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**SUBJECT: Dr. William Edward Burghardt DU BOIS and his  
wife, Mrs. Shirley DU BOIS (Shirley GRAHAM)**

Dr. W. E. B. DU BOIS, who was awarded the International Lenin Peace Award, and his wife, who is known as Shirley GRAHAM, have been very active in International Communist-sponsored peace activities. Some of their activities are set out in Attachment A.

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**ATTACHMENT A**

1. Dr. William Edward Burghardt DU BOIS was born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, in 1868 and received degrees from Harvard and Berlin Universities. He taught economics and history at Atlanta University and served as head of the University's Department of Sociology. In 1924, he served as Special Envoy and Minister to Liberia. He was director of publications for the NAACP from 1910 until 1948 when he was dismissed from that post as a result of his various pro-Communist activities and connections with Communist front groups. In 1949, he attended the Soviet Peace Conference in Moscow and the World Peace Congress in Paris. He has written extensively for the Daily Worker and the American Communist Party magazine, Masses and Main Stream, and has been active in such pro-Communist organizations as the Civil Rights Congress and the Jefferson School of Social Science. DU BOIS has been arrested for subversive activities, and several times prior to 1958 was barred from foreign travel. As soon as he was able to leave the United States, DU BOIS and his wife left for an extensive world tour, during which he gave many lectures. These talks were all bitter tirades against the United States.

2. DU BOIS, in his speech at the Hague in September 1958, made the following allegations: America has no policies for peace and has set out to commit suicide by provoking war; this war will be for the sole purpose of saving American capitalism; big business controls the press and keeps the people of the United States in darkness; the only people who fight for the salvation of the United States are the negroes; he said that the United States has but one interest--money, and that it "bleeds" and controls its allies; American democracy is doing everything possible to prepare for war; the Communists in America are ready to take over; private capital makes war to save itself and, the Soviet Union does not want war; it knows the evils of war and the United States does not; America is big business, run by business, and business is doing everything possible to start war against the Soviet Union and China; not only do American business firms control the

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the government but they control European business as well; hardships for the negroes are such that they cannot love their country, the United States; Europe should point out to the United States the duty to recognize China; Europe should ask the United States to cease its policy of fighting against Communism.

3. The following month DU BOIS spoke at the Afro-Asian Writer's Conference held in Tashkent, USSR. Here he reminded the writers that they were the best teachers of their people and that it was their duty, particularly in Africa and Asia, to foster the people's vigilance against the new variety of capitalism-- economic imperialism. He said:

"African writers must learn from Europe, from the Soviet Union, and from China. Capitalism had now entered a dead end street from which it will never emerge."

4. Pravda of 26 November 1958 printed the following article written by Dr. DU BOIS:

"When the USSR began with its various plans, the United States sat back and laughed. Impossible and either conscious deception or ignorance flying into the face of known facts! But the plans were reported successful or at least successful to a degree that encouraged further trials. The first United States answer to these reports was: 'Yes! The peasants are starving and are not increasing the yield of agriculture. The workers are slaves and industry is not really expanding. The schools are not imparting real education.'

"I remember listening to a former president of Harvard University as he told an audience of graduates and industrial leaders that Communism forbade promotion from secondary to graduate schools by examination so as to maintain its hold on youth. As an invited guest, I had to listen in silence to this extraordinary falsehood.

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"Then came the sputnik. Then came a public, world-wide demonstration of the efficiency of Russian education which even United States business could not deny. At last, the United States had to acknowledge not only Communist education but Communist work in agriculture and expansion in industry.

"The capitalist world faced, in the USSR, not slavery and colonialism, but a great willing and contented mass of working people whose purpose from 1959 to 1965 is a prodigious increase in agriculture and industry and in consumer goods. Moreover, the United States now realizes that the USSR can carry out this plan. It has the detailed plans, made out by an extraordinary cooperation of a vast number of experienced experts. It has the material, the land, and the machines. It has trained engineers and workers whose object is not pay, but accomplishment for the sake of a nation which is theirs in a real and personal sense.

"The only thing which can hinder the fulfillment of the seven-year plan is war, the waste, destruction and hurt of a third world war. The people of the USSR do not want such a war because they know what war means better than any modern people. They do not want it because they can have what they want without war. Their belief in socialism is not mere theory and selfishness, but plain facts which surround and exalt them. Communism is winning and will win without war. The USSR and China are willing to compete with private capital for a victory in peace and friendship.

"On the other hand, the United States, France and Britain have long believed socialism incapable of successful realization. Today they know better. They know at least something of what the USSR has done. They know that only war and wasteful preparation for a further war can halt the march of socialism for success over all the world.

"On the other hand, there are some leaders of private capital, like John Foster DULLES, Richard NIXON, and Henry

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Cabot Lodge who are willing to destroy civilization in order to destroy Communism. Hitherto they seemed to have the support of the majority of U. S. people, but I finally believe this is no longer true. I believe that when the U. S. people get a chance to express their opinion freely and effectively, they are going to decide: 'We do not want war or a continuation of this fatal preparation for war. We are willing to show our faith in private capitalism by entering into a free, peaceful competition with socialist nations, with conference and exchange of goods and thoughts until, like civilized human beings, we prove by fact and experience what is best for mankind!

"I may be wrong in this conclusion. It may still be true that most of the people of the land where I and my fathers for 200 years have lived and worked still are determined to plunge the world into war. This may be true but I do not believe it. I know the United States, its worst side as well as its best. Once it based its future on slavery of a part of the working class. It long stubbornly refused to change its mind but it did change it. For 13 years now, the United States has been led by a tremendous propaganda, organized by private capital, to become the world's leading warmonger. But the last election has shown that the truth is at last beating its way through lies and misunderstanding and that in 1960, a new light will burst through. The cause of this will be the brave seven-year plan of the USSR."

5. Dr. DU BOIS and his wife, Shirley GRAHAM, visited Peiping, China and addressed a meeting at Peiping University held in honor of his birthday. Speaking of his impressions of China, Dr. DU BOIS said that China, after long centuries, had risen to her feet and leaped forward. He added:

"China can take the insults of the United States and still hold her head high. She can make her machines or go without machines when America refuses to sell her American manufactures, even when it hurts American industry and throws her workers out of jobs.

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"China has been in hell too long not to believe in a heaven of her own making; this she is doing.

"Beware, Africa, America bargains for your soul! America would have you believe that they freed your grandchildren; that Afro-Americans are full Americans, treated like equals, paid fair wages as workers, promoted for (merit), and free to learn and earn and travel across the world.

"This is not true. Some are near freedom; some approach equality with whites; some have achieved education; but the price for this has too often been slavery of mind; distortion of truth, and oppression of our own people. Of 18 million Afro-Americans, 12 million are still second-class citizens of the United States; serfs in farming, low-paid laborers in industry, and repressed members of union labor.

"Most American negroes do not vote. Even the rising 6 million are liable to insult and discrimination at any time.

"The new British West Indian Federation is not a form of democratic progress but a cunning attempt to reduce these islands to the control of British and American investors.

"The Soviet Union is surpassing the world in popular and higher education because, from the beginning, it started its own complete education system. It is worse than stupid to allow a people's education to be under the control of those who seek, not the progress of the people, but their use as a means of making themselves rich and powerful. It is wrong for the University of London to control the University of Ghana.

"The real revolution is the acceptance on the part of the nation of the fact that hereafter the main object of the nation is the welfare of the masses of the peoples and not of a lucky few.

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**Government is for the people's progress and for the comfort of an aristocracy. The object of industry is the welfare of the workers and not the wealth of the owners. The object of civilization is the cultural progress of the mass of workers and not merely of an intellectual elite. . . this belief the current history of the Soviet Union and China is proving true each day.**

**"Don't let the West invest when you can avoid it. . . this is not politics; it is common sense. It is learning from experience. It is trusting your friends and watching your enemies."**

**6. Dr. DU BOIS was quoted by Pravda in May 1959 at the time he was awarded the International Lenin Peace Award in Moscow as follows:**

**"It is a great honor for me to become a Laureate of the International Lenin Peace Award. As an American citizen, I am very much surprised at having been selected to receive this award considering what the United States Government is doing toward preparation for war. Due to these circumstances, I could hardly expect that the highest award for the struggle to safeguard peace would be conferred upon me, a citizen of the United States. . . A year has passed since I left the United States and therefore it is very difficult for me to judge events taking place there at this time. I am thoroughly convinced that changes will take place in the United States. I cannot discuss them at this time, however. The present American Government will continue to conduct war preparations as it has in the past. Depression, phenomena, unemployment and slump in exports divert the U. S. public's attention from the present problems of peace and war. Sooner or later, however, a healthy outlook will prevail. I do hope that I will still be alive to see that day."**

**7. DU BOIS also spoke at the Stockholm Peace Conference in May 1959. His talk was a vicious attack on the United States. DU BOIS declared that the world is at a crossroads; one road is**

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that of reason and the other is that of a suicidal war. He denounced the anti-Communism of "imperialist" propaganda and praised the development of the USSR as phenomenal. He stated that the United States is spending more for war preparations than for social needs; that it is hardly possible to convince anyone of the peaceableness of that situation. He summarized his address by saying:

"The one nation on earth whose dominant rulers evidently want war is the United States. They want war and prepare for war, because they believe that peace will interfere with their way of life. They, therefore, oppose all roads towards peace and frantically prepare for war or a scale which frightens the world. The World Peace Council's clear duty--as well as that of Americans who love their native land--is to make the fact clear that no matter how bad the evil is which they fear, war is not the answer. It is their duty to insist that Communism is not a threat but a promise. Peace is inseparable from Communism and Communism is inseparable from peace. This must constantly be explained to plain Americans."

8. Shirley GRAHAM visited Paris in September 1958 and wrote her reactions on her trip for the "Soviet Woman". Miss GRAHAM said:

"I was in Paris again this past September. A pall of silence lay over the city. Soldiers with machine guns patrolled the streets. On a sunny afternoon in front of the Luxembourg Gardens I saw young Algerians being 'questioned'. People hurried by with averted eyes, their voices muted."

"The concierge at . . . the hotel remembered me and she said:

'It is good you are back. We women long for peace more than ever. War, war, war--we have had so much of it! We are lost in it!'

'This French woman's words are an echo to the heartfelt desires of women in the United States. Many times during

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these past ten years our voices have been drowned in the rolling of drums by warmongers whose lust for wealth and power inflates their illusions. They cannot plan for peace; they only blunder from one crisis to another. The 'war boom' meant big wages and steady employment for American workers and pleas of mothers who did not want their sons sent to Korea went unheard. All kinds of pressures have been brought to bear on women to keep them from speaking out against war and its attendant evils. . .

"The possibility of nuclear warfare, the testing of nuclear weapons and the contamination of the earth's surface, the poisoning of the very air we must breathe have aroused American women to their own peril and the peril of their children. The actualities of war have been brought to them, not by an outside enemy, but by the military adventures of our own country, and the hundreds of women who marched to Washington last year protesting nuclear weapons tests have refused to be silenced. . .

"The aroused will of the American people stopped the mad adventures in the China Seas last summer, and most articulate here were women. . . The young school teacher in New Jersey who praised a paper on the horrors of Hiroshima written by one of her pupils was dismissed by a reactionary school board. But the indignant demands of mothers of the community not only reinstated her but also brought this teacher's efforts for peace out into the open.

"Negro women want peace. Their wages are not raised by war; their struggle to feed their children is made more difficult, they have nothing to gain and everything to lose. Negro veterans are at the bottom of the heap in the South. Most of them either do not return home at all or leave in a short time. The lives of those who try to remain are constantly in danger."

9. In a speech written by Dr. DU BOIS for delivery at the All-African People's Conference (AAPC) at Accra, Ghana in

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December, 1958, and read by his wife, Shirley GRAHAM, in his absence, he stated among other things:

" . . . Which way shall Africa go? First, I would emphasize the fact that today Africa has no choice between private Capitalism and Socialism. The whole world, including capitalist countries, is moving toward socialism, inevitably, inexorably. You can choose between blocs of military alliance, you can choose between groups of political union, you cannot choose between Socialism and private Capitalism because private Capitalism is doomed.

"But what is Socialism? It is disciplined economy and political organization in which the first duty of a citizen is to serve the state; and the state is not a selected aristocracy, or a group of self-seeking oligarchs who have seized wealth and power. No! The mass of workers with hand and brain are the ones whose collective destiny is the chief object of all effort. Gradually, every state is coming to this concept of its aim. The great Communist states like the Soviet Union and China have surrendered completely to this idea. The Scandinavian states have yielded partially; Britain has yielded in some respects, France in part and even the United States adopted the New Deal which was largely socialism! though today further American socialism is held at bay by sixty great groups of corporations who control individual capitalists and the Trade Union leaders. . . .

"For four hundred years Europe and North America have built their civilization and comfort on theft of colored labor and the land and materials which rightly belong to these colonial peoples. They are still today determined to make the most of the world's people work for the comfort of the few; this is today true in London, Paris and New York. . . .

"The capital offered you at high price by the colonial powers like France, Britain, Holland, Belgium and the United

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States, will prolong fatal colonial imperialism, from which you have suffered slavery, serfdom and colonialism. . . You can starve a while longer rather than sell your great heritage for a mass of western capitalistic pottage. . . at last today you can compare their offers with those of socialist countries like the Soviet Union and China, which with infinite sacrifice and pouring out of blood and tears, are at last able to offer weak nations needed capital on better terms than the west. . . It certainly does not involve slavery and colonial control which is the price which the west has demanded and still demands. . ."

10. In an article in the *The Worker*, the following statements were made, among others, concerning the AAPC at Accra, Ghana:

"Attempts were made to seize on Nkrumah's phrase '. . . that colonialism and imperialism may come to us in a different guise, not necessarily from Europe', as a swipe against the Soviet Union, or China, or Cairo, or all of them together.

"If that were the intention it was well and truly answered in the stirring message from Dr. DU BOIS, father and founder of the Pan-African movement, to whom Nkrumah, Kenyatta, and many other African leaders are deeply indebted.

11. Amid great applause Mrs. DU BOIS read these words:

"Your nearest friends and neighbours are the colored peoples of China and India, the rest of Asia, and the Middle East. . . Your bond is not mere color of skin but a deeper experience of slavery and contempt.

"Your bond with the white world is closest to those who support and defend China and help India, not those who exploit the Middle East and South America. . ."

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