

PAN-AFRICANISM  
AND THE LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

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INTERNATIONAL TRIBUTE TO

**William E. B. DuBois**



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Statements made at the special meetings  
of the Special Committee against Apartheid  
held on 23 February 1978 in tribute to  
Dr. William E. B. DuBois

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## PREFACE

It has been more than eighty years since Dr. W.E.B. DuBois emerged as a prominent social scientist, historian and pioneer in the world-wide struggle for an end to racial injustice. Dr. W.E.B. DuBois burst into the American civil rights movement in 1896 with the publication of his brilliant *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to America*. Dr. DuBois proceeded to write 25 books, found five magazines, write hundreds of articles and essays and deliver more than a thousand lectures. DuBois' voice and message had, if anything, been amplified since his death in 1963. Death could not detour the train of freedom on which W.E.B. DuBois crashed through so many barriers. He had helped start the engine. What he taught us has helped to keep it going, to move it toward its final destination. The freedom fighters in South Africa are now waging the same struggle that Dr. DuBois fought during the 95 years he lived on this earth.

Eighty years ago, DuBois called for a world-wide black unity. He recognized the international nature of the race problem. When most Americans were trying to sweep aside the issue of racism, W.E.B. DuBois signalled the world that *the* problem of the 20th century was that of the colour line and the subsequent domination of the peoples of Africa, the Caribbean and Asia by white people from the Western countries. That prophecy is as true today as it was when he made it at the turn of the century. He spent his entire life keeping that issue on the international agenda and fighting for its resolution.

DuBois became known as the father of Pan-Africanism over the course of the next half-century, after he served as Chairman of the Resolutions Committee of the first Pan-African Congress held in London in 1900. He was the prime organizer of the subsequent Pan-African Congresses in 1919 (Paris), 1923 (London), 1927 (New York) and 1945 (Manchester). He nurtured and helped develop the idea of Pan-Africanism as it became a prime focal point of anti-colonial efforts throughout Africa.

W.E.B. DuBois did more than any other person to reintroduce black Americans to Africa. American school books portrayed Africa as a jungle populated by pagan cannibals. Blacks were taught to despise their heritage. DuBois taught of the beauty of Africa. He talked about the ancient empires and civilization that had been deliberately ignored by white historians. He helped black Americans to become proud of their blood links to Africa. He wrote the truth about the slave trade, colonialism and white supremacy. *Crisis* Magazine, which he founded in 1910 and edited for 24 years, became a pipeline for information about Africa to flow into the black communities in America.

While DuBois was a great internationalist, he was also a great American patriot. He was every bit as much of a freedom fighter at home as he was abroad. At a time when intellectual blacks were becoming wealthy by allowing themselves to be coopted by the power structure, DuBois refused and instead exposed that power structure. Thus he helped found and became General Secretary of the Niagara Movement in 1905. This became



the forerunner of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP), the most enduring and one of the most effective of all the civil rights organizations in America. DuBois was there in 1909 when the NAACP was founded and was one of the original incorporators. He served on the Board and was Director of Publicity and Research from 1910 to 1934. He led campaigns against racism in the military and anywhere else he confronted it.

In addition to his writings, he taught at Wilberforce University, the University of Pennsylvania and at Atlanta University where he served as Chairman of the Sociology Department from 1934 to 1944. There is no doubt that W.E.B. DuBois was one of the leading intellectual spokesmen for black Americans in this century.

However, in many ways DuBois' soul was rooted in Africa. At the end of his long and productive life, he moved to Ghana at the invitation of Kwame Nkrumah. He became a citizen of Ghana a few months prior to his death in 1963.

He has helped to inform the world about the nature of *apartheid* in South Africa. DuBois wrote:

It is almost unbelievable that in the middle of the 20th century the Union of South Africa is widely recognized as a civilized nation.

DuBois warned that corporate investments, bank loans and trade were helping to strengthen the system of white domination. He warned that economies so supported would call for:

larger and larger numbers of black workers who must be thrown more and more in competition with white skilled labour in and out of Africa, (so) they are trying to segregate workers by race and colour, and to turn them into something as near slavery as modern conditions will permit.

DuBois' vision of Africa was clear:

Men of all races are welcome to Africa if they obey its law, seek its interests and love their neighbours as themselves . . . But the white bigots of South Africa . . . are solemnly warned that they cannot win . . . We will be free . . . we will govern ourselves for our best good. Our wealth and labour belong to us and not to thieves at home or abroad. Black Africa welcomes the world as equals; as masters never: we will fight this forever and curse the blaspheming Boers and the heathen liars from Hell.

Let the white world keep its missionaries at home to teach the Golden Rule to its corporate thieves. Damn the God of Slavery, Exploitation and War. Peace on Earth; no more war. The earth of Africa is for its people. Its wealth is for the poor and not for the rich. All Hail Africa.

It is ironic that Dr. DuBois died on the eve of the historic March on Washington in 1963 where Martin Luther King was to deliver his "I have a dream" speech. Even in his last moments at the age of 95, W.E.B. DuBois organized a demonstration in Accra in solidarity with those marching in Washington. To him the links between racism in any two places were clear and it was his life's work to defeat that racism and injustice.

Therefore, it is my privilege to reissue this booklet on W.E.B. DuBois now as the international mobilization for sanctions against *apartheid* intensifies. If Dr. DuBois were still alive he would no doubt be helping the liberation movement in its just struggle. However, his spirit, more alive now than ever, will continue to inspire us all as we fight for the advent of a non-racial society in South Africa in which there will be freedom, dignity and equality of opportunity for all.

*Alhaji Yusuff Maitama-Sule*  
*Chairman*  
Special Committee against Apartheid  
April 1982



# **A MAN WHO DEDICATED HIS LIFE TO THE STRUGGLE AGAINST COLONIALISM, RACISM AND *APARTHEID***

**Statement by H.E. Mr. Leslie O. Harriman (Nigeria)  
*Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid*  
(1976-1979)**

**at the opening meeting of the Special Committee on 23  
February 1978 on the occasion of the 110th anniversary of the  
birth of the late William E.B. DuBois**

I have great pleasure in welcoming, on behalf of the Special Committee, the representatives of Member States of the United Nations, and our special guests—men and women who have been associated with Dr. DuBois, or who represent organizations which continue the struggles for which he dedicated his life.

The Special Committee has convened this special meeting to pay tribute to Dr. DuBois for his historic contribution as the guide, the philosopher and the militant in the struggle against colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. It seeks principally to learn from the life of this great man of the century—a “titan” as he has been aptly described—in discharging its own duty to the oppressed people of South Africa.

I may add that we have a further reason to recall the lives of Dr. DuBois and other leaders of the oppressed people.

For too long have we been fed with histories which glorify the colonialist and racist politicians and generals, the practitioners of *realpolitik* and brinkmanship, the buccaners and the robber barons, as the main actors in the affairs of humanity. The real moving forces of the history of the present century—the leaders in the struggle to emancipate the great majority of the people of the world from slavery, humiliation, exploitation and dehumanization—people like Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. DuBois, Kwame Nkrumah and Franz Fanon, Jose Marti and Chief Luthuli, George Padmore and Marcus Garvey—are ignored because they are the leaders of men and women, and not the wielders of power. The time has come to recognize that people count more than guns, and that it is the liberators who have laid the foundations for genuine international co-operation. And the best place to do that is the United Nations which is the mirror of the emergence of the new world order.

This century unfolded with the prophetic warning by Dr. DuBois that “the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line—the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea.”

Dr. DuBois spent his whole life—which stretched from the end of the American Civil War to the founding of the Organization of African Unity—in the struggle to destroy that colour line which manifested itself as colonialism and Jim Crow, as neoslavery and *apartheid*, against the people of darker skins. He was a participant in the Universal Races Congress in London in July 1911, which was sponsored among others by Mahatma Gandhi, and the organizer of the five Pan African Congresses from 1919 to 1945.

As Dr. Martin Luther King said:

“He (Dr. DuBois) symbolized in his being his pride in the black man. . .

“He was proud of his people, not because their colour endowed them with some vague greatness but because their concrete achievements in struggle had advanced humanity and he saw and loved progressive humanity in all its hues, black, white, yellow, red and brown.”

Dr. Du Bois struggled with an unbounding faith that the future will be determined by the oppressed people and not by the oppressors, because their cause is always just and because they are the great majority of the human race.

He wrote in 1915:

“Most men in this world are coloured. A belief in humanity means a belief in coloured men. The future world, will, in all reasonable possibility, be what coloured men make it.”

But in struggling for emancipation, Dr. DuBois and the Pan African movement were not fighting for the black and oppressed people alone, but for all humanity. Representing the great majority of humanity, they were the trustees of its future. They were fighting for a vision in which all men and women would be free.

Dr. DuBois wrote in the manifesto of the Niagara Movement in 1906—in words which recall the declarations of the South African liberation movement a half a century later:

“We will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a free-born American, political, civil, and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone, but for all true Americans. It is a fight for ideals. . .”

This has been the vision of the black people for a long time, even in the days of slavery.

I recall the “Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World” by David Walker, a black freedman and anti-slavery worker in Boston, as long ago as 1829. He appealed to the Americans.

“We must and shall be free I say, in spite of you. . . Throw away your fears and prejudices then, and enlighten us and treat us like men, and we will like you more than we do now hate you. Treat us like men, and there is no danger but we will all live in peace and happiness together. . . What a happy country this will be, if the whites will listen. . . Treat us like them, and we will be your friends.”

In paying homage to DuBois today, we also honour the other great leaders of the Pan African movement—Mr. H. Sylvester Williams, the Trinidad barrister who convened the first Pan African Conference in London in 1900; Mr. Blaise Diagne of Senegal who helped arrange the Pan Africanist Congress in 1919 in Paris; Mr. Bellegarde of Haiti, who conveyed the results of that Congress to the League of Nations; Mr. George Padmore, the moving spirit behind the Pan African Congress in Manchester in 1945; and many, many others.

They built the Pan African movement of freedom and international co-operation, as against the “Pan Africanism” of imperialists who dreamt of a colonial empire stretching from the Cape to Cairo.

We honour DuBois as a true patriot of the United States. He wrote in his autobiography:

“I know the United States. It is my country and the land of my fathers. I have served my country to the best of my ability. . . At the same time I have pointed out its injustices and crimes and blamed it, rightly I believe, for its mistakes. . .”

We honour Dr. DuBois as an internationalist. That is why he is respected far beyond the shores of the United States of America; not only in the Caribbean and Africa, but also in India, in the Soviet Union, which honoured him with its highest decoration, in China and in many other lands.

He recognized the indivisibility of the struggles of all oppressed peoples for liberation. He said in 1949:

“Every victory of the people of Asia is known throughout Africa. And what happens in Africa will affect my people in the United States and Brazil and other lands in the hemisphere.”

He was a consistent champion of freedom of all colonies and under his leadership, the fifth Pan African Congress in 1945 not only called for the freedom of Africa, but adopted resolutions demanding the freedom of India, Indonesia and Viet Nam.

On DuBois’ eightieth birthday, Prime Minister Nehru of India cabled him greetings declaring: “India remembers with gratitude your sympathy during her struggle for freedom.”

As Paul Robeson, the disciple, friend and colleague of Dr. DuBois said:

“Dr. DuBois was . . . in the truest sense an American leader, a Negro leader, a world leader.”

Dr. DuBois was instrumental in the adoption of the mandates system in the League of Nations—a recognition of international responsibility for the colonies.

At the San Francisco Conference in 1945 and in New York a year later, he seized the United Nations—when most of our countries were still under colonial domination—with the problem of emancipation from colonialism and racism.

He recalled that when he had pleaded in 1919 on behalf of the colonial peoples, the Congress of Versailles had paid no attention to them except as pawns to satisfy the greed of colonial powers.

“That is one reason why there is a San Francisco Conference,” he said, “why there followed the most devastating war humanity has ever known; and why the chief problem before San Francisco ought to be the future of the colonial system and of colonial peoples.”

But his hopes were in vain.

We honour Dr. DuBois as a man of peace, who understood that lasting peace is inseparable from freedom. He wrote in 1915:

“We, then, who want peace, must remove the real causes of war. . . We must extend the democratic ideal to the yellow, brown and black peoples.”

To those hypocrites under the mask of peace who condone the violence of the racists and call on the oppressed to confine themselves to non-violence, he replied, as early as 1906, in the tribute to John Brown, by making a clear distinction between the oppressors and the martyrs of the freedom struggle.

“We do not believe in violence, neither in the despised violence of the raid nor the lauded violence of the soldier, nor the barbarous violence of the mob; but we do believe in John Brown, in that incarnate spirit of justice, that hatred of a lie, that willingness to sacrifice money, reputation, and life itself on the altar of right.”

The fifth Pan African Congress put the issue succinctly when it said that the delegates believe in peace, and added:

“How could it be otherwise when for centuries the African peoples have been victims of violence and slavery? Yet if the Western world is still determined to rule mankind by force, then Africans, as a last resort, may have to appeal to force in the effort to achieve Freedom. . .”

I am reminded that Dr. DuBois was “controversial” in his life. He was a revolutionary and he made enemies by his uncompromising opposition to any accommodation with racism, by his total rejection of exploitation of man by man, and by his condemnation of all imperialist and neo-colonialist manoeuvres in Africa. In his own country, he was even handcuffed and jailed in 1951, in the heyday of the cold war, for his chairmanship of the

American Peace Information Centre. He was denied a passport to attend the independence celebrations of Ghana in 1957.

We admire him precisely because he was a revolutionary who strove to destroy the system of inequality and inequity and establish a new world order of human equality.

This Special Committee which is charged with promoting international action for the liberation of South Africa cannot but pay special homage to Dr. DuBois for his constant denunciation of racism in South Africa and his espousal of the cause of the South African people.

He put the problem in a nutshell in an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* in May 1915 when he pointed out that a century ago, the Africans had owned all but a morsel of land in South Africa. When the whites in South Africa were given power in 1910, they had less than a tenth of the land. The white racist regime even enacted laws to deny Africans the right to *buy* land.

He tore the mask of hypocrisy worn by pseudo-liberals in South Africa and exposed the truth in all its nakedness. His comments on Jan Christian Smuts of South Africa are memorable. For instance, in the declaration of the Pan African Congress in Lisbon in 1923, he asked:

“What more paradoxical figure today fronts the world than the official head of a great South African state striving blindly to build Peace and Good Will in Europe by standing on the necks and hearts of millions of black Africans?”

The most crucial battle of pan african liberation, being fought today in South Africa by the black people under the leadership of their glorious liberation movement, must be extolled and supported.

Their path is lighted by the vision of Dr. DuBois—a vision of a world without prejudice and exploitation, a world without colonies and slavery, a world based on a common humanity. That new and just world will be created by the people who have suffered oppression—the people of colour—with the support of all decent men and women.

In that spirit, I appeal, on behalf of the Special Committee, for the unity of all people of the black diaspora in support of the oppressed people of South Africa, and for the fraternal support of all nations and all men and women of goodwill.

As Dr. DuBois said the “coloured folk have much to remember and they will not forget.”

They will never forget their friends in this hour of destiny.

Dr. DuBois was, above all, an optimist, whose optimism was based on faith in the future.

In his “Last Message to the World,” he said:

“As you live, believe in life. Always human beings will live and progress to greater, broader and fuller life. The only possible death is to lose belief in this truth simply because the great end comes slowly, because the time is long.”



We, in the Special Committee, share that faith and that optimism—for South Africa, for Africa, for the world.

I would like to conclude with a quotation from an article by Dr. DuBois on the “African Roots of War” in 1915:

“Twenty centuries before Christ a great cloud swept over sea and settled on Africa, darkening and well-nigh blotting out the culture of the land of Egypt. For half a thousand years it rested there until a black woman, Queen Nefertiti, ‘the most venerated figure in Egyptian history,’ rose to the throne of the pharaohs and redeemed the world and her people. Twenty centuries after Christ, black Africa, prostrated, raped, and shamed, lies at the feet of the conquering Philistines of Europe. Beyond the awful sea a black woman is weeping and waiting, with her sons on her breast. What shall the end be? The world-old and fearful things, War and Wealth, Murder and Luxury? Or shall it be a new thing—a new peace and new democracy of all races: a great humanity of equal men?”

## **A WELL-KNOWN INTERNATIONALIST AND FERVENT SUPPORTER OF PAN-AFRICANISM**

**Statement by the Honourable William H. Booth**  
*Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York and  
President of the American Committee on Africa*

It gives me great pleasure to be here today. This is not my first time before the Special Committee. I remember the first time was after I had been arrested in South Africa where I had been sent by the Episcopal Church to observe a trial. When I came back, I was very happy to know that a committee of this United Nations was concerned about what was happening in that far off land.

The United Nations has always been a place where ideas can be heard. This serves not only as an educational forum, but, as well, it serves to focus international issues and provide those who would oppose each other an opportunity to find areas of agreement.

The Special Committee against *Apartheid* is to be commended for the foresight and wisdom to conduct this memorial to a great American, a great pan-africanist, a great international thinker, the late Dr. W.E.B. DuBois. For too long there have been shrill voices condemning DuBois without basis in fact. For too long DuBois has been denounced by some Americans, white and black, for his alleged lack of patriotism. For too long

DuBois has been falsely blamed for inspiring violence, when, in fact, violence comes about naturally from hopelessness.

On the other hand, too little has been said, heard or understood about the contributions of DuBois to our society. Too little has been said, heard or understood about DuBois' work with African leaders in counselling them to seek closer ties, one with the other. Too little has been said, heard or understood about DuBois' successful efforts at causing Caribbean black people and American black people of a wide spectrum of political beliefs to seek a unified front.

Personally, having lived in this city all my life, I vividly remember being warned—in school and in the media—that the southern black American dislikes the northern black American, and *vice versa*; that the Caribbean black people dislike American black people, and *vice versa*; that the black African dislikes the black American, and *vice versa*. I remember the taunts of black Americans toward the “West Indian”. I remember being told in school that I must be of “West Indian” origin—because my grades were good. I remember that Africa was spoken of in school, as one entity, not the multitude of nations of which it is comprised. Finally, I remember that in school black American history began with slavery here, with only a passing reference to human existence, on the so-called “dark” continent.

Thanks to the United Nations and all its world-wide work, and particularly thanks to the work of the Special Committee, we gather here today to pay a long-delayed tribute to Dr. W.E.B. DuBois; I am deeply honored at being permitted to join in this celebration.

## **AN ARDENT EXPONENT OF THE BLACKS' STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AND EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY**

**Statement by Mr. Benjamin L. Hooks**  
*Executive Director, National Association for the  
Advancement of Coloured People*

Mr. Chairman, I am grateful to have this opportunity to say a few words as relates to Dr. W.E.B. DuBois and civil rights.

No history of the black American's struggle for equality, or for that matter the NAACP, would be complete without a narrative of the contributions made by Dr. W.E.B. DuBois—scholar, author, civil rights activist. He was a co-founder and spirited leader of the NAACP and, for many years, DuBois was the NAACP's director of publications and editor of our *Crisis* magazine. Always a forward and critical thinker, DuBois shaped our policies and challenged our assumptions about strategies and methods of securing civil rights for blacks in America.

As with most scholars, the printed word was DuBois' specialty, and the NAACP soared in the arena of public relations. The circulation growth of the *Crisis* was phenomenal under DuBois' editorship. From a monthly circulation of 9,000 copies in 1911, it jumped to 75,000 copies in 1918, and 100,000 in 1919. As early as 1916, the magazine became entirely self-supporting and was circulated in every state and in many foreign countries in Europe and Africa. No subject relating to the blacks' condition was too hot for the pages of *Crisis*, no government, no matter how powerful or arrogant in professing their innocence, could be spared the embarrassment of being confronted with the truth and exposed for not taking purposeful and expeditious action to remedy egregious wrongs perpetrated against black people.

DuBois was a free-thinker, and drew the connexion of the blacks' struggle in America for freedom with the blacks' need to overcome the colonial structures then in place on the African continent. He was a principal exponent of black pride, self-identity, and, throughout his life, a supporter of integration. He wrote often of the role of religion and education to black family life, and "thought aloud" as scholars will do about the means of achieving the goals. He viewed the *colour-line* as the major problem in America that denied equal opportunity to blacks, and robbed us of our dignity and made our lives expendable in the eyes of white supremacists. Dr. DuBois argued vociferously against the segregated society, and the discriminations based on skin colour. There was, he said, a *separateness* in the black community but by reason of segregation enforced by white power. That separate black experience, while creating in blacks a certain kind of unity about the purpose of their struggle simultaneously imbued in blacks a need to overcome their sense of powerlessness as a group in white America. He wrote that the black man "cannot build up a logical scheme of self-sufficing Negro America," that there would have to be struggle for inclusion and equality, and that the destiny of blacks and white in America were tied together.

He ranked ignorance as the worst among all the oppressions of man. It was DuBois who wrote in 1953, in *Souls of Black Folk*, that in "back of the problem of race and colour, lies a greater problem which both obscures and implements it, and that is the fact that so many civilized persons are willing to live in comfort even if the price of this is poverty, ignorance and disease of the majority of their fellow men; that to maintain this privilege men have waged war until (today) war tends to become universal and continuous, and the excuse for this war continues, largely to be colour and race."

So, ladies and gentlemen, from my perspective, Dr. DuBois' life and writings have helped to advance mankind's knowledge about social injustice, and the dangers they pose to peace. A hungry man is an angry man. A black man denied his freedom will fight for his freedom, and secure what is by nature his human right and due. This is the significance of the struggle against race and colour discrimination on the international scene, as prejudice, ignorance and injustice destroy the universality of mankind by accentuating our superficial differences.

We can hope, we can pray, and certainly we must work diligently for the "world community" that would eradicate hunger, disease, ignorance, prejudice and race discrimination.

Let us lift our voices and get our nations on a course of securing peace, good-will, and international co-operation that spans the seven seas, and transcend the colours of mankind. Let the spirit of W.E.B. DuBois move us closer, and quicker to realizing this dream.

I am grateful for the opportunity of making these expressions on behalf of NAACP where the late Dr. W.E.B. DuBois served diligently and well.

## **AN ADVOCATE OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP AMONG PEOPLES**

**Statement by H.E. Mr. Oleg A. Troyanovsky**  
*Permanent Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist  
Republics to the United Nations*

Thank you Mr. Chairman. Allow me first of all to express to you and other members of this Committee, our gratitude for allowing us to speak at this solemn meeting. You well know that in the Soviet Union great importance is given to the activities of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. We highly commend its contribution to the struggle for the total elimination of the shameful practices of racial violence and oppression from the face of the earth.

We have gathered today to pay tribute to the memory of Dr. William DuBois, a great scholar, writer, public figure and prominent representative of the progressive forces of the world, whose 110th anniversary is being widely commemorated in many countries including the Soviet Union. He was one of those eminent people who made a tremendous contribution to the struggle against racism, and to the liberation of the African peoples from their colonial oppression and exploitation.

DuBois was one of the earliest leaders of the civil rights movement of the American blacks, fighting against racial discrimination and segregation. From the very inception of that movement, DuBois was one of its ideologists and inspirers. Suffice to recall that DuBois was the founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The heritage of William DuBois in this field is not only of a national significance, but of international significance. It had a major impact on increasing solidarity amongst the anti-imperialist forces in Africa and in other continents in their struggle for the elimination of colonialism, putting forward the concept of the soul of the black people, emphasizing their national originality and the great spiritual potential of Coloured people. At the same time, he eschewed any sermonizing about tribal, national and

racial exclusivity. The works of that distinguished man are imbued with true internationalism.

After many years of research, DuBois reached a firm conviction that racial contradictions and conflicts are the consequences of other more general processes: class struggle, class contradictions and conflicts. On the basis of this he embraced the idea of social restructuring on a new just and democratic basis.

We remember William DuBois as an unstinting fighter for peace and friendship among peoples, one of the most active members of the movement for the defence of peace. He was a member of the World Peace Council, and an organizer of many international conferences. He enjoyed great and deserved authority in the world arena. The manifold activities of DuBois received due international recognition. He was awarded many international prizes. He was one of the first winners of the Lenin International Peace Prize.

In commemorating the 110th anniversary of this eminent thinker and public figure, we can say with full justification that DuBois' cause lives on in the irreversible process of the final disintegration of the colonial system, in the fight of his followers and in the resolutions adopted by progressive organizations.

The Soviet Union is very well versed in the creative heritage of William DuBois. His books are published in English and in translations in the USSR. DuBois highly commended the experience gained by the USSR and the other socialist countries in the field of radical social transformations, in the confirmation of genuine democracy and in guaranteeing human rights and civil rights. He was a loyal friend of the Soviet Union. He visited our country several times. "The builders of a new country and a new economy," DuBois wrote about our country: "There were no angels, there were no devils either; there were people who fought and who, despite the century-old injustices and depression, despite the organized and co-ordinated attacks by the great civilized countries of the modern-day world, including the United States, fought on obstinately, enduring suffering and deprivation and finally they built the first socialist state." "The overall results of these heroic efforts" wrote DuBois, "was the great victory in the history of progress of all humanity."

Now the Soviet Union, together with all progressive people, is fighting for peace, disarmament, freedom and independence of all peoples. As was emphasized in a programme for further fighting for peace and international co-operation, the freedom and independence of peoples, adopted at the 25th Congress of the CPSU, "one of the most important international tasks must be deemed to be the full elimination of all vestiges of the system of national oppression, violation of equality and independence of peoples and all hotbeds of colonialism and racism." International solidarity with liberated peoples was, and remains, one of the basic principles of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union as it was sixty years ago when the Soviet State was founded.

I thank you Mr. Chairman.

# A GREAT AFRO-AMERICAN AND TRUE FATHER OF PAN-AFRICANISM

Statement by Mr. Harold R. Sims  
*Former Director of the National Urban League*

“To be a poor man is hard, but to be a poor race in a land of dollars is at the very bottom of hardships.”—W.E.B. DuBois, 1903.

As we pause, on this historic day, to celebrate the 110th birthday anniversary of the great Afro-American, world citizen, William Edward Burghardt DuBois, it is altogether fitting that African Americans, who symbolically represent, empathize (and in a few special cases, personally knew) the many facets of Dr. DuBois' great contributions; join in their own unique voices, to commemorate the meaning of the true father of Pan Africanism.

Just as the Common Market of Europe was not made possible until European enemies had joined forces for the first time in the Americas, so did Pan Africanism emerge from the complexity and diversity of these contradictory shores. Black millions of the Americas “represent everyone of the many racial stocks of Africa, descended from the people of almost every quarter of the continent and are culturally the heirs of the entire continent.” The history and legacy of slavery and the wide dispersion of trading posts allowed them, indeed forced them, in these lands, to move beyond tribal identity, religious division and emersion by the process of circumstance and trial to become the true and first Pan Africans. DuBois' intellectual expression and the dream of his genius were as much a reflection of his reality then, as they were of his talent and philosophy.

Secondly, during the rise of Europe, following its renaissance, at the subsequent discovery of America, the African civilizations, which were as advanced or more advanced than Europe's civilizations at that time, suffered first the agony of slavery and secondly, the horror of colonization. These two acts literally raped the continent, caused a pause in the advance of its civilization and allowed its history to be stolen, ignored or buried. Thus, the African people, unlike any races the time of the nation of Israel and the Hebrew peoples, were scattered across the Western world as involuntary servants, forced to be servile, without even a religion of its own, like the Jews, to preserve its identity and its traditions. This multinational persecution and forced dispersion have made the African international and in the process, made it essential that if African peoples are to be competitive and effective participants in the struggle for peace and justice for all, then they must learn to channel their co-operation and their efforts, like the descendants of the Hebrew nations, into an international scale of organization, promoted by the common legacy of race and struggle and the common aspirations of human justice and humanity—yea, an African Diaspora.

True, many nations were colonized and dehumanized by the European colonial system, but no people during the rise of organized labour, organized capital, international warfare and mechanical technology have been so simultaneously displaced and so universally abused. DuBois saw this more clearly and more effectively than any of us before his time and ours. Hence, the presence of the UN in this country and the roots of DuBois in his legacy are part and parcel of our horror and our possibilities, our opportunity and our challenge. It simply says, as he tried to say, that African peoples are the key to the new kingdom but as the victims most victimized by the old hell, we must become the first to cry out about the stakes in our feet and to map the strategies by which they can be removed so that all humankind can finally work together from South Africa to New Hampshire; from New Zealand to New Delhi; from Manila to Kampala; from Peking to Moscow; as brothers and sisters in pursuit of peaceful ways, to meet our human needs. Upwards of 40-90 million Africans lost their lives in the slave trade—colonialism which created the condition that gave birth to this dream of a United Nations. Afro-America, before there was a Woodrow Wilson, called through DuBois for a world body, a symbol to organize and to deliver and achieve for the world that Gandhi, Padmore, Nkrumah, Martin, Lincoln and William E.B. DuBois believed in, lived for and now—transcend.

In closing, I quote Dr. DuBois:

“The 200 delegates of the Fifth Pan-African Congress believe in peace. How could they do otherwise when for centuries they have been victims of violence and slavery? Yet if the world is still determined to rule mankind by force, then Africans as a last resort may have to appeal to force, in order to achieve freedom, even if force destroys them and the world.

“We are determined to be free; we want education, the right to earn a decent living; the right to express our thoughts and emotions and to adopt and create forms of beauty. Without all this, we die even if we live.

“We demand for Black Africa autonomy and independence so far and no further than it is possible in this ‘One World’ for groups and peoples to rule themselves subject to inevitable World Unity and Federation.”

## **AN OUTSTANDING SCHOLAR AND PHILOSOPHER**

**Statement by Mr. Nelson K. Dumevi  
*Chargé d’Affaires of Ghana to the United Nations***

Thank you Mr. Chairman. It gives me great pleasure to address this special meeting of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* convened to commemorate the one hundred and tenth anniversary of the birth of a great

pan africanist, Dr. William E.B. DuBois. I would like, on behalf of the Government of Ghana, to congratulate you, Mr. Chairman, and the Special Committee for your foresight and thoughtfulness for devoting this day not only to paying tribute to the memory of a great pan africanist but also to highlight the contribution of the pan african movement to the liberation struggle, and the importance of the liberation struggle in South Africa in the context of the struggle for the emancipation of Africa and the elimination of racism. Dr. DuBois, as is well-known, stood for the rights of the oppressed and the dignity of mankind. It is therefore fitting that on this day as the Special Committee prepares to launch the international Anti-Apartheid Year, it should choose as a theme for the occasion: "DuBois, Pan-Africanism and Southern Africa". It is difficult, Mr. Chairman, to condense, within the brief time available, a brilliant career which spanned over many years of great achievement. For, indeed, Dr. DuBois was an outstanding scholar, a philosopher, peace-loving, bold and uncompromising on principles he stood for.

Dr. DuBois' dedication to the Black cause was profoundly amazing; he devoted his life to the struggle against racial discrimination and spear-headed the movement for equal and fair treatment of the blacks here in America; through the Niagara Movement he demanded fullest citizenship rights for blacks, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples, of which he was one of the leading foundation members, continues to be an active organized movement for defence of the rights of the black people.

As a man of long vision, he foresaw that the greatness of his country lies in the harmonious co-operation between, and acceptance on equal basis of, the various ethnic groups constituting it. With this vision, Dr. DuBois, early in the century, condemned and demonstrated against separate development of Negroes in America and remained unalterably opposed to the doctrine of racial superiority and discrimination based on race or the colour of the skin. It will be recalled that at the turn of the century, in July 1900 at the Pan African Congress, he declared: "The problem of the 20th Century is the problem of the colour line. . . ." Events that have taken place, since this famous utterance was made in the pursuit of the dignity for the black race, are well-known to be repeated here. I may, however, refer to the current situation in southern Africa where heroic men and children daily sacrifice their lives to free their own land from oppressive and racist regimes as a fulfilment of this prophecy.

Although his writings and teachings appeared initially to have centered on his own black people in America, they also had their universal appeal. Thus his teaching that integration is not only socially desirable and justifiable but would result in peace and harmony amongst various races remains relevant to the situation in southern Africa.

It was in the pursuit of these objectives that Dr. DuBois travelled widely to address international conferences and meetings like the Universal Races Congress held in London, attended by the world's leading sociologists and anthropologists, the first Pan African Congress which brought together for the first time Blacks from Africa, America and Europe and several white



leaders for the purpose of discussing the problems of the Negro. Similar conferences held in Paris, Brussels, Lisbon and New York highlighted the plight of the blacks in Africa and elsewhere and increased the awareness of the participants to the racial discrimination suffered by the black race, the injustices of the colonial system and the urgency of emancipating Africa.

Inspired by the philosophy and the teaching of Dr. DuBois, most of these Africans, on their return home, started movements for the emancipation of their respective countries. To some like the late President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, it became an article of faith that the struggle for the independence of one African country should be linked with the emancipation of the entire African continent. I am proud to say that this objective still remains one of the corner-stones of Ghana's foreign policy.

For us in Ghana, Dr. DuBois remains not just a great pan africanist leader, thinker, philosopher and civil rights leader, but as one who was to influence literally the course of events in our country. The late President Dr. Kwame Nkrumah not only participated in the Pan African Congresses sponsored by Dr. DuBois, but became more or less a disciple and follower of this great pan africanist. The respect and admiration which he had for Dr. DuBois explained why our late President invited him to spend his last days as a citizen of Ghana. Mr. Chairman, as you said earlier, he had difficulties even to obtain a passport to come to Ghana. It is significant that he died a citizen of Ghana at a time that the movement for the emancipation of the black race everywhere had gained momentum.

We in Ghana would treasure his memory as a joint initiator of the *Encyclopaedia Africana* Project. This pet project of Dr. DuBois and the late Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has as its objective the study and research into the social, political, cultural, historical and technological developments in Africa, with the view to publishing them. Although Dr. DuBois did not live to see this project come to fruition, the idea lives on. The first volume of the *Encyclopaedia* in the form of a *Dictionary of African Biography* is now available for purchase. Perhaps, there can be no greater appreciation of his worthy contribution to Africa and the black race than a support of this project whose primary objective is to give the lie to those who held the view that the African made no contribution to history and civilization.

While honouring the memory of Dr. DuBois, I would like to express on behalf of my Government special appreciation for the tribute paid to the three Pan-Africanists, Dr. DuBois, Dr. Padmore and the late Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, by a delegation led by you, Mr. Chairman, after the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid* in Lagos last year. We as Ghanaians identify ourselves with the ideals for which these three sons of Africa devoted their lives. We also hold the view that the anniversary of Dr. DuBois' birth should be an occasion for peoples over the world who cherish racial harmony and peace to rededicate themselves to the cause of the suffering people of South Africa.

In the name of freedom and human dignity which Dr. DuBois stood for, we appeal to all governments to observe the International Anti-*Apartheid* Year as a year of effective and meaningful action to isolate the *apartheid* regime and to assist the oppressed people and their national liberation

movements in their legitimate struggle for the eradication of *apartheid*. We appeal to the international news media to mobilize public opinion all over the world for the total isolation of the *apartheid* regime.

Finally, we appeal to governments and vested interests which continue to collaborate with South Africa to cease such collaboration and help international action against *apartheid*.

Mr. Chairman, the light Dr. DuBois had lighted will forever burn in us, however heavy the odds may be for that light represents the living truth.

I thank you, Sir.

## A LYRIC HISTORIAN, INITIATOR OF PAN-AFRICANISM

Statement by Dr. Charles Wesley

*Historian, former President of the Central State College and Wilberforce University in Ohio, now President Emeritus, and former President of the Association for the Study of African-American Life and History*

William Edward Burghardt DuBois can be called the Father of Pan-Africanism. This relationship began early in his life terminating only at his death in Africa and burial there in 1963, but the theme lived on in his life into ours. If DuBois were living today, he would be amazed at the life of his idea's maturity and the advancement made by African governments, notably Nigeria and Ghana. Alioune Diop has said that homage was due to DuBois as one "who organized a number of Congresses from which developed the basic elements of Pan-Africanism."

The long time interest of DuBois in this subject stemmed from his heritage. His great grandfather, Thomas Burghardt, was brought from Africa to New York State as a slave. He was introduced to Africa by the singing of his grandmother. He wrote:

"With Africa I had only one direct connexion and that was the African melody which my grandmother used to sing. Where she learned it, I do not know."

This was a song of Africa whose words, melody and echoes remained with him in after years. Many blacks could make the same expression, and some so-called whites if they could examine their roots and their background.

In after years he read and studied about Africa, its peoples and its history. When Professor William Wilcox of Cornell University published an introduction to a book by Joseph Tillinghast on *The Negro in Africa and America*, DuBois wrote the following note to him from Atlanta:

“How on earth any fair-minded student of the situation could have stood sponsor for a book of Tillinghast’s and actually praise it is simply beyond my comprehension. If you insist on writing about, and pronouncing judgment on this problem, why not study it?”

This was a purpose with DuBois—to study the problem and its cause. His first efforts in writing were about the so-called Negro problem in the United States. One of his first publications in connexion with Africa was the “Conservation of Races”, published by the American Negro Academy in 1897. Said he:

“We believe that the Negro people as a race had contributions to make to civilization and humanity which no other race can make.”

The first opportunity for DuBois to be associated actively with Africa as a subject came in 1900 when he attended the First African Congress in London, England, initiated by H. Sylvester Williams, originally from Trinidad. DuBois was then thirty-two years of age, a Professor of History and Sociology at Atlanta University and President of the American Negro Academy. This Conference of 1900 put the word Pan-Africanism in the books and in the dictionaries for the first time. DuBois found this Conference in the following words:

“A tendency of some Africans and New World Negroes to unite their efforts in a common struggle to destroy the derogatory image of Africans and Negroes which is a legacy of the slave trade and to unite in the struggle against racial discrimination.”

Out of this Congress there came a Pan-African Association with Bishop Alexander Walters as President and an “Address to the Nations of the World,” prepared by DuBois, in which he used the famous phrase quoted here which perhaps we should continue to quote: “The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line,” and we are sensitive to the fact that this is true today.

In 1903 he published the *Souls of Black Folk*, which has gone through 28 editions and is still being printed and sold. In it he emphasized Africa and its neglect when he wrote:

“The shadows of a mighty Negro flits through the tale of Ethiopia, the Shadowy and of Egypt, the Sphinx. Throughout history the powers of single blacks flash here and there like falling stars before the world has rightly gauged their brightness.”

And again there appeared for the second time in this volume, in connexion with Pan-Africanism, the dictum, “The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line.”

A paper issued after the 1900 Congress by the Pan-African Association sounding the note of black unity and united action by all, was written by DuBois:

“Let the nations of the world respect the integrity and independence of the free Negro States of Abyssinia, Liberia, Haiti and the rest, and let the inhabitants of these States, the independent tribes of Africa, the Negroes of the West Indies and America and the black subjects of all nations take courage, strive ceaselessly and fight bravely, that they may prove to the world their incontestable right to be counted among the brotherhood of mankind.”

Again, DuBois was calling for blacks over the world to unite and advance because the colour line was a world problem. He saw it in the League of Nations, he saw it in the United Nations as he saw it around the world. We see it today, making its way again around the world from South Africa. Truly, the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line, and there are not too many years left in this century. One can well say, “How long, O Lord, how long! Will we ask again about it in the twenty-first century? If we are quiet, disorganized and unthoughtful, it will be asked again.

A friend and colleague in the social studies, Franz Boas of Columbia University, delivered a commencement address in 1906, at Atlanta University. Among his declarations to the audience was this: “You need not be ashamed of your African past.” Then he presented the history of the black kingdoms for a thousand years. DuBois listened and said later, “I was too astonished to speak. All of this I had never heard.” What an influence this was on his life, as it has been on mine and I hope on yours, with our minds and faces toward African art and culture today after a white education!

DuBois in his book *The Negro* published in 1915 presented eight of the twelve chapters about the history of Africa, its kingdoms, its tribal and early history, overlooking the dirt, squalor, misery, ignorance and unhappiness of the masses among their people; as white historians have written about Europe overlooking all that is negative and bad. What a tragedy this was to the minds of many a youth and administrator. And yet, DuBois envisioned that black people over the world would be united and the colour line would disappear, if we did our duty united against the enemies of our total life. This became a major philosophy with DuBois, and black people continued to work towards these goals.

In the same year as the publication of *The Negro*, 1915, Carter G. Woodson founded the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History, and published the *Journal of Negro History* in 1916, with two of the first four articles in Africa. Shortly thereafter, William Leo Hansberry and Melville Herskovitz were talking and writing about noble Africa. The rapid rise of Marcus Garvey with his “Back to Africa” movement was another factor, and it was not without influence on opinion of Africa in the United States, and around the world, but failed to receive the approval of colonial governments and the Government of the United States, although interesting thousands of black Americans.

A First Pan-African Congress was convened in Paris, France, in 1919 during the Peace Treaty Conference. DuBois was one of the leaders of this African conference. Despite opposition and difficulties, he made his way to this meeting as did Monroe Trotter. There were 57 delegates, 16 from the United States, 12 from Africa, 20 West Indians. Blaise Diagne, Senegalese Deputy to the Paris Treaty Conference, said at this time, "I am first a Frenchman; I am a Negro afterwards." Wachuku, then Speaker of the Nigerian House, said, "We are Africans first, everything else is secondary." These emphases were important to the growth of Pan-Africanism, and they were exchanges in the minds of many with the different concerned governments.

A second conference following the Paris Conference of 1919 was held in London, Brussels and Paris in 1921; a third one in London, Paris and Lisbon in 1923, from which DuBois made his first visit to Africa. A fourth Conference was held in New York in 1927, at which I had the pleasure and opportunity of making an address.

The interest of DuBois in Africa spread to drama and to the novel. I recall that in 1915 he wrote a drama "That Star of Ethiopia" which was presented in New York, Philadelphia and Washington. Incidentally, he had me appear in the Washington cast as Emperor of Ethiopia. Then in the novels *Dark Princess* and *The Quest of the Silver Fleece*, DuBois visualized Africa as a people and their high influences.

His *Encyclopedia Africana* to which the representative of Ghana has referred was one of the greatest unfinished ventures of his life, and with the death of Alphaeus Hunton, who took over that job, the Government of Ghana has taken a hold of it and its volume one is now published. His endeavours in Africa and in its interest were numerous.

Let us pass then in quick review. In 1921 he wrote "The Object of the Pan-African Congress" in *The African World*. In 1923, "What is Civilization—Africa's Answer." In the same year, "Back to Africa" in the *Century Magazine*, and he followed this with "The Answer of Africa" in *What is Civilization*. In 1930 he published his book *Africa, Its Place in Modern History*. In 1938, he wrote in *Foreign Affairs*, "Black Africa Tomorrow." In 1945, his book on *Color and Democracy, Colonies and Peace*. "A Memorandum to the United Nations on the Pan African Congress" which is published in George Padmore's *Colonial and Coloured Unity*. DuBois's *An Appeal to the World: A Statement on the Denial of Human Rights to the Minorities in the Case of Citizens of Negro Descent in the United States of America* and *An Appeal to the United Nations for Redress*, an NAACP Report, 1947, and his book, *The World and Africa: An Inquiry into the Part which Africa has played in World History*. His article "The Riot in South Africa" appeared in *New Africa* in 1949, another in the same year in this magazine is "Africa Today," while "Repression Madness Rules South Africa" appeared in *New Africa*, in 1950. He wrote "The Future of Africa—Freedom, Peace, Socialism" in *The National Guardian* in 1958, "China and Africa" in *The New World Review* in 1959 and "Nigeria Becomes Part of the Modern World" in *The National Guardian* in 1961.

It is evident that across the years DuBois was writing about Africa, serving as its champion, its defender, its faithful servant and its confident believer for the future.

His *Gift of Black Folk* impressed his readers with the spiritual gifts of Africa resulting from what we called "a certain joyousness, a sensuous, typical and tropical love of life." In his brilliant book, *Black Folk Then and Now*, he presented the history of Africa and gave it new evaluation. An article called attention to the attitude of the intelligent Negro Americans when he wrote "Africa and the American Negro Intelligentsia." These articles reminded us of the preaching of Pan-Africanism in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century by Edward Wilmot Blyden, its champion then.

I have described DuBois on many occasions. He was a friend of mine. At one time, I called him a "lyric historian," on a second occasion a "literary knight with a plumed pen" and on a third as a "prophet who saw the future as history." I would now call him "initiator of Pan-Africanism." Others worked and wrought, some were ahead of him, others were by his side, but he was our man for Africa in his books, his addresses, his life, his career and his death with his last resting place within Africa's bosom. He laid the foundation, our job is to build the superstructure. I quote:

*"A builder builded a temple  
wrought with infinite care  
planning each arch with patience  
and laying each stone with care  
Men said as they saw its beauty  
It will never know decay  
Great is thy skill oh builder  
Thy fame shall endure for aye  
But DuBois builded a temple  
with infinite tender care  
Laying each arch with patience  
And laying it with care  
None praised his unceasing effort  
None knew of his wondrous plan  
For the Temple DuBois builded  
was unseen by the eye of man  
"But gone is the Builder's Temple  
Crumpled into the dust  
Low lies each stately pillar  
Food for consuming rust  
"But the Temple DuBois builded  
Will last while the ages roll  
For that beautiful unseen Temple  
Was Africa's immortal soul."*

## AN ADVOCATE OF BLACK RECONSTRUCTION IN AMERICA

Statement by H. E. Mr. Andrew Young  
*Permanent Representative of the United States of America to  
the United Nations*

Thank you Mr. Chairman, and let me thank you as Chairman of this distinguished Committee for again assuming a role amongst the nations of these United Nations and especially paying honour to W.E.B. DuBois, who is, in many respects, the intellectual and spiritual father of us all. Much has been heard of Dr. DuBois' contribution to Pan-Africanism and its expression on the African continent. And yet I would content that what has happened with respect to blacks in this country has been influenced by the research and teaching of Dr. DuBois. This is not without some opposition and with a great deal of obstacles.

As a young man growing up in our native south land, I heard almost nothing of W.E.B. DuBois, and when I heard of him and wanted to buy his books, I found it extremely difficult to find any writings of W.E.B. DuBois in an American bookstand. In spite of these obstacles, many of us who begin to feel some of the same yearnings for freedom and the yearnings for identification with our African heritage began to move in the direction that was pioneered by Dr. DuBois. It was in fact, the emergence of that movement that made it necessary and possible for Dr. DuBois' books to be reprinted again.

There was perhaps some poetic irony in the fact that Dr. DuBois' death occurred on the eve of the march on Washington in 1963. For in a sense it was as though he were himself, passing on the mantle of leadership to another generation that he had created out of a tremendous lonely fight for an awareness for the unity of peoples of African heritage; a fight to create a generation of people educated to make a contribution to the world in order to compete with all others in an attempt to establish our place in this nation and in the world. That march on Washington, in a sense, was the beginning of a second reconstruction.

The first reconstruction, Dr. DuBois described as a history of the part of which black folk played in an attempt to reconstruct democracy in the late 1800s. That reconstruction was dismantled cruelly by the forces of oppression and racism and by economic forces of reaction within this country. For us perhaps the most prominent of Dr. DuBois' books was, *Black Reconstruction*, a study of that period. In the early days of the civil rights movement in this country, when thousands of previously untrained black men and women came together to discuss their struggle for freedom and to understand the direction in which they were attempting to move their nation, it was amazing for me to see the extent to which these people, most of whom had no or little formal education, grasp immediately what Dr. DuBois was talking about in his book on *Black Reconstruction*. I think

it was in many respects the reading and study of that book by previously unlettered people that gave the foundation to our civil rights movement as led by Martin Luther King. They then returned from Georgia to Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina beginning a new period of reconstruction which I think has culminated in the possibility of having a legitimate black influence on American foreign policy in 1977-1978. That period was the beginning of a mass base to a movement which Dr. DuBois started which was essentially a movement of the talented tenth or of black intellectuals, both in America, Africa, and the Caribbean.

What I think we see now in this period is an awakening of the masses of black humanity around the world to put a content and a power to the intellectual ideas of Dr. DuBois. This effort is not only changing the politics of Africa but in fact is changing the politics of the United States of America and setting forth new priorities for the nations of the West.

I would hope that Dr. DuBois would be proud of the continuation of his work through this Committee and through the efforts of the United Nations to bring about settlements of disputes and controversies where racism continues to plague the African continent in Namibia, Rhodesia and South Africa herself. I think an understanding of Dr. DuBois' concept of reconstruction in this country is also relevant for an understanding of neo-colonialism in Africa and around the world. I would contend that the first book on neo-colonialism or the recolonization of a people who had fought for their liberation in a civil war and achieved it only to have it undermined through very sophisticated, political and economic forces occurred in this country with Dr. DuBois' analysis of black reconstruction. It is perhaps one of the first studies of the pattern of recolonization or the attempt to undermine the power achieved on the battle field. His calling attention to the presence and power of those political and economic forces that work in this country is extremely relevant for those same political and economic forces are at work all across the world. What we are beginning to do in these United Nations, and to discuss, is the new international economic order. What we are attempting to do is provide a pattern of liberation which not only includes political liberation, but which includes with its economic freedoms and independence to secure the permanent freedom and self-determination of peoples is very much in the tradition of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois.

Dr. DuBois' often quoted statement that the problem of the twentieth century is a "problem of the colour line" remains with us to this day. Also his concern of the struggle of Black Americans and Africans as expressed in his book, *The Soul of Black Folk*: "One ever feels his twoness—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings, two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder . . . He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of opportunity closed roughly in his face."

I think together in these United Nations and through the work of this Committee, as we attempt to put an end to *apartheid* in Africa, we are also



putting an end to *apartheid* in America. We are putting a lie to the theory and philosophy of racist domination everywhere in the world as we join together in a fulfillment of the prophecy and teaching of W.E.B. DuBois.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman for this opportunity to thank you for your work.

## **A HUMANIST AND OUTSTANDING CHAMPION OF THE CAUSE OF OPPRESSED BLACK PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD**

**Statement by H.E. Mr. Donald Mills**  
*Permanent Representative of Jamaica to the United Nations*

Mr. Chairman, it is a great honour for me to participate in this special occasion commemorating the 110th anniversary of the birth of a man whose life and work carried a special significance for black people throughout the world. Dr. DuBois lived at a time when people of African descent were everywhere the victims of racial injustices, oppression; most of them the subject of colonial exploitation. At immense personal sacrifice he helped to lay the foundations of the long struggle for dignity and freedom for the black man. He lived to see the first victories of the struggle he inspired, and which continues today towards the elimination of the last vestiges of racist exploitation in southern Africa.

Mr. Chairman, we in Jamaica, for reasons of history, and in the light of the origin of our people, share the ideals for which he fought and continue to draw inspiration from his life's work. It would be appropriate to mention the names of some of the people from the Caribbean who made a singular contribution to the spirit of the movement to which Dr. DuBois dedicated himself. Among these were Marcus Garvey of Jamaica and George Padmore of Trinidad and Tobago. Their work is a signal of the fact that the lives and the faiths of the people of the Caribbean are inextricably bound to the people of African origin in America and to the people of Africa. We join in paying tribute to Dr. DuBois as together with others we make the final effort for the liberation of African people.

Mr. Chairman, I have the honour to read the following message from the Prime Minister of Jamaica, the Honourable Michael Manley.

**Message from the Honourable Michael Manley**  
**Prime Minister of Jamaica**

“As we approach International Anti-*Apartheid* Year it is particularly fitting that a special meeting should be convened on the 110th birthday of William Edward Burghardt DuBois and devoted to a theme which epitomizes his heroic life's struggle in the cause of Pan-Africanism and African liberation.

“Dr. DuBois who distinguished himself as historian, philosopher and humanist was an outstanding champion of the cause of oppressed black people throughout the world. Much of the progress in the fight against racism is attributable to the untiring efforts of Dr. DuBois whose long life was entirely devoted to the universal emancipation of black people from colonialism and exploitation.

“We in Jamaica share your hopes that this special meeting at this crucial stage in the anti-*apartheid* struggle will engender even greater solidarity and co-operation by African, Caribbean and other black peoples of the world. It is equally our conviction that it will advance the cause of the political liberation of southern Africa and contribute to achieving the full recovery of their inalienable human rights for which Dr. DuBois dedicated his life.”

## **A MAN WHO FORESAW THAT THE END OF COLONIALISM WOULD BECOME INTRICATELY INVOLVED WITH PROBLEMS OF COLOUR AND RACE**

**Statement by H.E. Mr. Rikhi Jaipal**  
*Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations*

Thank you Mr. Chairman. It is a great privilege and honour for me on behalf of the Asian members of this Committee to say a few words on this occasion. I cannot claim to have known Dr. DuBois although on two occasions I very nearly met him. But, of course, I knew of him and knew many friends of his in this country, in the Caribbean and in West Africa, and those who like me, grew up between the two World Wars in the colonial environment came to be obsessed with the liberation of India, China and Africa, and an important part of this obsession was the predicament of the American Negroes. The white colonial power in India had no inhibitions about publicizing the lynchings, burnings, segregation, discrimination and deprivation of American Negroes. Our sympathies were entirely with the struggle of the black people here, and we in India welcomed with open arms any visiting American Negro teacher or preacher, and we longed to read black American literature or to listen to the wonderful Negro spirituals.

Dr. DuBois belongs to that early part of my memory and my consciousness, and the first words of his that I remember are: “The spell of Africa is upon me.” Dr. DuBois is what we would call in India, a great soul. Endowed with a powerful intellect, he was an incredibly versatile person. He was a teacher, historian, philosopher, sociologist, political activist, poet and prophet. He was a great black American, and one who did more than anyone to correct the massive misinformation about Africa that its white

rulers had propagated in their ignorance and insensitivity. His work on the *Encyclopaedia Africana* will remain a lasting monument to his life and labour. We owe to him the revelation of the wealth and beauty of the African heritage, of its historical impact on Asia, Europe and the Americas, and its infinite promise for the future, a promise that surely springs from its glorious vitality.

In one of his poems, Dr. DuBois says: "Here at last I look back on my dream, I sense that Africa had come, not up from hell, but from the sum of heaven's glory."

Dr. DuBois looked upon imperialism and colonialism as a central subject for international action ever since the days of the League of Nations. His own contribution to the shaping of the Charter of the United Nations, especially in the field of decolonization and elimination of racial discrimination, was quite considerable. He took a keen and critical interest in the Atlantic Charter and the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, and made several important suggestions with the collective support of significant sections of public opinion in this country; suggestions which came to be accepted and elaborated later on in the Charter.

Mr. Chairman, there are teachers and thinkers who interpret the past and derive from it lessons of relevance to the present. There are others who interpret contemporary events and try to influence the action of leaders. But there are only a few who do both and in addition are endowed with the quality of vision, that of anticipating the future and guiding the course of history in the direction of their own devout faith.

Dr. DuBois was one of such rare personalities who fortunately lived to see the part fulfillment of some of his dreams. He was a prophet who foresaw that the final liquidation of colonialism would become intertwined with problems of colour and race. He could see that the accumulation of wealth based on exploitation of man by man, rested on force and military power, and he recognized that lasting peace depended really on consent and agreement and not on armed might. He cautioned, therefore, against the building of peace and security upon military force. He repeatedly drew attention to the root causes of war, he proclaimed the right of coloured people to their share in human progress, and to become co-partners in a democratic world which alone could ensure peace through abolition of poverty and education of the masses.

His analysis of the colonial system was penetrating and accurate. He saw colonies as slums of the world and as centres of helplessness. The resemblance between them and the municipal slums in the metropolitan countries attracted his notice; both were situations that were deliberately fostered so that the profits of exploitation might continue to be enormous. His insight into the Indian national struggle was profound. He regarded the history of India in the modern world as a disgrace to civilization for he saw no possible defence for the system of colonial oppression foisted on India. He was an equally keen observer of the history of China's exploitation. Prophetically he proclaimed that given time and opportunity China would again become great and powerful. He diagnosed correctly that the colonial system and its fraudulent rationalizations gave birth to the vicious doctrine of the natural inferiority of the coloured majority of mankind.

Dr. DuBois' faith in democracy was qualified. He said that "unless the problems of poverty, ignorance, sickness and crime were satisfactorily resolved there could be no development of the democratic ideal." "However degraded a people might become," he said, "they could not be held down forever and rebellion would certainly ensue until a new order is established that would allow their progress, development and self-determination." He said "if the United States really wished to see its leadership in the present world it should attempt to make the beneficiaries of the new economic order not simply a group, a race, or any form of oligarchy, but the majority of mankind."

He called for the seating in the General Assembly of representatives of all colonial peoples so that their voices might be raised fearlessly and openly in favour of justice and equality. Not surprisingly, Dr. DuBois anticipated the revolt of the angry embittered youth, against the futility of war as a means of settling human problems. He said: "Wild is the world and witless, terrible in its beauty and its crime," but such a world could be saved, he felt, not by capital, interest, property and gold, but rather its salvation would come out of dreams, out of simple goodness and friendship.

Although he has done more than anyone to rediscover the majesty of Africa and the history of the African diaspora and to restore the dignity of the African people, he was essentially a great humanist.

In his last message, Mr. Chairman, he dreamed of "a world of infinite human variety, in height and weight, in colour, skin, hair, nose and lip," but more especially he dreamed of a realm of true freedom, freedom in thought and dream, in fantasy and imagination, in gift and aptitude and genius, all possible manner of difference topped with freedom of the soul to do and to be, and freedom of thought to give to a world and to build into it all the wealth born of inborn individuality." This he called the freedom of being, and every attempt to stop it, in his view, is a blow to democracy.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

## **A MAN WHO VIEWED THE ROLE OF THE WORKER AS A MEANINGFUL VEHICLE TOWARD THE REALIZATION OF TRUE DEMOCRACY**

**Statement by Mr. William Lucy**  
*President, National Federation of Black Trade Unionists*

Thank you Mr. Chairman. Let me thank you on behalf of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and express our appreciation to the Special Committee and yourself for giving us this opportunity to share with you a few comments about the work of Dr. DuBois, comments from the perspec-

tive of one who has a professional responsibility for representing workers, workers who, in the view of Dr. DuBois, could and should play a major role in the struggle for human rights and human dignity.

As we attempt to understand more fully and to celebrate the contribution of Dr. DuBois to Africa, it should not be surprising to us that among the encyclopedic accomplishments of one of the greatest intellectuals the world has known, there should appear among his books, several odd pamphlets and over 25 articles on Africa, substantial consideration of the problem of southern Africa. His clear analysis of the relationship of colour and race prejudice to exploitation of man can be clearly seen by the world in today's South Africa.

In many ways, the work which established the thematic underpinnings of his approach to the relationship between Africa and Europe was his analysis of the origins of World War I in May 1915, entitled "The African Roots of War." Here, he made the astute inference that the Berlin Conference of 1885 had not settled the question of the distribution of world wealth, which he saw as coming from those territories occupied by "the darker races." In the main, he felt that the subject of World War I was the conflict between imperialist powers over the control of the products of the colonies which were central to the viability of especially the European states. "The World," he said, "knows something of the gold and diamonds of South Africa, the cocoa of Angola and Nigeria, the rubber and ivory of the Congo, and the Palm Oil of the West Coast." This knowledge he suggested, was the subject of jealousies among "armed national associations of labour and capital whose aim was expansion into Africa, the exploitation of its people and lands."

Clearly Dr. DuBois saw similarities in the cause and effect of oppression of blacks in South Africa and in the United States as evidenced in his discussion of the subject of race conflict in a brilliant address published in March 1944 in the *American Journal of Sociology*. After reviewing the problem of race around the world within the context of colonialism and imperialism, he said in summary "that the organized and systematized denial of black workers, adequate training, access to decent wages and benefits and a clearer judgement of the right to organize around those issues that affect them. Those who deny them these things clearly align themselves with exploiting investors and dissimulators of racial hatred."

Dr. DuBois perceived, and rightly so, that the common denominator among oppressed people was poverty and ignorance, and that the denominator combined with the continued state of deprivation for workers will ultimately become a catalyst for change in a force for liberation. In a national co-operation in the establishment of a mechanism through which the voices of workers could be heard will obviously hasten today, as he felt, when equity and justice will exist.

Dr. DuBois clearly saw the role of all workers in general, black workers in particular, being a major force of our liberation in all parts of the world, particularly in Africa. In South Africa, then as now, the denial of fundamental rights to workers, and the systemized exploitation of black labour, deny any effective social and political platform from which the needs of the masses can be projected.

Dr. DuBois believed that the litmus test of any society could be measured by the extent that workers could organize collectively and participate fully in the social, economic and political decisions that affect their lives.

I believe as conceivable that Dr. DuBois looked upon the role of workers as a meaningful vehicle of achieving democracy, and perhaps in his comment that democracy is a method of doing the impossible, that it is the only method yet discovered of making the education and development of all men a matter of concern and desperate desire, is accomplished in the views of struggling workers not only in Africa but in all the world.

Mr. Chairman, I want to again commend this Committee for putting the opportunity before us to share some views and certainly to increase our efforts on behalf of the oppressed people throughout the world.

## **AN ADVOCATE OF THE CAUSE OF BLACK LIBERATION AND WORLD PEACE**

**Statement by Mr. Ronald E. Walters**

*Professor at Howard University, Washington, D.C., and  
President of the African Heritage Studies Association*

Thank you very much Mr. Chairman, and honourable members of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, and guests, I am very honoured to have the opportunity to appear before you again on a matter of importance affecting southern Africa. You are to be congratulated for your foresight in arranging to remind the world of the measure of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois' importance to the struggle for freedom of all Africa long before it was popular and when it was exceedingly dangerous.

I appear here as President of the African Heritage Studies Association, the only national association of scholars of African descent in America which has Africa as its central focus with members from the Caribbean, the African continent and the United States. We are the professional and spiritual descendants of Dr. DuBois and have attempted to keep alive the legacy of his example to be both scholars and committed sons and daughters of Africa, activists deeply involved in the struggle for the final solution for the liberation of southern Africa and to continued growth of progress of the entire continent.

Our thanks to the presentation of the distinguished Dr. Charles Wesley. I can safely report that I have omitted about two-thirds of my presentation, but I would like to make some points. As previously mentioned, the origins of the Pan African Conference was in 1919 and although at that time there was much talk of self-determination in the context of European territories, this idea was not advanced for Africa, because as James Weldon Johnson, Field Secretary of the NAACP had suggested the disposition of the

African territories would only arise at Versailles in one of three forms—their return to Germany, their division among the allies, and their internationalization. DuBois' programme, which adopted the most progressive of these practical alternatives, was internationalization. It was also radical in that it included the territories controlled by Belgium (the Congo) and Portugal.

In fact, the third Pan African Congress was held in Lisbon, Portugal, 1923, in association with the Liga Africana, an association of indigenous African organizations from the Portuguese African provinces. A small group of intellectuals in Lisbon formed the base of this organization, developed in part by their own frustration with the Portuguese policy of assimilation and recent peasant revolts in the provinces as late as 1917. George Padmore says it was DuBois' objective to influence the Portuguese Government toward reforms put forth by this group, by having the Conference in Lisbon, and although promises were made by the Government at that time, no visible movement toward these reforms were activated after the conference.

Also contained in Demand number eight (8), issued by the 1923 Conference was the sentiment expressed by Dr. DuBois with respect to Jan Smuts, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa. He said:

“What more paradoxical figure today fronts the world than the official head of a great South African state striving blindly to build peace and goodwill in Europe by standing on the necks and hearts of millions of black Africans?”

This statement surfaced as a response to Smuts' activities in South West Africa in 1922, when, in suppressing a revolt by less than 200 black South West Africans, Smuts sent in a force of 390 men with four machine guns and two bombing planes, and killed over 100 black men, women and children and wounded scores in addition.

DuBois, in an article devoted exclusively to Jan Smuts, went on to discuss the importance of the Mandates Commission in dealing with South West Africa, and detailed the activities of Smuts in capturing control over the entire territory and extending slavery to the workers and peasants and control over the economic development of South West Africa. This, however, was not the last time that DuBois was to point to the gross contradiction which Smuts represented as a solid citizen of the western camp. DuBois' study, *The World and Africa*, includes an important document written by the Non-European United Committee, of Cape Town, South Africa, in 1945, addressed to the delegates assembling to create the United Nations. It contains, among others, the following statement:

“It is the grossest of insults not only to the eight million non-Europeans of South Africa, but to all those who are honestly striving to shape a world on new foundations, when the highest representative of the Herrenvolk of South Africa, Field-Marshal Smuts, who has devoted his whole life to the entrenchment of this Nazi-like domination, brazenly speaks of the Nations of the World, of the ‘sanctity and

ultimate value of human personality' and 'the equal rights of men and women.' ”

No doubt, Smuts' esteem in Western circles emanated from the fact that he had been Churchill's representative in the Imperial War Cabinet in World War II (he had during the Boer War in 1899 saved Churchill's life from an attack by the Basutos). But this still did not solve the riddle of his role as professed humanitarian and the leader of an oppressive state. DuBois asked himself the question, what accounts for this paradox regarding Smuts and answered it thusly:

I believe that the trade in human beings between Africa and America, which flourished between the Renaissance and the American Civil War, is the prime and effective cause of the contradictions in European Civilization and the illogic in modern thought and the collapse of human culture.

DuBois, then, whose own Harvard University doctoral dissertation, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade* (1896), had established the place of the slave trade within the wider commerce of European imperialist activity, appeared to suggest the inability of Europeans to come to terms with their own history, at the same time, he established the incontrovertible linkage between all blacks and Africa, irrespective of their place within the Pan-African diaspora.

It is extremely fitting that a remembrance of Dr. DuBois' work and contribution should take place in the United Nations, at a time when so much emphasis is upon the concepts of human rights, and of race. In 1946, with the assistance of black and white scholars, Dr. DuBois prepared "An Appeal to the World" which contained a protest relative to the treatment of blacks in the United States, which was presented to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. And throughout these many years, this petition and all such appeals for redress to that body have been suppressed. If human rights means anything at all, it should be possible for us to depend upon our brothers and sisters from Africa and others of good will to raise the case of the continued massive economic exploitation of blacks in America, and the denial of basic justice such as that exemplified by the treatment of the criminal justice system visited upon the Reverend Ben Chavis and others of the Wilmington Ten of North Carolina, and other important human rights matters which affect our dignified survival here.

The importance of this issue is found in the relationship of the problem of racism to that of economic exploitation of peoples of African descent in Africa and around the world. In fact, in 1946, Walter White, in his introductory speech to the document prepared by DuBois, said:

"Because injustice against black men in America has repercussion upon the status and future of brown men in India, yellow men in China, and black men in Africa, we submit that the lasting cure of the causes of war cannot be found until discrimination based on race or skin colour is wiped out in the United States and throughout the world."



In that same year, Dr. DuBois published a letter to the *New York Times*, in which he severely denounced the "barbaric" treatment of blacks in South Africa, linking it to the similar treatment of blacks in the United States.

"In both the United States and the Union of South Africa it has been the organized white labourers who have systematically, by vote and mob, opposed the training of the black worker and the provision of decent wages for him. In this respect, they have ranged themselves with exploiting investors and disseminators of race hatred like Hitler."

Today, although the black South African still suffers from blatant acts of race oppression, the manifestations of this phenomenon in the United States are more subtle, but no less devastating as witnessed by the slow deadening impact of technology which is compounding the usual exploitation of blacks economically, creating a permanent and growing unemployed black underclass.

More important, however, is the fact that DuBois addressed his remarks to the fact of race conflict to illuminate its dimensions and to suggest, thereby, the elements of its amelioration, extending to the amelioration of perhaps war itself. Again, his prophetic pen would write:

"Who can be certain that the white rulers in Kenya, the Union of South Africa and the Belgian Congo may not some day face the mass of their black subjects in arms—arms supplied by European rivals, or by black America, or even by brown and yellow Asia."

In the territories of Kenya and Congo, blacks took arms in pursuit of the right to self-determination, the same path followed by liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe and which even now threatens South Africa itself. And even in the United States, the recent period of violent rebellions was testimony to the ability of blacks to withhold peace from their oppressors. The stakes of black liberation in the African world, therefore, are increasingly clear and practical objectives are clarified by the persistent struggle between those who fight for freedom and those who fight against it. All men who value freedom will be eternally indebted to Dr. W.E.B. DuBois for his role in helping us to understand the problem of freedom for black southern Africans, and the strategies to ensure that one day it will be realized.

# A PIONEER IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NAACP AND THE PAN-AFRICAN ORGANIZATION—AS I KNEW HIM

Statement by Dr. Benjamin E. Mays  
*Author and educator, President Emeritus of Morehouse  
College, Atlanta, and President of the Atlanta Board of  
Education*

Mr. Ambassador, ladies and gentlemen, I consider it a great honour to be invited to participate on this important and tremendous occasion. I want to talk about my experience with Dr. DuBois.

I met Dr. DuBois through *The Crisis* when I was in high school, in Orangeburg, South Carolina. At that time, the State College was primarily a high school, but it was also a full college for those who remained to do college work after graduating from high school. I met Dr. DuBois when he was editor of *The Crisis*, and I was anxious each month to read his editorial, "As the Crow Flies." I liked what he said and having been born and reared in Greenwood County, South Carolina, I instinctively embraced the DuBois philosophy.

Though a black man born in 1868 in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, I knew that here was a negro who was born free. I knew that I had been born free, because I never accepted the idea that I was sent into the world to be a drawer of water, hewer of wood, to pick cotton, to plow a mule, and pull fodder. In fact, I resented the belief—as the white would have it—that my role was where any white man said that it was. The impression that DuBois made upon me was tremendous. I remember telling my mother once that if I thought that God made me and my people inferior, I would never pray another prayer.

I met Dr. DuBois briefly at a reception after he had spoken to the faculty and students at Virginia Union University in Richmond. The faculty and students at Virginia Union described DuBois as the kind of man that Negro youths should start to emulate. Years passed before I met him in person, again. It was in 1931, I had gone on to Bates College after a year at Virginia Union and had graduated with honours at Bates. For two years, 1928 through 1930, I was in the employ of the National Council of the Y.M.C.A., visiting colleges in Florida, South Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee and Georgia. During my two years, I made a study of the occupational choices of Negro college students. After compiling that study, I wanted it published by a reputable magazine. I thought of asking Dr. DuBois to publish it in *The Crisis*. I was a little hesitant, because I had never sat down and talked to Dr. DuBois. I took a chance when in New York, to study Negro churches in the United States. I requested an audience with Dr. DuBois. I told his secretary what I wanted, and she gave me an appointment. I went to the office to talk to Dr. DuBois about the study which I had

with me. If you didn't know Dr. DuBois, you thought he was mighty stern. He came in and greeted me, and I told him who I was and pointed out that he carried my picture, years ago, in *The Crisis*, when I graduated from Bates College in 1920.

He looked at the study for a few minutes. He got up and he said "leave it with me, and I will publish it." I was shocked and glad that he was going to publish the article and a little bit concerned about the abrupt manner in which he dismissed me. The next thing I knew *The Crisis* carried my article which showed, in essence, that the black boys and girls had made very narrow choices. This was my first printed article, entitled, "After College, what for Negroes?"—December, 1930. Of course, I was continuing to read "As the Crow Flies." After 1930, my articles continued to be published rather often in *The Crisis*.

"World Churchmen Score Prejudice"—November, 1937

"The Church Surveys World Problems"—October, 1937

"The Most Neglected Area in Negro Education"—August, 1938

"Christian Youth and Race"—December, 1939

"The Negro and the Present War"—1942.

When I met Dr. DuBois again and came to know him well, I had been Dean of the School of Religion at Howard University, had earned my Doctorate from the University of Chicago, and was at Morehouse as its President. John Hope had invited Dr. DuBois to be Head of the Department of Sociology and he founded *Phylon*, and was its first editor. That was his second time that he came to Atlanta University. He went to Atlanta University for the first time in 1897, hired by President Bumstead, and he was brought there to offset the great impact that Booker Washington had made on the South in 1896. He was there during the Atlanta race riot in 1906, and in that connexion, he wrote the litany of Atlanta which was about the race riot of 1906. Before going to Atlanta University, he taught at Wilberforce, and the rumour had it that the President of Wilberforce, on one occasion, called on Dr. DuBois to pray and Dr. DuBois responded by saying, "No, I won't." So, when he went to the Atlanta University, he had President Bumstead promise him that he would never be called on to pray. John Hope brought Dr. DuBois to Atlanta the second time in 1933, to teach sociology at the time when he founded the *Phylon*. He was at Morehouse when Sadie (my deceased wife) and I came to Atlanta in 1940. I was the President of Morehouse. It was there that Sadie and I developed an acquaintance with Dr. DuBois and we considered him our very dear friend. He was not the stern man that I had earlier believed him to be. He was quite humorous, could "crack" jokes and laugh lustily. Sadie, too, had been an admirer of Dr. DuBois, and fairly often, we invited him to our home for lunch or for dinner. My wife came from Gray, Georgia—about 20 miles from Macon—in the country where she and her mother made blackberry wine and other wines, and she served some of that wine to Dr. DuBois. He tasted it and blurted out, "where did you get this wine? It is good, about the best wine I have ever had," and after that, Sadie always had a little wine for Dr. DuBois. At another time, she called him up and invited him to dinner

and he jokingly said "what are you going to serve?" Sadie replied to Dr. DuBois, "you don't ask your hostess what will be served!" She said, "what do you want?" He said, "I want duck." Sadie said "we don't have any duck," and DuBois said, "I will buy the duck and bring it. I will get my own dinner and you cook it," and then Sadie decided on other dishes that would be served with the duck.

I don't know what Dr. DuBois believed about God. But in his early years, he referred to God rarely; so the impression was given that he was not particularly religious. But after the race riot in Atlanta, in 1906, he wrote the litany on the Atlanta race riot. And in that Litany, he talked about injustice and the inhumanity of man to man and raised the question, "surely God, thou too are not white?"

This reminds me of an experience that a friend of mine, from Charleston, South Carolina, had with Dr. DuBois. Dr. DuBois was a guest in their home, at breakfast, the host asked Dr. DuBois to say the blessing. Dr. DuBois mumbled something inaudible. At noon, he asked Dr. DuBois again to bless the food—Dr. DuBois mumbled something inaudible. Then, when he got through saying the blessing at the noon meal, Dr. DuBois said, "hereafter, you say your own blessing." Here is a man who had intellect and character and could have remained in New England and escaped some of the prejudices that were so pronounced in the South. But, instead, he came south to do his college work at Fisk and on to Harvard to do his Ph.D. work. If Dr. DuBois had been white, after receiving his Doctorate from Harvard and after writing that brilliant thesis in 1895, Harvard University would have never allowed him to leave the University. Because, without a doubt, he was one of the ablest men that Harvard has ever produced.

In 1903, Dr. DuBois had published *The Souls of Black Folk* which, according to my way of thinking, is the greatest of all of his books. He was prophetic when he said in *Souls of Black Folk*: "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line." He saw that more clearly than most men. His book *The Suppression of the African Slavery* was a work that a white man could hardly have written. He was one of the men that was born free, free as the wind blows, free as the birds that fly. He was a moving force in the Niagara Movement, leading to the establishment of the NAACP. He was the moving force in starting the Pan-African Organization.

He didn't work for money, he worked for the cause of justice of all men across the world, but, particularly, of black men. He was born free, free as the wind blows, free as the birds fly. I am reminded in closing of this beautiful poem by one of our great poets, which I think tells the determination of Dr. DuBois:

*One who never turned his back but marched breast forward  
Never doubted that clouds would break  
Never dreamed that right though worsted  
Wrong would triumph*

Finally, he died in Africa, the country he loved. This is my feeble tribute to William Edward Burghardt DuBois.

## AN ACTIVE PARTICIPANT IN THE MOVEMENT FOR THE DEFENCE OF PEACE

Statement by H.E. Vladimir N. Martynenko  
*Permanent Representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist  
Republic to the United Nations*

Thank you Mr. Chairman. In commemorating the 110th birthday of William DuBois, great historian, sociologist, writer and political figure, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* is playing due tribute to a great humanist who devoted his life to fighting against racial discrimination, and social oppression, and for peace and friendship between peoples.

The activities of Dr. DuBois were manifold. They were marked by wide, great widths of interest. Dr. DuBois was a scholar, teacher, one of the philosophers of the present black literature in the United States. All his activities were connected with the practical struggle for the elimination of colonialism and racism. His fundamental writings are well-known throughout the world. He pointed out the role of the black peoples in history and passionately condemned the consequences of the colonial policies of imperialism and racial discrimination, and defended the rights of African peoples and all victims of racism. All who treasure peace and security are compelled to pay tribute to the unstinting activities of DuBois defending peace for earth, fighting against the danger of a new conflagration in the world. DuBois was an active participant in the movement for the Defense of Peace. He headed delegations several times at international conferences from 1950. He was a member of the World Peace Council. His appeal made at the Bandung Conference had a great international impact.

DuBois' activities as a peace fighter made him well-known throughout the world. He was the winner of the International Peace Prize and the Lenin Peace Prize, as well. The unstinting activities of Dr. DuBois won him the love and respect of all Soviet people. To commemorate his services in 1959, he was given the honorary Doctorate of Moscow University.

Today we note with satisfaction that the cause to which DuBois devoted his life, the struggle for the full elimination of colonialism and racism, of strengthening international peace, is winning fresher and fresher victories. Our agenda is the elimination of the final vestiges of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* in southern Africa, and the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic would today like to reaffirm our unflinching principles and decisive support for the just struggle of all oppressed people of Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa, for their liberation from the colonial yoke. We will give them support in their rightful struggle for freedom and independence. Dr. DuBois did his part in that struggle.

# A MAN WHO HELPED TO SHAPE PAC POLITICAL THOUGHT

Statement by Mr. David Sibeko  
*Representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania  
(PAC)*

I thank you Mr. Chairman. Until you gave me that lofty title I was beginning to develop a country chasm complex, seen but not heard. Nonetheless, let us return to the solemnity of the occasion.

This is black history month in the United States of America and everywhere the occasion is being celebrated with vigorous enthusiasm. During the seminars, meetings and conferences we have been invited to share with our African-American sisters and brothers, and through the columns of newspapers and magazines, as well as through radio and television, we are learning that the history of black people is rich indeed. At the same time we are learning about the men and women who shaped that history. Amongst those whose contributions are most outstanding is the man we are gathered here to pay deserved posthumous homage to—Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, born 110 years ago today.

It is most appropriate that Dr. DuBois is being remembered by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* of the United Nations because the Azanian national liberation struggle has drawn extensively from the writings and the teachings of this great African patriot. The works of Dr. DuBois played a significant role in shaping the political thinking of the sons and daughters of Africa who in 1959 launched the Azanian people's most dependable vehicle for national liberation—the Pan Africanist Congress.

At the inaugural conference of the P.A.C. on April 6, 1959, Mangaliso Sobukwe, expounding on the pre-requisite, destruction of white supremacy so that the African forces that must shape the destiny of our continent can be unleashed, quoted from the famous lines in Dr. DuBois' *The Negro* (published in 1915), where he says: "Most men in this world are coloured. A belief in humanity means belief in coloured men. The future world will, in all reasonable possibility, be what coloured men make it."

This prophecy has steadily been vindicated over the years, and nowhere is that more visible than in this world body—the United Nations. Not long ago, this organization was the political football field of the imperialists. The lofty ideals contained in the Charter of the United Nations were contemptuously kicked aside. Colonial powers feared no censure for their inhuman policies in the colonies. Ostensible peace forces were created and used to suppress popular struggles for self-determination. Nation States were denied their rightful place in community of nations. But with the breakthroughs scored in the struggle for decolonization much of that has changed. And the role of Dr. DuBois in this struggle, particularly in Africa, occupies a place of high regard.

It is universally acknowledged that the fifth Pan African Congress which Dr. DuBois chaired in Manchester, England, in 1945, was the spring board from where some of the most significant national liberation struggles in Africa were launched in the post-Second World War era. Dr. DuBois lived to see one of his most outstanding protégés. Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, lead his people to freedom and independence in Ghana in 1957—an event which fueled ongoing national liberation struggles all across Africa. Dr. DuBois was to regain his African citizenship by gaining the citizenship of Ghana in 1963.

Drawing from that inspiration in Azania we launched the Pan Africanist Congress. Our fundamental policies are based on Dr. DuBois' sound philosophy of a joined struggle by Africans to free the mother continent and people of African descent everywhere. Like Dr. DuBois, PAC has set as its objective the creation of a socialist society after the successful conclusion of our national democratic revolution. Our correct stand has enhanced the global struggle for the elimination of the exploitation of man by man. That can come about only with the total destruction of imperialism in all its forms, and through the application of scientific socialism. Hence, Dr. DuBois' prophecy of the future of the world becoming what coloured men make it, is vindicated because today Africa is joined with the progressive forces of mankind the whole world over in struggling for justice for all of mankind by opting for the socialist path.

Azania is destined to play a meaningful role in that struggle. This has led Dr. DuBois' son, David Graham DuBois, my good friend and comrade-in-arms, to warn that: "The American people are today being programmed to accept direct, large-scale United States military intervention in Africa; perhaps not this year or next, but within this decade or the next, in what will be an attempt to forestall the emergence of a mighty, independent, black-led socialist People's Republic of Azania."

In PAC, we have no illusions about the designs of imperialism over our country, now and in the future. It is for that purpose that we stand for a united effort by all of the forces that are genuinely against *apartheid*-colonialism and we base our struggle on a people's war. Armed with unity and the skills of people's war, the Azanian people will not only conquer over *apartheid*-colonialism, they are destined to overcome any aggression in a liberated Azania. Our contention in this regard has been vindicated over and over again in the successful people's revolutions which have been fought in countries like the People's Republic of China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and Democratic Kampuchea.

We have Dr. DuBois and all the Pan Africanists, people like Dr. Nkrumah, President Sékou Touré, Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere, Malcom X, Marcus Garvey and a host of others, to thank for helping us develop our correct stand.

Compliments to Dr. DuBois and his great work cannot be complete without due recognition for the revolutionary collaboration he enjoyed from his life-long companion and comrade-in-arms, Madame Shirley Graham DuBois, who also has painfully parted from this world. I will

always remember her warm but firm counselling and the joy of working with her at lectures, in meetings, conferences and a great many solidarity activities fashioned to consolidate the Pan Africanism her husband has correctly been called the father of.

I thank you Mr. Chairman.

## THE INTERNATIONAL IMPACT OF DR. DUBOIS' PHILOSOPHY

Statement by Mr. Walter C. Carrington  
*Executive Vice-President, African-American Institute*

Mr. Chairman, it is a great pleasure and a deep honour to be able to participate in this celebration of the birthday of Dr. William E. DuBois, and I am very pleased with the resolution with which you opened this afternoon's session because a real testimony to the life of Dr. DuBois is to be found not just in celebration, but in carrying on his work, in gathering together blacks from all over the world to continue his work for the liberation of Africa.

Mr. Chairman, we have heard quoted many times today the most famous of Dr. DuBois' utterances that "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line." It is well to remember that that statement was issued in 1900 at a conference in London. It was only fifteen years after the Conference of Berlin had taken place during which the European countries had carved up the continent of Africa. And it took place at a time when far away a Boer war was raging in southern Africa—a war whose outcome was to make the truth of Dr. DuBois' statement more painfully real than even he would have realized at the time. Dr. DuBois was but 32 years old when he made that statement. He was already a distinguished scholar. His *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America—1638–1870* held pride of place as the very first volume in the prestigious Harvard Historical Series. *The Philadelphia Negro* represented the first attempt by any American scholar to develop a scientific method of sociology. He might have remained content, this first black man ever to receive a Ph.D. from Harvard, to dwell in an ivory tower pursuing his intellectual interests. But to our great benefit, having defined the twentieth century's great problem, he dedicated himself as scholar and as activist to solving it.

At that London Conference DuBois picked up a slogan coined by the meeting's convenor, the West Indian barrister, Henry Sylvester-Williams, and with his genius for propaganda took the phrase "Pan-African" and transformed it into this century's most enduring anthem of a continent's liberation and a race's redemption. It is no accident that in the 57 years from 1900 to the rise of Kwame Nkrumah to power in Ghana, the



leadership of the Pan-African Movement should have remained in the hands of those whose ancestors had been kidnapped and taken in chains to alien shores. As DuBois observed: "The idea of one Africa to unite the thought and ideals of all native peoples of the dark continent belongs to the twentieth century and stems naturally from the West Indies and the United States. Here various groups of Africans, separate in origin, became so united in experience and so exposed to the impact of new cultures that they began to think of Africa as one idea and one land."

The Pan-African Movement had its greatest successes in the wake of the two World Wars which set the European colonial powers fighting against each other. The first of these wars resulted in the vanquished, Germany, losing its African colonies, and the second left the victorious allies too weakened to prevent the sun from setting on their empires.

DuBois understood better than anyone else how Africa could capitalize on the Kaiser's fall. He went to Paris in 1919 where the Peace Conference was being held and with the assistance of Blaise Diagne, the Senegalese member of the French Parliament, called the First Pan-African Congress. The meeting had as its most immediate goal the influencing of the larger Peace Conference. DuBois was concerned that Germany's colonies might be divided up as spoils of war among the victorious British, French and Belgians. He attempted to get Woodrow Wilson to apply his slogan of "self-determination" to the German colonies. Rather than being given to others they should be placed under international control until such time as their inhabitants could determine their own future. DuBois went further in his demands. In addition to the German territories, those of Portugal and Belgium in Africa should also be put under the guidance of an international organization. DuBois did not get all he demanded—Belgium and Portugal kept what they had. But a permanent international body under the League of Nations was established and that Mandates Commission became the forerunner of the United Nations Trusteeship Council. But for DuBois and the first Pan-African Congress there might not be sitting here in the United Nations today the independent States of Cameroon and Togo; and Namibia would long ago, have been swallowed up as an incorporated part of South Africa.

It was in London in the wake of World War II that DuBois held the fifth and last of his Pan-African Congresses. There he met Nkrumah and Kenyatta for the first time and in honour of his life long leadership was elected by them and the other delegates as President. Now at 77, he might well have retired from the field and rested on his laurels. But he was to continue for another 18 years writing and exhorting on behalf of black liberation in the United States and in Africa.

Hitler had been crushed in Germany but DuBois did not believe that Nazism was dead in the world. He believed it to be dangerously alive still in South Africa. He sought to publicize the following appeal from black South Africa to the just established United Nations in 1945:

"The non-European . . . is denied the right to buy land and property; he is denied the right to trade or to serve in the army—except as a

stretcher-bearer or servant; he is prohibited from entering places of entertainment and culture. But still more, he is not allowed to live in the towns. And if it was a crime in Nazi Germany for an "Aryan" to mix with or marry a non-Aryan, it is equally a criminal offence in South Africa for a member of *Herrenvolk* to mix with or marry with the slave race . . . While it is true that there are no *Buchenwald* concentration camps in South Africa, it is equally true that the prisons of South Africa are full to overflowing with non-Europeans. But if there is no *Buchenwald* in South Africa, the sadistic fury with which the *Herrenvolk* policemen belabour the non-European victim, guilty or not guilty, is comparable only to the brutality of the S.S. Guards. Moreover, the treatment meted out to the non-European in the Law Courts is comparable only to the fate of the non-Aryan in the Nazi Law Courts. But the fundamental difference in law and morality is not only expressed in different paragraphs of the Legal Statutes, it lies in the fundamentally different concept of the value of the life of a non-European as compared with the value placed upon the life of a European. The life of a non-European is very cheap in South Africa, as cheap as the life of a Jew in Nazi Germany."

It is instructive to remember that this was the situation in South Africa *before* the Afrikaners came to power and enacted their *apartheid* laws making the conditions of blacks worse in every respect.

In 1955 DuBois wrote: "It seems almost unbelievable that in the middle of the 20th century the Union of South Africa is widely recognized as a civilized nation." In 1960 just three years before his death he made this observation and this prophecy:

" . . . down towards Land's End, on the Cape of Evil Omen, [he refused by the way, all through out his life to see it as whites saw it as the Cape of Good Hope] are some three million whites in the Union of South Africa, the Rhodesias and South West Africa, who are determined to rule 20 or more million blacks as slaves and servants. They say this brazenly and openly in the face of the world and none do anything, save Black Africa. And here the next world war will begin unless the world wakes up and wakes up soon."

DuBois never ceased to remind men of colour everywhere that the same exploitative economic system which had kept them colonized for so long was about to be foisted upon them in their independence by Western white men. He espoused socialism as the only effective antidote. The socialism he championed was Marxist and scientific rather than Fabian and democratic. A Marxist, however, in the political climate of the 1950's, no matter how accomplished his past, was a prophet without honour among the masses of Americans, black as well as white.

Others have addressed you this day on the revolutionary impact his writings had on the lives of Afro-Americans. I am confining my remarks to his international impact except for one brief word of personal witness. I myself might never have had the will to visit Africa while a student had I

not been weaned as a child on the teachings of DuBois. The parents of my generation whether lettered or not knew of DuBois as the most profound and original thinker the black race had ever produced. They bade us read him with almost the same fervor with which they introduced us to the Bible. It is my pride that W.E.B. DuBois was born and did most of his work in America; it is my shame that in his last and most radical years we were powerless to defend him from the witch hunt that brought him into our courts handcuffed like a common criminal. He was acquitted of the baseless charges against him and in the ninety-third year of his life accepted the invitation of Kwame Nkrumah to go to Ghana to begin work on the project he had long dreamed of—*The Encyclopedia Africana*. That work like so much he began remains undone and must be carried to completion by the disciples he left in all the lands where black men dwell.

On the very eve of the historic March on Washington, he died a citizen of Ghana, August 27, 1963 in the 95th year of his extraordinary life—the most distinguished exile ever driven from these shores. His burial spot outside Christianborg Castle in Accra has become a place of pilgrimage. We who remain here in the diaspora, echo the prayer of the Afro-American poet, Elma Stuckey:

*"Oh Africa! Be gentle to his mound  
For tender is your bosom for your own  
Dark are your nights but filled with stars of hope  
That we shall reap the harvest he has sown."*

## **A PRINCIPAL MOTIVATOR OF THE PAN-AFRICAN LIBERATION SPIRIT**

**Statement by Mr. Frederick Dube  
*Representative of the African National Congress of South  
Africa***

As children in South Africa we knew but few names apart from those of the leaders of the land. Among these few names were the names of Dr. Aggrey, Dr. DuBois and Mr. Garvey. As we grew older we began to ask questions "who are these men?" Of course, the answers were not always available. We began to scan the libraries which were very scanty and began to read about these men. Some of them, the statements we read and which stuck in our memory, were like the following one:

"I think today as yesterday that the colour line is a great problem of this century. But today I see more clearly than yesterday that back of the problem of race and colour, lies a greater problem which both obscures and implements it, and that is the fact that so many civilized persons are willing to live in comfort even if the price of this is poverty, ignorance and disease of the majority of their fellow man."

This was written a long time ago by Dr. DuBois. What he said then is still true today. To find the truthfulness of the above quotation you have to look around to see the decisions that have been carried out in the Security Council. Two years running we have witnessed a triple veto to thwart very mild demands for economic sanctions against South Africa by the civilized Christian representatives. You all know who we mean!

Dr. DuBois' influence was not only great in the United States, but it had reached the shores and the land of South Africa. The ANC which was founded in 1912, the pan-africanist spirit which Dr. DuBois tried to disseminate to all Africans was brought over by Dr. P.I. Seme who is known as the spiritual leader of the African National Congress of South Africa. That influence of Pan Africanism which was being preached in the United States and bred by Dr. DuBois became the foundation stone of the ANC then and today. All we have to do is to look at our national anthem and see that our borders were not really the borders—the borders were Africa itself.

The ANC, the only authentic liberation movement, feels privileged that on this day of commemoration of the birthday of Dr. DuBois it has been asked to come and join the others, for Dr. DuBois will remain a spirit of Pan African liberation of Africa. His dream of the free, united Africa has been partially fulfilled—the evidence is the OAU. But this, as I already indicated, is merely partial. The forces which see the unity of Africa as a danger are still at work. We see them always there introducing 'bogeyman'. Their 'bogeymen' are communism and the radicals. And the interesting thing, however, is that their 'bogeyman' is able to change 180° everytime they decide to change it, and they believe that they can make you or destroy you simply by labelling you.

A day like this is a day which makes all Africans look at themselves and think again about the dream. Is the dream ever going to be realized? It is the Africans who will decide whether this dream will remain a dream or a reality.

Thank you Mr. Chairman.

## **AN ADVOCATE OF ACTIVE SOLIDARITY BETWEEN AFRICANS AND PEOPLE OF AFRICAN DESCENT**

**Statement by H.E. Mr. Serge Elie Charles**  
*Permanent Representative of Haiti to the United Nations*

Thank you very much Mr. Chairman and distinguished delegates. The delegation of Haiti associates itself fully with this meeting to commemorate the 110th birthday of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois who was a great friend of the black Republic of Haiti which he vindicated in particularly difficult

circumstances of its existence as a sovereign and independent state.

We welcome the commendable idea of the Special Committee for having allowed time to commemorate and honour that great humanist and philosopher who struggled throughout his life to emancipate his black American brothers.

He was born on 23 February 1868 at Great Barrington in the State of Massachusetts in a middle-class family of some means. He was a brilliant student at the University of Fisk and Harvard in the United States, and in Berlin where he distinguished himself by his brilliant intellectual qualities and assiduity. He was honoured by several academic titles and he was the first black to be elected Member of the American Institute of Arts and Letters. He was a full member of the black elite of the middle class from which he stemmed, and Dr. DuBois chose to identify himself with the millions of coloured compatriots who were agonizing at that time in the United States under the weight of the most ferocious type of racial oppression. He was a writer, journalist, sociologist, teacher and a politician, and he devoted all his talents to vindicate and promote the American black to create for him the place which he now occupies in American society. Endowed with exceptional moral courage, he zealously opposed racial prejudice which he considered to be devoid of any scientific basis.

In the Year Book for the Study of Black Problems he completely overthrew the thesis of the superiority of the white race adduced by pseudo-biologists such as Gobineau, Houston, Stewart, Chamberlain, Madison, Grant, etc.

The points of view that he set forth in the studies at Atlanta University, publications which made him a pioneer in the field, paved the way to ideological battles against the white racists and black utopians. He contributed to the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People of which he was a founding member. His writings as Director of Publicity and Research have influenced the thoughts of his contemporaries. His vocation as apostle of his race made him take very early on a great interest in black problems. He was tireless and his presence was always felt wherever the black man was oppressed. Poverty, all kinds of discrimination, exploitation, oppression, were the real facts of his race.

Endorsing the dream of his friend and collaborator, the Trinidadian lawyer Henry Sylvester Williams, who convened in 1900 the first African Conference to protest against the white colonialist aggression, he laid down the ideological foundation from the basis of which the young leaders of the Pan African Movement worked out new political means, organizational techniques adapted to African tradition and circumstances. This is why he was nicknamed the "father of Pan Africanism"—this dynamic Pan Africanism which made sovereign nations in the middle of the twentieth century out of the subjected peoples of the black continent. His concept of Pan Africanism was opposed to that of Marcus Garvey, the great Jamaican visionary who advocated the return to Africa. He was a citizen of America and he championed complete autonomy of Africans in Africa. He believed that national self-determination, individual liberty and democratic socialism should provide the basic elements of Pan Africanism.

The five Pan African Congresses which he supervised for more than 30 years were considered as a manifestation of fraternal solidarity between Africans and people of African descent. They formulated programmes and tactics for a non-violent and positive action. This positive, non-violent action did not aim to condemn blacks to a passive role as certain Western powers would have had it, and who today still refuse to admit the legitimacy of the armed struggle of the liberation movement; this according to the spirit and wish of numerous General Assembly resolutions. Indeed the recommendations that he put forward at the third Pan Africanist Congress in London reaffirmed "as long as whites carry arms against blacks, the right of blacks to carry arms for their own defence must be recognized." Dr. DuBois condemned the policy of *apartheid* which unfortunately is still rife in South Africa. In a petition submitted to the League of Nations, he demanded the participation of blacks in administering territories under mandate from which they came. It is pleasant to recall now, and as was stressed by our Chairman, that the distinguished son of Haiti, Mr. Dantes Bellegarde, Ambassador to France and Representative of his country to the Assembly of the League of Nations had the privilege to introduce the delegation of the second Pan African Congress, headed by Dr. DuBois. His total commitment to the struggle for the emancipation of black peoples still under colonial domination had not prevented him from taking up the defence of black states whose sovereignty and independence were once being challenged. Speaking of these States in the manifesto submitted to the second Pan African Congress he stated "the independence of Abyssinia, Liberia, Haiti and the Dominican Republic is absolutely necessary for the black man to believe in the sincerity and honesty of the white man. These nations have the right to be free. They deserve the recognition of the world irrespective of the mistakes and errors, simply because they occupy a level which is not inferior to the most advanced civilization in the world. Nevertheless, the present situation can be favourable compared to past history and even recent history of most European nations. It is a shame for civilization, for the Treaty of London to have practically invited Italy to invade Abyssinia, for free America to have unjustly and cruelly seized Haiti and produce the workers for slavery and for massacre, a certain number of them forceably overthrowing democratic institutions without granting the least assistance or help."

Black people of the world were roused by his voice and vociferously demanded their rights to liberty and independence. His work was indeed considerable although still under way. Loved by some, hated by others, Dr. DuBois had the satisfaction of spending his last days in the land of his ancestors, the land of Africa which was so dear to him. He passed away in Ghana in 1963 after having seen the beginning of the triumph of the movement for which he had fought. Africa was almost liberated.

We revere the memory of that man whose work has served the cause of humanity as a whole.

I thank you sir.

# A SELFLESS CHAMPION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM FOR THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF AFRICA

Statement by H.E. Mr. Peter Florin  
*Deputy Foreign Minister and Permanent Representative of  
the German Democratic Republic to the United Nations*

Thank you Mr. Chairman. At today's meeting we are commemorating the memory of a great man, Dr. William DuBois, but first we should like to express some thoughts of the German Democratic Republic, a country which reveres the memory of Dr. DuBois, his cause and his life. The name DuBois is for our people synonymous with the just struggle for human rights, struggle against colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. The history of humanity is an endless concatenation of events indissolubly linked with the names of such people as DuBois, the aim of whose life was to serve progress, give all their lives to fight against injustices of every kind.

We are duty-bound to honour such people. One of those selfless champions of human rights was William DuBois. He devoted his life to a great cause, the liberation of people from oppression and humiliation. He was constantly aware of the injustices done to his people, as well as colonial oppression of peoples in Africa.

DuBois was the initiator of the Pan Africanist movement, as active champion of peace, and in 1961 he became a member of the Communist Party of the United States of America. William DuBois had a difficult struggle to acquire knowledge. He was the son of a poor father, but thanks to his great capabilities he reached the zenith of learning. He became a student of the university and understood that racial conflict is born out of the present social structure. Later, during his many travels to many different countries, DuBois understood that the strivings of the ruling circles for material gain was the source of their oppression and of injustices meted out against the blacks. In the 1920s he visited the Soviet Union for the first time, a country which had eliminated exploitation of man by man, where the reasons for oppression had been rooted out, and then Dr. DuBois realized the significance of that country for human destiny as a whole.

After the Second World War he visited European socialist countries including my own country, the German Democratic Republic, and once again he saw that only together with these countries could one attain mutual understanding between peoples, strengthen peace and resolve the major tasks of our time. The fall of colonialism, the successes of the national liberation movements in Africa reaffirmed that "it showed that each step of progress was closely connected with the existence of socialism, the implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence between countries with differing social systems."

With regard to the UN Conference organized in San Francisco, here again on 16 March 1945, DuBois said "the attempt to draw up an international declaration on human rights without emphasizing that peoples living in colonies are particularly important, is doomed to failure. A decisive step was taken at that conference if liberation from poverty and fear were to become possible. If the millions of people living in colonies were to become liberated finally, then that cause would be hallowed. The poorest people of the earth include 90 per cent illiterate people. They are the helpless victims of colonialism. So far these people are regarded as a source of material gain and have been excluded from democratic world developments."

William DuBois understood that the prerequisite for the freedom and independence of the African states is the struggle for implementing peace on earth. He was one of the main initiators of the peace movement in America which was formed in March 1949 in the Waldorf Astoria Hotel. Everytime it was the case of defending the cause of black people of the world, DuBois raised his voice. The impetus of his life, all his activities, were enshrined in his works. He was a great author, a great scholar. He inspired people to fight for freedom and independence and all this confirms that if he were here today he would be the most consistent fighter against colonialism, *apartheid* and racism in southern Africa.

Mr. Chairman, today I should like to reassure you that the German Democratic Republic, as a socialist state, has always defended and will defend the just cause of the African peoples. In view of the cruel crimes being perpetrated against the black peoples in southern Africa, 90 percent of these people are being trampled underfoot; African children are dying of malnutrition; there are two hundred so-called laws which merely increase political and economic repression of the Africans; in view of the recent attempts of certain circles to increase their fantastic material gain on the backs of the Africans; in view of these attempts we must mobilize all our forces this year to fight *apartheid* with particular behests to Dr. DuBois, the genuine fighter against *apartheid*. We must strengthen and consolidate solidarity among the national liberation movements in southern Africa.

Thank you Mr. Chairman.



# A MAN WHO TAUGHT THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD THAT THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IN AFRICA IS THEIR STRUGGLE AS WELL

**Statement by Mr. Anthony Monteiro**  
*Executive Secretary of the National Anti-Imperialist  
Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation*

Thank you very much Mr. Chairman, and permit me to congratulate you and through you the entire committee for this exceptional initiative in commemorating the 110th birthday of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois. I think it is to be commended especially as an initiative in this the year of action against *apartheid* in South Africa.

Mr. Chairman, I intend to be brief, because most of what has already been said I completely agree with, but I would like to repeat: Dr. DuBois was an extraordinary man who combined within himself exceptional characteristics. A scholar, humanist, poet, revolutionary, internationalist and pan africanist. DuBois was not however only a man of ideas. His fearless intellect was utilized in the cause of freedom, thus DuBois realized that ideas must be realized in activity. His life's work is not only therefore to be seen in his literary achievements, as great as they are, his founding of not only the *Crisis*, but *Phylon* magazine, *Freedomways*, the joint founding with Paul Robeson and Alphaeus Hunton of the Council on African Affairs, the development and initiation of the modern peace movement in the United States of America, an activity that brought the fury of the reactionary circles of the United States Government upon him, his fathering of Pan Africanism in the modern sense, all of this is a testament to his ideas, but to the fact that he was a man of action and courage.

Unless we can say, Mr. Chairman, that DuBois is immortal because of the fact that he fought for the new world, a world free of racism, colonialization and exploitation of man by man. In fact, it would not be exaggerating, in my opinion, to state that much of the work and thinking of Dr. DuBois played a crucial role in the shaping of the principles that have given life to this very organization. Its Charter and Declaration on Human Rights bespeak many of the basic principles of the philosophy and theory of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois. In particular, I would draw your attention to the understanding which DuBois had that the achievement of a durable international peace could only come about as a result of the achievement of freedom and national liberation in the third world, but in Africa in particular, that is to say Dr. DuBois recognized in an early period that the fight for peace is at the same time the fight for freedom, and simultaneously the fight for freedom is the fight for peace. DuBois also recognized that the struggle for African liberation, that is Pan-Africanism, must be seen within a global context. He recognized that the main responsibility for

the liberation of Africa, for the emancipation of the oppressed and exploited of African descent in the diaspora was first of all the responsibility of those who receive the brunt of that oppression. But, at the same time, the fight to achieve genuine freedom was humanity's duty. Thus, the fight for national liberation, for the eradication of racism and exploitation, was an all-humanity issue, an all-humanity question. Therefore, Pan Africanism for DuBois was not a concept of black exclusivity, of black separation from humanity as a whole, but an instrument of political and economic liberation. It was an instrument through which the oppressed of African descent in unison with all the progressive humanity could usher in the new movement of human history, the period of total liberation of all of humanity. Thus for Dr. DuBois, Pan-Africanism was an international concept, an anti-imperialist concept.

It was for this reason, Mr. Chairman, that DuBois urged the fighters for liberation on the African continent, to seek all allies in their struggle. In particular he sought to indicate that the road to liberation in Africa could not be achieved but in unity with all of the anti-imperialist forces, and in particular the socialist community of states. Moreover, it was DuBois' vision that the achievement of economic independence on the African continent would require the indispensable unity of the forces of national liberation on the African continent and the socialist countries.

In a later period, Amilcar Cabral, founder and leader of the PAIGC called this unity or this alliance, an alliance of historic associates. Certainly it is no secret to any of us that DuBois, throughout his life, was a radical, a revolutionary. He was a man of principle, therefore it should not appear, or we should not accept, as a mystery the fact that near the end of his life he became a member of the Communist Party of the United States, recognizing that in that Party, according to him, were to be found the principles for which he had fought most of his life, the principles of peace, the fight against racism and against colonialism.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, the greatest testament to Dr. DuBois is the liberation movement that is now sweeping the African continent and which is intensified each day in South Africa. DuBois has taught the people of the world that the struggle for freedom in Africa is their struggle as well. This fight today is of particular concern to the peoples of the United States and in particular the Afro-American people who realize in this struggle against racism a crucial aspect of their own struggle against racial oppression here in the United States.

Mr. Chairman, DuBois taught us how to live, how to fight, how to be principled and finally how to be successful. Again, I would like to commend you. I think this is an extraordinary initiative which ushers in the year of struggle against *apartheid* in a proper manner.

Thank you Mr. Chairman.

# W.E.B. DUBOIS INSPIRED THE STRUGGLE FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF EQUALITY OF SOCIETIES AND PEOPLE

Statement by Mr. Christopher R. Thomas  
*Deputy Permanent Representative of Trinidad and Tobago  
to the United Nations*

Mr. Chairman, We commemorate today, at this special meeting of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the 110th anniversary of the birth of the late Dr. William E.B. DuBois, the great Afro-American scholar and father of Pan-Africanism.

A declaration emanating from the first Pan-African Conference held in London in 1900 and in which Dr. DuBois participated, contained the statement:

“The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line—the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea.”

The panorama defined in this declaration encompasses those areas of the world bedevilled by a host of ills deriving from a traditional and persistent pattern of unequal human relationships. These unequal human relationships in all their manifest indignities have been largely characterized by a notion and practice that all races and peoples are not entitled to equal recognition and treatment.

The colour line referred to in the declaration of the first Pan-African Conference is a manifestation of this. The declaration itself does not negate the historical indignity which has resulted from the problem of race and colour but underscores two points. One is that the problem in one form or another is still with us and that its resolution poses a challenge to the twentieth century. The second half of the twentieth century has been largely characterized by the demand of the developing world to redress the imbalances in their economic and social relations *vis-a-vis* the developed world, and thus establish a measure of societal stability and fulfilment of the basic human needs of their peoples. The economic crisis of the twentieth century demands this. But these demands can never be fully met without a fundamental and radical change in relations among people.

The dignity of the individual notwithstanding his race or colour and his acceptance as an equal partner in any social relationship are fundamental to the achievement of the equality of societies and peoples. No redress of imbalances, no radical change in social patterns, can and will ever be fully achieved and sustained without these.

This is indeed the thesis that Dr. DuBois and the first Pan-African Conference enunciate when they underscore with such clarity the funda-

mental problem of the twentieth century. For no progress in human relations can be sustained where human indignities exist and inequalities are perpetuated on the basis of race and colour. The myth of racial inequality or racial superiority has been exposed and destroyed. The challenge of the twentieth century is to erase it totally from the minds of men so that true progress in human relations can be achieved.

In South Africa, however, the scourge of *apartheid* persists. It is the duty of this Committee to continue to denounce it and the obligation of the international community to condemn and eradicate it. Wherever societies and groups of people are subjected to unequal treatment because of their race or the colour of their skin, mankind is outraged and progress retarded. Wherever the factors of race or colour of skin obstruct basic common goals, humanity is abused and human progress frustrated.

Last year in this Committee, at the commemoration of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa, the Government of Trinidad and Tobago honoured those who had died in the search for human dignity. This year, in this Committee, the Government of Trinidad and Tobago pays tribute to Dr. DuBois, the great Afro-American scholar and father of Pan-Africanism for his efforts at the attainment of human dignity for all by the eradication of inequalities based on race and colour. Tomorrow we shall continue with members of this Committee and the international community, to struggle for justice, equality and dignity for all peoples regardless of their race or colour. In this regard, the works, efforts and aspirations of Dr. DuBois will serve as continued inspiration to us.

## A FERVENT PAN-AFRICANIST

Statement by Mr. Irving Davis  
*Co-Chairman, Patrice Lumumba Coalition*

Thank you very much Mr. Chairman. I am very pleased that the Special Committee on *Apartheid* has seen fit to sponsor this important meeting at this critical moment in history.

Others far more eloquent than I, have underlined the many important contributions made by Dr. DuBois towards the concept of Pan Africanism. There are some among us who just as with Dr. DuBois, also credit the Honourable Marcus Garvey, who nearly during the same period, advanced the total concept of Pan Africanism beyond imagination into very practical reality. That practical reality being that regardless of where we are, in Mississippi or in Windhoek, in Harlem or Johannesburg, in Chile or in Zimbabwe; whether we are African people on the continent or in the diaspora, we are linked together by a common ideology, that ideology of anti-colonialism, anti-neocolonialism and anti-imperialism. We are linked together in a positive sense by our need for economic and political self-reliance, and let no black mind or body rest until we achieve this for the

total benefit of our people. This was the feeling, this was the spirit, this was the courage of Dr. DuBois and many of our great leaders, such men as Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Sammy Young Jr., and President Sékou Touré of Guinea, but to name a few. It is the type of courage of such great men and leadership that has truly advanced the cause of black liberation the world over, and we should make no mistake that true liberation will only come from a black man, for it is we who are indeed the wretched of the earth, and with that understanding all people would gain from our freedom as well.

In spite of everything else, Mr. Chairman, regardless of who does or does not support our struggle, true Pan Africanism for which Dr. DuBois and all great black leaders worked, lived and even died, demands that we African people at home and abroad escalate the struggle for the total liberation of southern Africa.

Permit me, Mr. Chairman, to list but just a few actions we can take world-wide in the spirit of Pan African unity:

1. We must escalate an economic boycott against the *apartheid* regime of South Africa. We must demand that all multi-national corporations of the Western imperialist powers cease and desist immediately, their illegal activity with that *apartheid* and racist regime.

2. We must watch and escalate a world-wide anti-mercenary struggle that would begin to speak to the mercenary activity plaguing southern Africa, not only South Africa but Namibia and Zimbabwe as well.

3. We need to raise and escalate the concept of adopting an African freedom fighter, for it is those brothers and sisters who are struggling on the front line in southern Africa, who are giving their blood and their very lives each and every day who are carrying the struggle forward and who are deserving of our support financially, materially and morally.

4. We must escalate, more and more, the bank withdrawal campaign. We know that one of the main reasons why the *apartheid* regime is able to sustain itself illegally in South Africa is because of the financial support it receives outside of South Africa itself.

Finally, in closing, Mr. Chairman, I would be remiss in my duty if I did not mention the ideal of the special treatment some member nations in the United Nations are given on the Security Council with the power of the veto. It is this very special treatment, *apartheid* type treatment, within the Security Council of the United Nations itself which has permitted for years the *apartheid* regime to continue its illegal practices. We must begin to escalate and demand worldwide that the United Nations re-evaluate the special treatment given to member nations within the Security Council itself, Mr. Chairman.

I am confident Mr. Chairman, that the whole of southern Africa would be liberated in my life time. I know that people worldwide join us in the anti-*apartheid* struggle, but that realization would not be a dream, it would indeed be a reality.

# A HERO OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

Statement by Mr. Laszlo Hadas  
*Member of the Permanent Mission of the Hungarian  
People's Republic to the United Nations*

We, members and non-members of the Special Committee against *apartheid* who are participating in this meeting, fighting for the betterment of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa which suffer under the exploitation and domination of the racist Pretoria regime, know it very well, that the today's anti-*apartheid* struggle is the final chapter of black peoples' long fight against racial colonial regimes.

This heroic struggle started when the first Portuguese colonizers stepped onto African soil, was going through hundreds of years, when it began to gain outstanding victories after the complete collapse of extreme imperialist, fascist regimes at the end of the Second World War. Now the rulers of the shameful remnants of the colonial system in the southern part of Africa have to learn the lesson: to stop the progress or to turn back the course of history is impossible.

It is clear for us now—in the third quarter of our century—that before the First World War the situation in Africa was quite different, when the colonial conquests in Africa were culminating. With the exception of Liberia and Ethiopia, there were no independent countries in the continent. However, even then, there were outstanding black theoreticians who foresaw the future against racial discrimination and colonial oppression. One of the most prominent figures among them was Dr. William Edward Burghardt DuBois, the passionate searcher for the truth and for the good of the black people, to whom we pay tribute now on the occasion of the one hundred and tenth anniversary of his birth.

As early as 1903, in his book *The Souls of Black Folk*, he stated: "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line." He dedicated his life to solving this problem, not only in Africa but in his own country as well.

Dr. DuBois was born in the United States five years after the Emancipation Proclamation. He was born, as he phrased it in his autobiography, the *Dusk at Dawn*, "with a flood of Negro blood." It was his dedication. He faced racial discrimination as he left his parents' house. Coping with such kind of difficulties he attended Harvard University, received the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1890, Master of Arts degree in 1891, and Doctor of Philosophy degree in 1895. His doctoral thesis, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States* was the first volume of its kind published in the United States.

Dr. DuBois disagreed with the doctrine existing at that time that "the Negro should raise himself by his own boot-straps and strive for an education basically vocational." He recognized what was behind this doctrine. He wrote "I saw the race-hatred of the whites as I had never dreamed of it before—naked and unashamed . . . and I was determined, even unto stubbornness, to fight the good fight." He did. In 1909 he founded the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, and the next year he began to edit *The Crisis*, the organ of the Association. For 24 years he remained in this work, wielding tremendous influence on the thought of the black people. He was very active in the international black movements too. In the early years of the twentieth century he initiated Pan-Africanism, organized the Pan-African Congress and was a leading participant in the successive Pan-African Conferences.

"In preaching independence he was a pioneer" says the volume of *Current Biography* for 1940 citing his principle to "fight to obtain without compromise such rights and privileges as belonged to members of civilization of which he was a part."

Dr. DuBois served successively as consultant to the United Nations upon its formation in San Francisco in 1945, as co-chairman of the Council on African Affairs, and, in 1949, as chairman of the Peace Information Center in New York.

Having connexions with the international working class movement he was developing himself both ideologically and theoretically. His fight for the betterment of the black oppressed became even more successful, and it was internationally recognized.

In 1952, he received the International Prize from the World Peace Council, headed by the French scientist Frederic Joliot-Curie. In 1959, Dr. DuBois received the Lenin International Peace Prize of the Soviet Union for "strengthening world peace."

During his last decade, Dr. DuBois became more and more deeply identified with the struggle for the advancement of the African black peoples. For that reason too, as a special guest of the then President he settled in Ghana. In the last year of his life he became a citizen of that country.

He lived a long and successful life fighting for the raising of the black. When he died, on August 28, 1963, the *New York Times* wrote: "For more than half a century, William Edward Burghardt DuBois was a monumental leader of Negro thought." He had died but his memory will never fade. The peoples of Africa identify themselves with the principles of this outstanding leader of black thought in wider and wider circles and fight for the freedom of the still oppressed in that continent more and more effectively and successfully.

On this occasion the Hungarian delegation once again reaffirms the support and solidarity of the Hungarian people with the oppressed living in southern part of Africa.

# A VISIONARY OF THE CAUSE OF BLACK PEOPLES ALL OVER THE WORLD

Statement by Mrs. Esther Jackson  
*Managing Editor of Freedomways*

Thank you, Honourable Chairman, distinguished members of this Committee, much has been said today about Dr. W.E.B DuBois on this occasion of the 110th year of his birth. Much has been said about his wisdom, his vision; that he was a philosopher, a sociologist, some say even the father of American sociology; a historian, novelist, poet; father of Pan Africanism; founder of the NAACP; journalist; jointly with the great Paul Robeson, a founder and leader of the Council on African Affairs.

I come from my generation of Afro-Americans whose lives were inspired, whose vision was lifted, who became internationalist at an early age because we were touched in some way by Dr. DuBois. Our lives and what we have contributed, if anything, can be attributed in large measure to his influence. Dr. DuBois was the inspirational leader of the Southern Negro Youth Congress founded in 1937, and to which two of the historic distinguished speakers this morning were also associated—Dr. Wesley and Dr. Mays. In a speech that Dr. DuBois made in Columbia, South Carolina, in October 1946, called "Behold the Land", he said: "The future of American Negroes is in the South. Here, 327 years ago, they began to enter what is now the United States of America. Here they have suffered the damnation of slavery, the frustration of re-construction and the lynching of emancipation." I trust then that an organization like yours is going to regard the South as the battle ground of a great crusade. This is the firing line not simply for the emancipation of the American Negro, but for the emancipation of the African Negro and the Negroes of the West Indies; for the emancipation of the coloured races and for the emancipation of the white slaves of modern capitalist monopolies.

Dr. DuBois said at that time in 1946, many years before the civil rights struggles of the 1960s: "Here is a chance for young men and women of devotion to lift again the banner of humanity and to walk toward a civilization which will be free and intelligent; which will be healthy and unafraid and built in a world a culture led by black folk and joined by people of all colours and all races without poverty, ignorance and disease."

As one of the editors of *Freedomways* magazine, a magazine which was last in a long series of publications inspired by Dr. DuBois, which has been mentioned before here today, of the *Crisis*, the *Phylon*, the *Brownies Book*—a book for children—he inspired us to establish this publication which is now 18 years old and which was the last work which Dr. DuBois engaged in before he left for Africa to edit the *Encyclopaedia Africana*. He shared with us his many years of editing experience and launched into the numerous details of preparing the first issue for the printer with zest, humour and the projection of confident enthusiasm. Above all else, Dr.



DuBois was a teacher, this most remarkable of men with enormous energy and great talent. It was through his teaching that he exerted his leadership upon his people and developed the concept of Pan Africanism. This influence reverberated in Africa, in the Caribbean Islands and other areas of the world where African people are predominant. Later, he urged Afro-Americans to move towards socialism, as a solution to their problems and for the progression of mankind. His wisdom and his teachings are a legacy for the ages. More than 20 volumes of major works were published by Dr. DuBois and many more additional volumes were published after his death. In his lifetime he wrote with insight on a wide range of subjects and left behind many volumes for us.

It can be said of Dr. DuBois the same as was said at one time of the abolitionist John Brown. He taught us that the cheapest price to pay for liberty is its cost today. The cost of liberty is thus a decreasing cost, while the cost of repression tends to increase. I would like to close by just noting that Dr. DuBois was also a pioneer in the question of the liberation of women. He was an inspirer of many women who were active in civil rights and civil liberties organizations during the entire period of his activist life, including his wife, Shirley Graham DuBois, the first editor of *Freedomways*, herself a leading writer, composer and activist.

Finally, I would like to close with a poem of Dr. DuBois dedicated to Kwame Nkrumah, great leader of Ghana, which he called "Ghana Calls" and was published in a collection of his poetry. He said:

*Yet Ghana shows its might and power  
Not in its colour nor its flower  
But in its wondrous breadth of soul  
Its joy of life  
Its selfless role  
Of giving*

*School and clinic, home and hall  
Road and garden, bloom and call  
Socialism blossoms hold  
On communism centuries old*

*I lifted this my last voice and cried  
I cried to heaven as I died  
O turn me to the golden horde  
Summon all western nations  
Towards the rising sun*

*Awake, awake, O sleeping world  
Honour the sun  
Worship the stars, those vaster suns  
Who rules the night  
Where black is bright  
And all unselfish work is right  
And greed is sin*

*And Africa leads on  
Pan Africa!*

**THESE MEETINGS ARE NOT MERELY  
TRIBUTES TO DR. DUBOIS BUT A PLEDGE  
THAT HIS IDEAS AND IDEALS SHOULD  
PREVAIL**

**Concluding Statement by H.E. Mr. Leslie O. Harriman  
(Nigeria)**

***Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid  
(1976-1979)***

I thank Mrs. Esther Jackson for her statement. We are ending in a climax with a woman speaker who today nurtures in the inspiration of DuBois, continuing in the editorial splendor which he achieved. We thank her immensely for being with us today.

Many speakers have referred to the *Encyclopaedia Africana*. I am happy to show you a cover of one of the first copies which involves a total of about 146 Ethiopian and 138 Ghanaian biographies—living persons not included—by more than 70 contributors, an epoch-making work which was inspired and conceived by Dr. DuBois in 1909 and which has taken some time to achieve.

Ladies and Gentlemen, The meetings today have been a most moving experience for me as the Chairman of the Special Committee and as an African.

We have met here people who have known and worked with Dr. DuBois—people like Dr. Benjamin Mays, Dr. Charles Wesley and Mrs. Esther Jackson.

We have heard from many who are carrying on the struggle on the various fronts for human dignity and equality that he initiated.

Last year, when I visited Accra and went to the grave of Dr. DuBois to pay respects on behalf of the Special Committee, I wondered if this great man who meant so much for African freedom and for human progress—and who symbolized the unbreakable links of the black diaspora—was being ignored and forgotten because he was a black man and a revolutionary. I wondered if there would not be monuments all over the globe if only he was not black, if only he had compromised on principles. That was where the idea of this meeting was born.

This meeting today has not only moved me but convinced me that whatever the men of power may think today, Dr. DuBois will live in the hearts of the great majority of men and women on this earth—and that his ideas and ideals will prevail.

If John Brown's body lay smouldering in the grave, his ideas marched on and destroyed slavery in the United States. The ideas and the example of Dr. DuBois will march on and destroy racism and colonialism the world over.

We have heard many speakers here—not only my brothers from Africa, the United States and the Caribbean—but also representatives of great nations like India, the USSR, and the German Democratic Republic. Many others, I know, would have liked to join us.

If we speak of blacks and of Pan-Africanism, it is because blacks are oppressed and they are obliged to fight—but the fight is for a world in which all men and women will be brothers and sisters.

I think of the lofty irony that the remains of Dr. DuBois, who reached the heights of human intellect, are in Christianbourg Castle in Accra in a region from which some of his ancestors were forcibly taken in slave ships from dungeons such as those which exist below the Christianbourg Castle.

That was the choice of Dr. DuBois. He wished to spend his last days in a country where he could look out of his window and see black people walking in dignity. He himself was a descendant of ancestors who came from France and Africa. But for the criminal and lunatic racists, he was only a black and a target for discrimination.

We who owe so much to Dr. DuBois have a duty to see that this idiocy is abolished and that men and women, whatever this colour, can walk in dignity anywhere.

The United Nations would have no *raison d'être* if it did not fight racism as a matter of highest priority at this time. We have held these meetings on the eve of the International Anti-*Apartheid* Year—the mid-point of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination—to inspire us in this struggle.

On behalf of the Special Committee and on my own behalf, I want to thank all our distinguished guests for joining us today. These meetings have heard not merely the well-deserved tributes to Dr. DuBois, but a pledge to see that the ideas and ideals of Dr. DuBois should prevail and that racism shall be buried.

To that noble objective we all dedicate ourselves as we close these meetings.

Thank you.

**110th Anniversary of the birth of  
Dr. W.E.B. Dubois**

**Messages**

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**Message from Professor K. Onwuka Dike**  
*Andrew W. Mellon Professor of African History, Harvard  
University*

“I much regret my inability to attend the anniversary of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois’ birth owing to prior engagements. Dr. DuBois was in every respect one of the leading minds of this century and perhaps the century’s greatest prophet; at any rate, on the issues of race and human equality. His predictions on the question of colour, on the liquidation of colonialism, on the links between peace and justice, on Pan-Africanism and the survival of black men have come to pass, and the fulfillment of his prophecies has exceeded all expectations. It is altogether appropriate that the United Nations should honour a giant whose contributions to human understanding is second to none in this century.”

**Message from Professor Klein**  
*Rector of Humboldt University, Berlin*

“Ambassador Harriman Chairman UN Special Committee against Apartheid.

“Rector and Senate Humboldt University Berlin wish Special Meeting of UN Special Committee against Apartheid to honour memory of William DuBois on occasion of 110th birthday full success. University very proud that this great scholar and fighter against racism and for African liberation was once its student and later Doctor Honoris Causa. DuBois will ever remain a shining example to us as a university teacher and prolific writer who dedicated his life to the great cause of the liberation of mankind from the curse and crime of racist oppression and who increasingly recognized the social roots of racism. Our research on this subject is conducted in his spirit.”

**Message from Mr. Ossie Davis**  
*A professional entertainer*

“W.E.B. DuBois was a prophet who saw the future and did not hesitate to cry out a warning “that the problem of the twentieth century was the colour line.” He said “it was” when he said it. It still is. W.E.B. DuBois having seen the problem and having stated it, then set out to change the world. In this he was a thinking man of action committing himself and all his vast intellectual resources to the elimination of racism. Africa became one of the focal points of his thought and of his action because he

recognized that greed was the engine of racism and Africa was and still is one of the world's richest prizes. Pan Africanism was his call as he set out to help liberate the mother continent. Pan-Africanism which recognizes the enduring kinship and common destiny of all black people over the world and which also recognized that Africa's enemies were also, and still are, the enemies of peace and justice all over the world and that these enemies must be fought tooth and nail until their malevolent power is broken. Pan-Africanism is an idea whose time has come."

**Message from Anatoly Gromyko**  
*Director, Africa Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences*

"On behalf of the staff of African Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and myself, I extend my sincere greetings to the participants of a jubilee meeting of the UN Special Committee against *Apartheid* devoted to the 110th anniversary of Doctor William Edward Burghardt DuBois, famous Afro-American public figure, an outstanding scientist, a communist, an ardent peace supporter, firm fighter against imperialism and colonialism.

"Dr. W. DuBois made a great contribution to the research of the history of Africa. His scientific works always served as a means of struggle for just ideas of equality and freedom. W. DuBois devoted almost 40 years of his life to hard struggle against racial discrimination for the rights of his people. It is difficult to overestimate the contribution W. DuBois made to the development of national liberation movement in Africa. He was a founder of the Pan African movement which far grew over its initial forms and turned into a powerful anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist solidarity movement of Afro-Asian peoples. Dr. W. DuBois is well known as a staunch fighter for peace. After World War II when war clouds started to grow over the world again, he headed the US informational peace fighters center created on his initiative, actively participated in Paris Peace Congress and was elected a member of the World Peace Council for his outstanding international service. W. DuBois was awarded the International Peace Prize for 1953. In 1959, he became a laureat of the International Lenin Prize for strengthening peace among peoples. The Soviet Africanists highly appreciate the many-sided activity of W. DuBois. An outstanding humanist who proved that nowadays a scientist can not disengage himself from vital socio-political problems of our time."

**Message by David G. DuBois**  
*Son of W.E.B. DuBois*

"The legacy my father, Dr. William Edward Burghardt DuBois, left us, could contribute profoundly to making this world a better place for all who

inhabit it, and particularly to the liberation of those millions of the human family still suffering under racist rule and economic enslavement. It is a legacy of devotion to truth; of a long life of disciplined work the world needs done; of service to humankind; of pride in self and ancestry and of struggle against imperialism, colonialism—old and new—monopoly—capitalist exploitation and racism. It is a legacy of unrelentless struggle of the realization of the democratic ideal as propounded by the Founding Fathers of the land of his birth. It is a legacy of belief in and work for the ultimate triumph of communism. No aspect of that legacy can be ignored or eliminated without distorting and misrepresenting the life and works of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois.

“Today as the peoples of Africa and the Third World, in union with honest men and women everywhere, assume center stage in the struggle to build a world free of economic injustice, ignorance and war, the legacy of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois is in grave danger. Powerful forces, whose very existence threatens the peace and progress of the peoples of the world, are determined to capture control over that legacy in order to twist and distort it into a weapon for use in the realization of their objectives in Africa and the world.

“In the name of the immediate heirs to the legacy of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, in the name of the suffering masses of African-Americans from whom Dr. DuBois sprang and in whose cause he laboured, in the name of the suffering masses of Africa and peoples of colour throughout the Third World, in the name of the suffering humankind everywhere on this earth, I appeal to you assembled here to honour the life and works of my father, and to the peoples and governments you represent, to take up this challenge to the legacy Dr. DuBois has left the world. That legacy must not be allowed to fall under the control of those against whom it was directed. It must be secured for those who come after us and made available for use by those legions committed to building a world community in which no single person wants because of the greed and avarice of others; a world in which all participate fully in shaping their destinies; a world in which every human being is guaranteed the opportunity to realize his fullest intellectual and spiritual potential; a world without war.

“As son and heir, to this end I have dedicated my life.”

### **Message from Mr. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow** *Director-General of UNESCO*

“Mr. Chairman, I welcome this opportunity to pay tribute to the memory of Dr. William E.B. DuBois, on the occasion of the hundred and tenth anniversary of his birth.

“Dr. DuBois was one of those rare men who leave an indelible stamp on the history of their time. A gifted orator, a successful poet, novelist, essayist, economist, sociologist and historian. Dr. DuBois was above all one

of the first Afro-Americans to recognize the close connexion between the fight for African freedom and the struggle for racial equality in North America.

"As early as 1900, Dr. DuBois, as Chairman of the Resolutions Committee of the First Pan-African Conference held in London in that year, demanded the liberation of African colonies and repeated this claim for African liberation in the Pan African Congresses of 1921, 1923, 1927 and 1945. Turning his attention to the situation in his own country, Dr. DuBois, in his writings, aroused the conscience of America by exposing the injustices suffered by Afro-Americans, and he crystallized the revolt of black intellectuals against the compromises continually made with the pernicious system of racial segregation.

"The present situation in southern Africa underlines the validity of Dr. DuBois' prophetic words ". . . until Africa is free, the descendants of Africa the world over cannot escape chains." Dr. DuBois' exposure of the evils of colonialism at the first Pan-African Congress in 1919 helped promote the establishment of the mandates system, and it is unfortunate to see how, today, this system is being abused in Namibia.

"Dr. DuBois' life stands out as a beacon in the darkness of the racial bigotry which pervaded the first half of this century and which has now found its last stronghold in southern Africa. The international community can pay no greater tribute to the memory of Dr. DuBois than to pledge itself anew to completing his life work and fulfilling his dream of wiping out the last vestiges of racial subjugation in Africa.

"UNESCO will continue, within the fields of its competence, to expose the situation in southern Africa as well as the myth of racial superiority underlying the philosophy of *apartheid*. In doing so, it will be following in the footsteps of Dr. DuBois, who devoted his life to the fight against the colonial and racial injustices of his time."

### Message from Cleveland L. Dennard *President of Atlanta University*

"The Atlanta University is pleased to join with the United Nations in celebration of the 110th anniversary of the birthday of Dr. William Edward Burghardt DuBois. Equally distinguished as a scholar in both the humanities and the social sciences, Dr. DuBois first served Atlanta University as Professor of History and Economics from 1897 to 1910. During this seminal period in his academic career he published *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899) a model of empirical research in urban sociology, urban anthropology, and demography. He recognized early in his career the essentiality of a pan-Africanist organizational approach to black majority rule in central and southern Africa, and dedicated his life to these ends. After service with the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People as the editor of its organ, *The Crisis*, Dr. DuBois returned



to Atlanta University in 1933 as Professor of Sociology. Prior to his retirement in 1944, Dr. DuBois became founder and editor of "Phylon, the Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture" and initiated plans for an *Encyclopedia of the Negro* which will come to full fruition with the completion of the *Encyclopedia Africana*. Atlanta University therefore in appreciation and in memoriam salutes its eminent professor emeritus and his contributions to the Pan-African Movement."

**Message from General I.K. Acheampong**  
***Head of State and Chairman of the Supreme Military***  
***Council of Ghana***

"I am gratified to learn of the decision of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* to hold a special meeting to pay tribute to Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, world leader in Pan-Africanism. Dr. W.E.B. DuBois' activities in Pan-Africanism, his protests against racial discrimination and the oppression of minorities and his general concern for world peace, were a great inspiration to many leaders of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Dr. DuBois' scholarship, in particular his political philosophy, gave undoubted impetus to nationalist movements in Africa for colonial freedom and independence. The Special Committee could therefore not have chosen a better theme than 'Dr. DuBois, Pan Africanism and Southern Africa' to mark the occasion.

"It is my expectation that Dr. DuBois' commitment to causes of the oppressed will continue to inspire liberation movements in southern Africa in their struggle for justice and racial equality. This anniversary of his birth should be an occasion for peoples all over the world who cherish racial harmony and peace to rededicate themselves to the cause of a people denied their birth right in Southern Africa.

"We in Ghana will continue, as did our founding fathers, to draw inspiration from the example of men like DuBois who died a citizen of Ghana fighting for the oppressed. While recalling the memorable tribute paid to Dr. DuBois, the late George Padmore and our late President Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah not long ago here in Accra, I wish on my own behalf and on behalf of my colleagues of the Supreme Military Council and Government and people of Ghana to congratulate and thank the Special Committee for honouring once again the great fighter for black emancipation."

**Message from Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe**  
***Former President of Nigeria***

"I consider it a great privilege to congratulate the United Nations Special Committee against *Apartheid* on commemorating the hundred and tenth anniversary of the birth of William Edward Burghardt DuBois.

“Pioneer of Pan-Africanism, as founder of Pan-African Congress in Paris fifty eight years ago he predicted that ‘the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line’. His influence as a thinker, writer and reporter inspired the spirit of active resistance against forces which sought to foist upon peoples of African descent the horrible stigma of racial inferiorities. Dr. DuBois successfully challenged the cant and hypocrisy practiced by those who paid lip service to democracy. He imbued nascent leader in the black work together with collaborators among the white and yellow races to fight relentlessly for national sovereignty and racial equality among mankind. According to Professor Rayford Logan his ‘incisive eloquence and encyclopaedic knowledge made him an almost olympian speaker’. Wherever human beings struggle against man’s inhumanity to man in any of its disguises the spirit of Dr. DuBois shall always emerge to guide humanity aright in the holy crusade for human freedom.

“I personally congratulate the Special Committee against *Apartheid* under its able leadership on its courageous effort to extinguish racial bigotry from the face of the earth. It is essential that at this critical stage in the struggle against *apartheid* in South Africa international conferences of this nature would be encouraged.”



## A CHRONOLOGY OF MAJOR EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF W.E.B. DUBOIS

- 1868: February 23: Birth at Great Barrington, Massachusetts.
- 1883-85: Great Barrington correspondent for *N.Y. Globe* and *Freeman*
- 1887-88: Chief Editor of *Fisk Herald*
- 1888: B.A. Fisk University
- 1890: B.A., Harvard University
- 1891: M.A., Harvard University
- 1892-94: Graduate Student, University of Berlin
- 1894-96: Professor of Greek and Latin, Wilberforce University
- 1895: Ph.D., Harvard University
- 1896: "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States," *Harvard Historical Studies Number One*
- 1896-97: Instructor, University of Pennsylvania
- 1897-1910: Professor of Economics and History, Atlanta University
- 1897-1911: Editor of Atlanta University Studies of the Negro Problem
- 1899: *The Philadelphia Negro*
- 1903: *The Souls of Black Folk*
- 1905-09: Founder and General Secretary, the Niagara Movement
- 1906: Founder and Editor of *The Moon*
- 1907-10: Founder and Editor of *The Horizon*
- 1909: *John Brown*
- 1909: Among original Founders and Incorporators of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
- 1910-34: Director of Publicity and Research, NAACP Editor (and Founder) *The Crisis*
- 1911: *Quest for the Silver Fleece*
- 1915: *The Negro*
- 1919: Founder Pan-African Movement; Organizer Pan-African Congresses
- 1920: *Darkwater*
- 1924: *The Gift of Black Folk*
- 1928: *Dark Princess*
- 1933-44: Chairman, Department of Sociology, Atlanta University
- 1933-45: Editor-in-Chief, Encyclopaedia Project of the Negro
- 1935: *Black Reconstruction*
- 1939: *Black Fold: Then and Now*
- 1940: *Dusk of Dawn*
- 1940-44: Founder and Editor of *Phylon*

- 1944-48: Director of Special Research, NAACP  
 1945: Chief Editor: *Preparatory Volume: Encyclopaedia of the Negro*  
 1945: *Color and Democracy*  
 1945: Consultant: United Nations Organization at San Francisco  
 1947: Editor: *An Appeal to the World* (Petition to the U.N. from NAACP)  
 1947: *The World and Africa*  
 1949: Chairman, Council on African Affairs  
 1949: Chairman, Peace Information Center  
 1950: Candidate for U.S. Senator from New York on the American Labor Party ticket  
 1950-51: Indictment, trial and acquittal on charge of "unregistered foreign agent" because of leadership in Peace efforts  
 1951: *In Battle for Peace*  
 1958-60: *The Black Flame: A Trilogy*  
 1961: Joins the Communist Party of the United States  
 1961-63: At invitation of President Nkrumah of Ghana, takes up residence in Accra as Director of *Encyclopaedia Africana* Project  
 1963: Becomes a citizen of the Republic of Ghana  
 1963: *ABC of Color*  
 1963: (August 27): Dies; given a state funeral; lies buried in Ghana

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COMPILED BY MR. ERNEST KAISER**

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