup> His work was not in vain even through the most

rabid McCarthy era scandals that at one point saw Du Bois handcuffed and fingerprinted for his peace activities.<sup>86</sup> Still with the Council on African Affairs, Du Bois was being banned from the mainstream press and therefore had to publish with progressive journals and newspapers.<sup>87</sup>

One of the essays of this period that stands out in his continued efforts against colonial-imperialism is "A Future for Pan Africa: Freedom, Peace, Socialism." In this essay (which is an open letter to the then Prime Minister of Ghana, the late Dr. Kwame Nkrumah), Dr. Du Bois succinctly states:

Pan-Africa will seek to preserve its own past history and write the present account, erasing from literature the lies and distortions about Black folk which have disgraced the last centuries of European and American literature; above all, the new Pan-Africa will seek the education of all its youth on the broadest possible basis without religious dogma and in all hospitable lands as well as in Africa and for the end of making Africans not simply profitable workers for industry nor stoolpigeons for propaganda, but for making them modern, intelligent, responsible men of mission and character.<sup>88</sup>

Du Bois' relationship to Africa, his credits and debits are not, as it is sometimes incorrectly assumed, "beyond reproach."<sup>89</sup> He was, to be sure, his severest critic. He said:

Once I thought of you Africans as children whom we educated Afro-Americans would lead to liberty. I was wrong.<sup>90</sup>

In this respect, one of the major failings of Du Bois was the unsuccessful attempt to turn the struggle against colonial-imperialism into a mass struggle, clearly understood by him as evidenced in his "Last Message To The World."

As the title suggests he is interested in letting the world know what it is he had to say for the last time. It was so characteristic of Du Bois that in this message he felt the necessity for self-criticism. He said:

...I have been uplifted by the thought that what I have done well will live long and justify my life. That what I have done ill or never finished can now



be handed on to others for endless days to be finished perhaps better than I could have done.<sup>91</sup>

This was Du Bois' reminder to us that the work on Africa at which he labored so long and hard, still remains to be completed.<sup>92</sup>

## V

The theme on the relation of Black people in America to Black Africans is central to Du Bois' understanding of Africa in world history. This aspect of Du Bois' thought shows itself as early as the project studies at Atlanta University. For example, it is reflected in the monograph published under the general heading: Atlanta University Studies of The Negro Problem: Annual Publication Number Twelve entitled *Economic Cooperation Among Negro Americans*.<sup>93</sup>

This is elucidated again by Du Bois in a talk he gave in commemoration of the thirty-first anniversary of Black History Week to an audience at Allen University in Columbia, South Carolina, February 11, 1957. The talk in part said:

Whither now do we go? We American Negroes cannot lead the colored peoples of the world because they far better than we understand what is happening in the world today. But we can try to catch up with them... So far as Africa is concerned we can realize that socialism is part of their past history and will without a shade of doubt play a large part in their future.... [To help in] curbing the power of private capital and great monopolies [we] stand ready to meet and cooperate with world socialism as it grows among white and Black.<sup>94</sup>

The relation of Black Americans to Africa is also evidenced in one of his last articles entitled "American Negroes and Africa's Rise To Freedom." He said:

Would it not be wise for American Negroes themselves to read a few books and to do a little thinking for themselves? It is not that I would persuade Negroes to become communists, capitalists or holy rollers; but

whatever belief they reach, let it for God's sake be a matter of reason and not of ignorance, fear, and selling their souls to the devil.<sup>95</sup>

This important message needs to be heeded today especially with the rise of neo-colonialism and its masking of social reality.

Du Bois tied the struggle against racism in America with the struggle against imperialist domination in Africa. This, as his legacy points out, would help break the imperialist chain that oppresses Black people in various parts of the world. During this latter phase of Du Bois' life, colonialism had entered the highest stage of its domination. With this, there emerged in Africa for the first time - a systematic, relentless resistance to colonialism beginning with passive campaigns but growing into armed struggles. It was this era that produced such heroic freedom fighters as the men and women of MPLA in Angola and FRELIMO in Mozambique.

Du Bois was able to discern the contours of this late phase. Characteristic of him was his ability to incorporate new developments into his ideas for social change in Africa as evidenced in his work after the Bandung Conference of Colored Peoples (1955), which had a lasting effect upon him.

## VI

To conclude then on Du Bois and Africa, it has been said of him that:

The greatness of Dr. Du Bois lies in the fact that he centered the nearly ten decades of his life upon the fundamental questions of his time - and of our time: racism, colonialism, imperialism, war, illiteracy, poverty, hunger, exploitation; and that he did this with astonishing persistence, absolute integrity and historic effectiveness.<sup>96</sup>

This summation of Du Bois' life is so true. Du Bois, one of the greatest Americans of the twentieth century, has not been given his hard earned place in the annals of science and history. This I contend is changing and more and more people are beginning to understand the forced suppression of his thought - "isolated by petty defamation, by suspicion, by officially contrived alienation."<sup>97</sup> This is a slow process and will soon end.

As the late Dr. Martin Luther King explained:

Dr. Du Bois was not only an intellectual giant exploring the frontiers of knowledge, he was in the first place a teacher.<sup>98</sup>

This quality which Dr. King was so correct in assessing in Du Bois, is what has extended into the present. His thought lives and it is ever so prophetic as were the days when his voice and pen consistently rang out.

One of the last writings by Du Bois on Africa requires our attention. He said:

Persons who today are rightly worried about the future of civilization should give their attention to Africa for it is the failure to do this for so many years in the past that has been a prime cause of the present critical situation.<sup>99</sup>

The essay ends with the following sentence, which relates directly to the above: "Here lies the great threat of world war."

Today as we witnessed the defeat of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique and Angola, the escalated armed struggle in Zimbabwe, and the forward movement to build the armed struggle in the citadel of racism, South Africa, the writings of Dr. William Edward Burghardt Du Bois have gained in importance thus providing both historical and contemporary clarity on such burning questions as the relation of Africa to the world economic situation and to world peace. The forces fighting for human rights in Africa know of the work by Du Bois<sup>100</sup> and still today he is considered the "Father of Pan-Africanism," as well as Africa's adopted son.

There is no need to elaborate on the fact that Du Bois chose to live his last days in Ghana, at the personal invitation of President Nkrumah, to complete his life long ambition, "The Encyclopedia Africana." Exact details of the major shortcomings under which the project had to be undertaken and Du Bois' role in seeing the project through some of these difficulties, has been explained in detail by his secretary, the late Dr. Alphaeus Hunton.<sup>101</sup> The project was being undermined by the "Eurocentric minded school of Africanists" prior to and after Du Bois' death. This was cemented by the *coup d'etat* which seized power in Ghana thus curtailing the proposed ten volume work. It is only recently that there is indication that the total effort was not lost to reaction. (see note #92.)

We close then with words that a young Du Bois could utter of that great Black leader Frederick Douglass, where Du Bois was speaking at a memorial service being held upon the death of Douglass in 1895. These same words aptly apply to Du Bois himself:

As wanderers along an unknown path, it is due to ourselves and humanity that we pause today and seek to fathom the true meaning of the death of a long trusted leader. We must not rush on merely crying in half-triumphant sadness "The king is dead, long live the King!" The true recognition of greatness lies not merely in well tuned phrases or memorials but in careful conscientious emulation of the life of the dead. If we desire really to appreciate [Dr. William Edward Burghardt Du Bois] we must first know what he did, and then seek in our own lives to picture again his wisdom, his bravery and his trueness.<sup>102</sup>

When one studies any aspect of the life of Du Bois, one is studying a phenomenon.<sup>103,104</sup> In "Du Bois and Africa" it has been shown that it was through him that the world came to know and understand Africa, and its correct role in world history.

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#### Footnotes

1. I would like to thank my wife, Carol A. Budi for her persistent efforts in helping to develop the idea for this paper into its final form. Also this paper owes much to Dr. Herbert Aptheker. Through his good graces I was able to attend his Fall, 1976 seminar at Yale University on "The Life and Work of W.E.B. Du Bois." Especially I thank Dr. Aptheker for his generosity of depositing with me the manuscript of Herbert Aptheker ed. *The Correspondence of W.E.B. Du Bois; Volume 3, Selections, 1944-1963* (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, forthcoming). Quotations from this work are with the permission of the editor. This paper has benefited from the critical comments on the first draft by Professor William B. Wiggins of the University of Connecticut. All errors that remain in the text are mine alone.
2. W.E.B. Du Bois, "Jefferson Davis As A Representative of

- Civilization," (Unpublished Ms., Harvard University Archives, Cambridge, Massachusetts).
3. *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois: A Soliloquy on Viewing My Life From the Last Decade of Its First Century*, ed. Herbert Aptheker (New York: International Publishers, 1968), p.61.
  4. To date there is no *definitive* biography on Dr. Du Bois. In place of this see the following: Shirley Graham Du Bois, *His Day Is Marching On* (New York: J.B. Lippincott, 1971); Virginia Hamilton, *W.E.B. Du Bois: A Biography* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1972); Herbert Aptheker, "On The Meaning of Dr. Du Bois," in *Soul of The Republic*, (New York: Marzani & Munsel, 1964), pp.1-8; H. Aptheker, "Du Bois Final Years," *Journal of Human Relations* 14 (1966): 149-155; the special issue of *Freedomways Magazine*, Volume 5, No.1, Winter, 1965; and John H. Clark, Ester Jackson, Ernest Kaiser and J.H. O'Dell ed. *Black Titan: W.E.B. Du Bois* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970). A very useful guide to writings about Du Bois has been recently published. See Dan S. Green, "Bibliography of Writings About W.E.B. Du Bois," *CLA Journal* 20 (March 1977):410-421.
  5. W.E.B. Du Bois, *In Battle For Peace: The Story of My 83rd Birthday, with Comment by Shirley Graham* (New York: Masses and Mainstream Publishers, 1952), p.15.
  6. Herbert Aptheker, ed. *The Correspondence of W.E.B. Du Bois; Volume 1, Selections, 1877-1934* (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1973-), pp.10-18.
  7. W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Suppression of The African Slave Trade To America, 1638-1870*, ed. Herbert Aptheker (New York: Kraus-Thompson, 1973).
  8. W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Negro* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).
  9. W.E.B. Du Bois, "The African Roots of War," *Atlantic Monthly* 115 (May 1915):707-714.
  10. "For the last century, Europe's interest in Africa has been...the annexation of colonies and investment for profit in African labor and raw materials." See W.E.B. Du Bois, "Black Africa Tomorrow," *Foreign Affairs* 17 (1938): 100-110. Also helpful to this period is Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1940), Du Bois, *The World and Africa* (New York: International Publishers, 1967), and Herbert Aptheker ed., *The Correspondence*

dence of W.E.B. Du Bois; Volume 2, Selections, 1834-1944 (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1976).

11. Harold R. Isaacs, "Du Bois and Africa," *Race* 2 (November 1960):3-23.
12. *Ibid.*, p.13.
13. *Ibid.*, p.17.
14. *Ibid.*, p.23.
15. A succinct understanding of the crisis of 1929-1933 can be found in N. Sivachyov and E. Yazkov, *History of the USA Since World War I* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1976). As this relates explicitly to Africa see Richard Wolff, *The Economics of Colonialism*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974).
16. Du Bois was editor of the *Crisis* from 1910 through 1934, "the longest single sustained piece of work by Dr. Du Bois" (Herbert Aptheker, *Annotated Bibliography of the Published Writings of W.E.B. Du Bois*, New York: Kraus-Thompson, 1973), p.120. See also the essay by Dan S. Green, "W.E.B. Du Bois: His Journalistic Career," *Negro History Bulletin* 40 (March/April 1977):672-677.
17. W.E.B. Du Bois, "Pan-Africa and New Racial Philosophy," *Crisis* 40 (November 1933):262.
18. Earl Smith, "Underdevelopment and Urbanization In East Africa," (Unpublished Ms., University of Connecticut, 1977).
19. This "return to Africa" scheme is most consistently referred to in relation to the Garvey movement, which carried over to this pre-World War II period. A critique of Garvey's emigration plan is in my review-essay of Tony Martin, *Race First: The Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1976), forthcoming in *Science and Society*. On the emigration movement of Black Americans to Africa see Carter G. Woodson and Charles H. Wesley, *The Story of the Negro Retold*, (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1935), and St. Clair Drake, "Negro Americans and the African Interest," in John P. Davis ed. *The American Negro Reference Book* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1968), pp.662-705.

20. Herbert Aptheker ed. *The Correspondence of W.E.B. Du Bois; 3 Volumes* (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1973-), 1:365. In a letter from a white student interested in the "race problem", and asking especially about Black Americans going back to Africa Du Bois replied, "I do not advocate the return of Negroes to Africa nor the return of white people to Europe. I believe that the world belongs to its inhabitants and that if an Englishman wishes to migrate to America or a Negro wishes to migrate to Africa both should have the right to do so under such general rules of physical health and economic opportunity as could be laid down by fair and just men."
21. The concept of Pan-Africanism, in the sense that Du Bois used it, was first articulated by him in the address he wrote for the Pan-African Conference of 1900 (London), entitled "To the Nations of the World." which has been reprinted in W.E.B. Du Bois, *An ABC of Color* (New York: International Publishers, 1969), pp.19-23. See also W.E.B. Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1940), *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois* ed. Herbert Aptheker (New York: International Publishers, 1968) and W.E.B. Du Bois, "Pan-Africa: A Mission In My Life," *United Asia* 7 (March 1955):65-70.
22. W.E.B. Du Bois, "preface" to *Black Folk Then and Now: An Essay In The History and Sociology of the Negro Race* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1939), pp.vii-ix.
23. *Ibid.*, 367. Du Bois' complete views on the slave trade as it was linked to expanding capitalism can be found in *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade To The United States, 1683-1870* ed. Herbert Aptheker (New York: Kraus-Thompson, 1973).
24. See Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1974); Tamas Szentes, *The Political Economy of Underdevelopment* (Hungary: Akademiai Kiado Publishers, 1973); and Clarence Munford, "Imperialism and the Third World Economy," *Black Scholar* 6 (May/June):15-26 and 52-55.
25. See Jairus Gilden, "W.E.B. Du Bois and The Socialist Movement," (Unpublished Ms., Yale University, 1977).
26. *Black Folk Then and Now*, p.369. The ideas stated here are from Marx. See Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* 3 Volumes (New York: International Publishers, 1967), 1. Du Bois' views are from his early

academic training at both Harvard and the University of Berlin. On this see his "Apologia" where he gives an account of these early encounters with Marx. This is in *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade*.

27. See Du Bois, *Correspondence*, 1:331-340.
28. W.E.B. Du Bois, review-essay of *The Atlantic Charter and Africa from an American Standpoint: A Study by the Committee on Africa, the war, and Peace Aims*, in *Phylon* 3 (1942):435.
29. *Ibid.*, pp.346-347.
30. Cf. the memoranda dated June 25, 1934 - point number six in *Correspondence*, 1:251-252.
31. The fact that Du Bois was so active in his work on Africa at this time was related directly to his understanding that he was to have a life-long job at Atlanta under Dr. John Hope, to pursue this interest. The specific details on this controversy that Du Bois had with Atlanta, his "retirement" and so forth were provided in Herbert Aptheker's Fall, 1976 seminar at Yale. See also *Correspondence*, volume three.
32. W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Realities In Africa: European Profit or Negro Development?," *Foreign Affairs* 21 (July 1943): 726.
33. *Ibid.*, p.727.
34. *Ibid.*, p.727.
35. N. Sivachyov and E. Yazkov, *History of the USA Since World War I*, p.175.
36. See *Correspondence*, 2:365-366. The letter to which Du Bois is replying is from Eric Cochrane.
37. "The Realities In Africa," p.732.
38. This is the same year that Du Bois was inducted into the National Institute of Arts and Letters. See *Correspondence*, 2:371-372.
39. Recently there have been studies that recognize the outright and intended omission of Du Bois from mainstream American Sociology. See for this Herman and Julia Schwendinger, *The Sociologists of the Chair* (New York:



Basic Books, 1974); James Blackwell and Morris Janowitz ed. *Black Sociologists* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974); and Dan S. Green and E. Driver, "W.E.B. Du Bois: A Case in the Sociology of Sociological Negation," *Phylon* 37 (December 1976):308-333. The authors of the latter text conclude that, the ideologies of Social Darwinism, Manifest Destiny, and Racism were all a part of the belief in white superiority - which resulted in Du Bois being left out of the sociology profession. Green and Driver quote Du Bois, showing why this it so. Du Bois states thus: "Making all due allowances for different ways of interpreting facts, it must be confessed by all honest men that a theory of human civilization which stands sponsor for the enormities committed by European civilization on native races is an outrage and a lie.

"But do the theories of Darwin and Spencer, properly interpreted, support any crude views of justice and right and the spread of civilization as those current today? It may be safely answered they do not. Ignorant and selfish interpretation of great sociological laws must not any longer be allowed to obscure and degrade those laws" (pp.328-329).

40. W.E.B. Du Bois, "Prospect of a World Without Racial Conflict," *American Journal of Sociology* 49 (March 1944): 450-456. The article has been reprinted in *W.E.B. Du Bois Speaks: Speeches and Addresses 1920-1963*, ed. Philip S. Foner (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970), pp.124-136.
41. *Ibid.*, p.132, my stress.
42. A recent update of this argument by Du Bois can be found in the excellent volume edited by Talal Asad, *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (London: Ithaca Press, 1973).
43. "Prospect of a World Without Racial Conflict," p.134.
44. *Correspondence*, 2:417-418.
45. *Autobiography*, p.326.
46. *Correspondence*, 3:122 (forthcoming).
47. W.E.B. Du Bois, *Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace* ed. Herbert Aptheker (New York: Kraus-Thompson, 1975).
48. Cf. George Padmore ed. *Colonial and Colored Unity: A Program for Action* (London: William Morris, 1945).

49. See Clarence G. Contee, "The Encyclopedia Africana Project," *African Historical Studies* 4 (1971):77-91. Contee is *condescending* about Du Bois throughout this essay; but much of it is descriptive and escapes Contee's bias and is valuable. See also the very informative essay by L.H. Ofofu-Appiah, "The Encyclopedia Africana," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 5 (1967):567-569.
50. W.E.B. Du Bois, "Pan-Africanism: A Mission in My Life," *United Asia* 7 (March 1955):65-70.
51. *Correspondence*, 3:58.
52. W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Pan-African Movement," in George Padmore ed. *Colonial and Colored Unity*, p.13.
53. See Daniel Walden and Kenneth Wylie, "W.E.B. Du Bois: Pan Africanism's Intellectual Father," *Journal of Human Relations* 14 (1966):35.
54. An excellent autobiographical statement by Du Bois as this relates to Pan-Africa is in a letter dated July 9, 1945 to George Padmore. See *Correspondence*, 3:163-165.
55. Letter from the West African Students Union, *Correspondence*, 3:172-177.
56. *Ibid.*, p.174.
57. *Ibid.*, p.178.
58. This is from the book by the late Mrs. Du Bois (1907-1977). See Shirley Graham Du Bois, *His Day Is Marching On* (New York:J.P. Lippincott, 1971), p.31.
59. Peter Abrahams, "The Congress in Perspective," in George Padmore ed. *Colonial and Colored Unity* (London: William Morris, 1945), p.11.
60. Du Bois arrived LaGuardia Field, New York on Monday, November 26. See *Correspondence*, 3:228.
61. Cf. Du Bois column in the *Chicago Defender*, 24 November 1945, entitled the "Winds of Time." See also Dr. Irene Diggs, "Du Bois and the Pan-African Congresses," *A Current Bibliography On African Affairs* 5 (1972):122-184.
62. *Correspondence*, 3:230.
63. Herbert Aptheker, "Introduction" to *Color and Democracy*:

*Colonies and Peace*, by Du Bois (New York: Kraus-Thompson, 1975), p.15.

64. *Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace*, p.143.
65. *Autobiography*, p.327.
66. *Correspondence*, 3:232. This is from the text of a memorandum dated January 31, 1945 to Roy Wilkins.
67. *Correspondence*, 3:233. This is from the text of a memorandum dated April 10, 1945 to Walter White.
68. *Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace*, and *The World and Africa*.
69. "An Appeal to the World: A Statement on the Denial of Human Rights to Minorities in the Case of Citizens of the United States of America and an Appeal to the United Nations for Redress." Prepared for the NAACP in 1947.
70. "In 1946 I was asked to visit Columbia, S.C. and speak to a meeting of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, whose leaders, James Jackson and Louis Burnham, I knew and admired for their hard work and sacrifices," *Autobiography*, p.332. The speech has been reprinted in *Freedomways*, winter, 1964, pp.8-15.
71. William Leo Hansberry, "W.E.B. Du Bois' Influence On African History," *Freedomways* 5 (Winter 1965):87.
72. W.E.B. Du Bois, *The World And Africa*, p.vii.
73. *Ibid.*, p.xi.
74. *Ibid.*, p.xi.
75. The phrase is by Robert Lynd. It is cited in Amelia Mariotti and Bernard Magubane, "Urban Ethnology in Africa: Some Theoretical Issues," in W. Arens ed. *A Century of Change in Eastern Africa* (Hague: Mouton, 1976), pp.249-273.
76. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1976), p.42.
77. Georg Hegel, *The Philosophy of History* (New York: Dover Publications, 1964), pp.93,98 and 99. "The peculiar African character is difficult to comprehend, for the very reason that in reference to it, we must quick give up the

principle which naturally accompanies all our ideas - the category of universality...The Negro, as already observed, exhibits the natural man in his completely wild and untamed state. We must lay aside all thought of reverence and morality - all that we call feeling - if we would rightly comprehend him - there is nothing harmonious with humanity to be found in this type of character. From these various traits it is manifest that want of self-control distinguishes the character of the Negroes. This condition is capable of no development or culture, and as we find them at this day, such have they always been. The only essential connection that has existed and continued between the Negroes and the European is that of slavery. In this the Negroes see nothing unbecoming them, and the English who have done most for abolishing the slave trade and slavery, are treated by the Negroes themselves as enemies. For it is a point of first importance with the Kings to sell their captured enemies, or even their own subjects; and viewed in the light of such facts, we may conclude slavery to have been the occasion of the increase of human feeling among the Negroes...At this point we leave Africa, not to mention it again. For it is no historical part of the world; it has no movement or development to exhibit. Historical movement in it - that is in its northern part - belong to the Asiatic or European world. Carthage displaced there an important transitory phase of civilization; but as a Phoenician colony, it belongs to Asia. Egypt will be considered in reference to the passage of the human mind from its Eastern to its Western phase, but it does not belong to the African Spirit." All this from Hegel, one of the greatest thinkers of the modern world!

78. *The World and Africa*, p.64, my stress.
79. *Ibid.*, p.227.
80. For a very penetrating analysis of this in the present epoch see Nicos Poulantzas, "Internationalization of Capitalist Relations and the Nation State," *Economy and Society* 3 (1974):144-178. See also Kwame Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism: The Highest Stage of Imperialism* (New York: International Publishers, 1966).
81. Paul Robeson personally asked Du Bois to join the Council on African Affairs as Vice Chairman at the end of his term with the NAACP. Information on the Council was provided by Mrs. Dorothy K. Hunton in a personal interview on November 5, 1976. Mrs. Hunton is the widow of Dr. Alphaeus Hunton, who worked very closely with Du Bois and was also

editor of the Council's newspapers *New Africa* and *Spotlight on Africa*.

82. "Sometime after returning to the NAACP he had [Dr. Du Bois], without consulting Walter White, accepted a place on the board of directors of The Council On African Affairs, a small organization which was disseminating information among Americans on the state of African colonies, exposing their exploitation and the poverty of their people, assisting African students who managed to reach the US and endeavoring to establish closer relations between African and Afro-Americans." See Shirley G. Du Bois, *His Day Is Marching On*, p.97.
83. Herbert Aptheker, "Editorial Comments," *Correspondence*, 3:601.
84. See the report by M.P. Naicker, "The South African Miners Strike of 1946," *Notes and Documents*. This is published by the United Nations Centre Against Apartheid, #21/76, September, 1976. Mr. Naicker writes about the Council On African Affairs and the untiring efforts waged to see basic human rights obtained in Africa. Especially Mr. Naicker makes note of Du Bois' and Robeson's efforts.
85. For an extended view of Du Bois concept of Peace, see his article "America and World Peace," in *New World Review* 20 (November 1952):49-52.
86. There are numerous sources available to pull together an understanding of this era in Du Bois' life. See:
  - a) *The New York Times* of Saturday February 10, 1951 where Du Bois states, "There is no basis, in fact or fancy, for the charge that the Peace Information Center was in any way a representative of a foreign principle" (p.16).
  - b) See the article cited in note number 85 above.
  - c) Du Bois, Chapter 13 *In Battle For Peace*, pp.140-159.
  - d) *The Crisis* 56 (May 1949), where Du Bois, Paul Robeson and The Council of African Affairs were denounced. The unsigned editorial stated "[The] outfit called the Council on African Affairs [was] long ago labeled a communist front." The editorial then castigates Paul Robeson as being anti-Black for his international peace activities.
  - e) Henry Singer, "An Analysis Of The New York Press Treatment of The Peace Conference at the Waldorf Astoria," *Journal of Educational Sociology* 23 (January 1950):258-270
87. This ban also included the publication of Du Bois' books. For instance *The Souls of Black Folk* had to be published

- by Blue Heron Press (1953), and *In Battle For Peace* (1953), by Masses and Mainstream.
88. W.E.B. Du Bois, "A Future for Pan-Africa: Freedom, Peace, and Socialism," *National Guardian: The Progressive News-weekly* 11 March 1957, p.11.
  89. Cf. Patricia W. Romero, "W.E.B. Du Bois, Pan Africanists and Africa," *Journal of Black Studies* 6 (June 1976):321-336.
  90. W.E.B. Du Bois, "China and Africa," *New World Review* 27 (April 1959):28-31.
  91. W.E.B. Du Bois, "His Last Message To The World," in *Journal of Negro History* 49 (April 1964):145.
  92. There has been recently published Volume 1, of the *Dictionary of African Biography* (Michigan: Reference Publications, 1977). This is the first of the original Encyclopedia Africana Project conceived by Du Bois in 1909. It is being published under the auspices of the Ghana Academy of Science, the director is Dr. L.H. Ofosu-Appiah (see note #49 above). See also the moving obituary by William Branch, "Ghana Gives State Funeral To Dr. Du Bois," *Amsterdam News* 7 September 1963.
  93. W.E.B. Du Bois, *Economic Cooperation Among Negro Americans*, Atlanta University Studies of the Negro Problem, No. 12 (Georgia: Atlanta University Press, 1907).
  94. W.E.B. Du Bois, "The American Negro and the Darker World," *Allen University Bulletin* 21 (May 1957):9-15.
  95. W.E.B. Du Bois, "American Negroes and Africa's Rise to Freedom," *National Guardian: The Progressive Newsweekly*, 13 February 1961.
  96. Herbert Aptheker, "Editorial Comments," W.E.B. Du Bois, "Africa and World Peace," *Political Affairs* 47 (February 1968):81.
  97. Truman Nelson, "W.E.B. Du Bois As A Prophet," *Freedomways* 5 (Winter 1965):58.
  98. Dr. Martin Luther King, "Honoring Dr. Du Bois," From his speech at the *Freedomways* sponsored International Cultural Evening in honor of Du Bois' Centennial birth-date, February 23, 1968, held at Carnegie Hall. The speech has been reprinted in W.E.B. Du Bois, *Dusk of*

*Dawn* (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), pp.vii-xvii.

99. W.E.B. Du Bois, "Africa and World Peace," p.81.
100. See Patricia W. Romero, "W.E.B. Du Bois, Pan-Africanists and Africa," *Journal of Black Studies* 6 (June 1976):331. Ms. Romero incorrectly assumes that Du Bois is unknown at this time in Africa. Later on in her own essay she states that as recent as 1973, there was a street named after him in Nairobi, Kenya! Volume three of the *Correspondence* clearly shows the lasting influence that Du Bois has on contemporary Africa, and the respect given to him by African people.
101. W. Alphaeus Hunton, "Concerning The Encyclopedia Africana," *Freedomways* 7 (Spring 1967):139-149.
102. W.E.B. Du Bois, "Douglass As Statesman," ed. Herbert Aptheker, *Journal of Negro History* 49 (October 1964): 265.
103. Herbert Aptheker, "The Life of Dr. Du Bois." This was a public lecture delivered at Yale University on February 9, 1976.
104. J. Saunders Redding, "Portrait...W.E. Burghardt Du Bois," *The American Scholar* 18 (Winter 1948):93-96.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Earl Smith is a Ph.D. Candidate at the University of Connecticut in Storrs. Presently he is preparing a book length manuscript entitled "Du Bois and Africa". Other essays and reviews by him have appeared in Black Scholar, Freedomways, Journal of Modern Literature and other periodicals.*