MILA urges the readers of her article, especially the women, to join the ninety one million other peace loving women in the sixty-two countries of the world in protesting against the illegal and arbitrary arrest of LILLY WACHTER. She requested that telegrams of protest be sent to the U.S. High Commissioner, JOHN McCLOY, to the President, HARRY S. TRUMAN, and the Stuttgart Committee, the association for the protection of freedom and civil rights, at Wurtenberg - Baden, Stuttgart 13, Wagenburstrasse 26, Germany.

62

ROMANUL AMERICAN

Issue Of November 17, 1951

An unsigned article captioned "The Rumanian Savants Express Their Solidarity With Dr. DuBois", appeared on page one, column five.

This article appears to have been a copy of information coming from Bucharest from the Academy of the Rumanian People's Republic and the Society of Historic, Philological, and Folklore Sciences of the R.P.R. A telegram from this Society was sent to the Federal Tribunal in Washington expressing the indignation of the Society over the trial of the great American savant, DR. DUBOIS. The test of the telegram as reflected in the article follows:

"To The Federal Tribunal
Washington, U.S.A.

"The Academy of the R.P.R. has noted with profound indignation the trial of the renowned American savant, Professor WILLIAM E. B. DUBOIS, a member of the World Council For Peace, and the courageous fighter for peace and democracy.

"The men of science and culture in the R.P.R. who know and appreciate the works of Dr. DUBOIS join the protest of the entire progressive world in demanding the liberation of the great savant. They join with his collaborators ELISABETH MOOS, ABBOTT SIMON, KYRLE ELKIN, and SYLVIA SOLOFF. The Presidium of the Academy of the R.P.R. in the name of the men of science and liberal arts in our country, fighters on the peace front, protest with all their energy the persecution directed against the progressive people in the United States and in the trial of Dr. DUBOIS and his collaborators. They demand his immediate liberation and the cessation of further persecution.

"/s/ TRAIAN SAVULESCU,
President of the Academy
of the R.P.R."

A second telegram directed to the Federal Tribunal, Washington, U.S.A., was sent by the Society of History, Philology, and Folklore Sciences. It was signed by the President P. CONSTANTINESCU-IASI and the Secretary, V. MACIU.

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163

An article captioned "The Methodist Educators Oppose The Compulsory Military Service" appeared on page one, column six, indicates that the Methodist conference on Christian education passed a resolution expressing strong opposition to compulsory military service and the nomination of a U. S. ambassador to the Vatican.

MARIA MILA in an article appearing on page one, columns one and two, states that the Rumanian Calendar for 1952 is now ready for distribution. She describes the Calendar as a rich literary work and suggests that it would be an appropriate gift for friends of the readers of her article.

An unsigned article captioned "The Confessions Of A Group Of Representatives Of The American Congress", appeared on page one, columns four and five.

It is claimed in this article that twenty-six Republican congressmen recently declared and submitted in a written statement to DEAN ACHESON in France the following: "The United States of American is engaged in subversive activities of terrorism, force, and violence on an international scale, engaging in activities which are conducted for the purpose of overthrowing the forms of government of other countries and other peoples."

This article urges all the American people to demand the liberation of those who fight for peace and those who are the victims of Wall Street and TRUMAN's administration; to demand further reduction in taxes; and to demand a curtailment of expenditures for the above illegal, unconstitutional, and undemocratic activities.

An editorial captioned "Why Is The Soviet Government Opposing The Peace Plan Of The Three?", appeared on page two, columns one and two.

It is stated in this editorial that the Soviet Union is against the plan for the control of world armament as submitted to the general assembly of the United Nations in Paris by TRUMAN, CHURCHILL, and AURIOL because it realizes that this is a hypocritical plan and that it will have no fruitful results and will "drag on forever".

In contrast to the TRUMAN, CHURCHILL, AURIOL plan which only calls for an inventory of the world's armaments and which in reality is only a plan of Wall Street, VISHINSKI suggests a plan for "the destruction of all Atomic arms, the outlawing of their production, and for international control of Atomic energy as well as the establishment of an international conference for general disarmament."

The editorial in denouncing the plan submitted by the Western powers refers to its sponsors, TRUMAN, CHURCHILL, and AURIOL as midget politicians.

54

The editorial mentions that American people desire peace and it urges Americans to deluge President TRUMAN and the Secretary of State, ACHESON, and other responsible public officials with telegrams demanding that they should execute the will of the people.

An article by MARIA MILA captioned "Receive Our Warm Salute", appeared on page three columns seven and eight.

MILA in her article indicates millions of women salute Madame EUGENIE COTTON the President of the International Federation of Democratic Women , on her 70th birthday. MILA describes Madame COTTON as an important leader in French public life, an untiring fighter for the maintainence of peace, a laureat of STALIN's international peace prize. Madame COTTON, MILA indicates, shared the honor in receiving STALIN's international peace prize with two other fighters for peace, Madame SOON GHIN LING, widow of Dr. SUN YAT SEN, President of the Chinese People's Aid Society and Vice President of the Chinese People's Republic, and Madame PAK DEN AL, President of the Korean Democratic Women's Union.

MILA indicates in her article that the Rumanian American women also join the millions of women throughout the world who salute this great fighter on her 70th birthday. American women will intensify their efforts, according to MILA, in enrolling in the fight for a peaceful future for the children of this country.

An unsigned article captioned "The World Council Of Peace In The Second Session At Vienna" appears on page one columns six, seven, and eight.

It is reported in this article that the session was opened by Pastor ERWIN KOCK, President of the Austrian Council of the World Council Of Peace on November 1, 1951.

Professor FREDERIC JOLIET-CURIE, President of the World Council Of Peace at this session stated "The peace movement has become so strong that it is in the position to compel the forces of war to retreat". He indicated, the article reflects, that the great majority of the peoples of the world would support the peace movement and its principles.

JOLIET-CURIE charges, the article reflects, that the United States interferes in the internal affairs of many countries in the world under the pretext of giving aid.

An article appearing on page one, columns seven and eight indicates an international economic conference will be held in Moscow in 1952. It is reflected that at a meeting held October 27 and 28, 1951, in Copenhagen, Denmark, it was decided that the international conference would be held in Moscow next year between the third and tenth of April. The purpose of the conference, it was indicated, would be to determine the means which would contribute to the peaceful collaboration between different countries, the economic and social systems.

The following countries and their representatives attending the Copenhagen meeting were identified in this article as set out below:

Country	Representative
Austria	I. DOBRETSBERGER, former minister and professor of economics at Gratz University, Austria.
Belgium	WALTER BOURGEOIS, professor of economic at the University of Brussels, and EMILE CAVENELL, industrialist.
Brazil	OTTO ROCHA, construction engineer, and E. SILVA, industrialist.
Chile	GUILLERMO DEL PEDREGAL, former minister and industrialist.
Chinese People's Republic	TI CEAO-TIN, economist and member of the Academy of Science; U. CIAO-NAN, director general of the Chinese Tea Company; NAN HAN-CEN, director general of Chinese People's Republic Bank; and MA IN-CIU, Rector of Peiking University.
Cuba	JACINTO TORRAS, economist.
Czechoslovakia	OTOKAR POLL, Director general of the Czechoslovakian People's Republic National Bank of Prague.
France	PIERRE LE BRUN, member of the economic council and secretary of the General Confedration of Labor; ROBERT CHAMBEY-RAN, former member of the Chamber of Deputies ALFRED SAUVY member of the economic council and director of the demographic institute.
Germany	HEINRICH KRUHM, industrialist; GRETE KUCHHOF, president of the Imission Bank of Germany.
England	WILFFORD BROWN, industrialist; Mrs. JOAN ROBINSON, professor of economics at Cambridge University.
India	INDULAL IAGNIK, a leader of the Kisan Sabha organization; PESTOINDJI A. VAIDA, professor of economics at Bombay University.
Iran	HUSSEIN DARIUS, merchant.
Italy	OSCAR SPINELLI, President of the Cooperative National League; and SERGIO STEVE, a professor of economics at Venice University.

Country (cont.)	Representative (cont.)
Japan	IOSITARO HIRANO, director of the institute for the knowledge of Chinese and member of the Japanese Scientific Society.
Holland	STEWART, banker.
Pakistan	IFTIHARUDDIN, a member of the constituent assembly and the editor of the Pakistan Times newspaper.
Poland	OSCAR LANGE, former ambassador and professor at the institute of planning and statistics.
Rumania	ALEXANDRU BRALADEANU, University professor.
U.S.S.R.	VASIL KUZNETOV, President of the Council of the Soviet Central Syndicates; MIHAIL NESTEROV, President of the chamber of commerce union; VLAS NICIKOV, President of the timber export and import organization; and CONSTANTIN OSTROVIETUANO, director of the Moscow Institute of Economics.
Syria	MAARFU DAVALIVA, former minister of national economy.

An article appearing on page four, columns one and two, criticizes Collier's magazine for exposing the "crazy and barbaric war plan of TRUMAN's administration". It indicates further that Wall Street and high government officials are trying to justify the war plan of this country on the false pretext that the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies of Eastern Europe, especially those bordering Yugoslavia, tried to assassinate TITO.

57

DIRECTOR, F. B. I.

DECEMBER 29, 1951

SAC, BOSTON [redacted]

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted]

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

There is enclosed for the information of the Bureau and New York Office, one photostatic copy of a speech entitled, "Peace Is Dangerous" given by Doctor W. E. B. DU BOIS at the Armistice Service of the Community Church of Boston, November 11, 1951. A copy of this speech was furnished by [redacted] on November 15, 1951 to [redacted] C

Inasmuch as all investigation with regard to subject organization is completed in Boston, this matter is being referred upon completion to the office of origin.

[redacted]

Enclosure

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DATE OF REVIEW 7-2-90

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"PEACE IS DANGEROUS"
an address by
DR. W.E.B. DuBOIS
at the Armistice Service of the Community Church of Boston
John Hancock Hall
Sunday, November 11, 1951- 10:30 A.M.

Peace is dangerous! not to all folk, but certainly to those whose power and standard of living depend upon war. On the other hand the danger of war to the majority of men is all too obvious. When we realize that at least 30 million of the best specimens of the world's youth have been killed in wars since 1914 and many more millions crippled in body and soul, we can get some partial idea of the loss of modern civilization through war.

Why then does war persist? What decisive interests promote and continue it against almost irretrievable loss on the part of the majority of men? Those who gain from war and lose through peace are easily discernable at cursory glance: the munition makers; and those who furnish war materials and machines. Not so readily seen are those who profit by the financial changes which war inevitably brings about. Still further in the background are investors and workers whose income is raised by war industries.

Even these large and important groups do not explain the popularity of war or at least the weak resistance to war hysteria. For explanation of this phenomenon we must look further to that vast number of Americans to whom present conditions bring comfort and satisfaction. This mass of intelligent persons either know or fear that if the present system of social and industrial organization prevalent in Western Europe and North America undergoes any essential change, they may not be able to enjoy what they consider the "American Way Of Life". This standard of living does not necessarily call for luxury or conspicuous expenditure. It asks for a comfortable home with heat and refrigeration; enough suitable clothing and sufficient nourishing food; not necessarily an automobile, but convenient transportation facilities; a telephone; medical care and recreation; education for children and provision for a decent old age. This is what the average American of intelligence expects from the American way of life, or wants to be able to expect. It is not to be sure what the average American gets. Probably two-thirds of American families do not get this and a third do not dare hope for it, although it remains their ideal. But a large and influential part of the American middle class do get these things; they believe they deserve them and they are willing to fight to keep them.

The basic question now is must this way of life—actual or believed possible, for a large minority or even a majority of Americans—be defended by war or be seriously endangered by peace. Our fear today is that peace is dangerous for this way of life to a large number of Americans, and for the hope of it by the majority of our citizens. This furnishes the reason behind the huge majority of the nation now rushing toward a third and final world war.

This then is the time of all times to examine this thesis and disclose its truth or falsity. First of all some Americans are convinced that our industrial system is so good that the mere existence of any other system is a threat. Most intelligent persons do not go this far. They acknowledge the shortcomings of our economy but still think it the best. They are however quite willing for others to try other ways, but they fear to have worse or impractical ways tried on peoples who do not want them. This alleged expansion of Communism is what is today scaring most Americans into war.

But is it true that expanding Communism is threatening our way of life, or that on the contrary, persistence in our industrial methods is threatening to keep the mass of the world's people, not only below our own standard of living, but even below the line of ordinary decency and sheer survival? It is this aspect of world war which America is today refusing to discuss, indeed is not permitted often to discuss. Most of us by education and lack of information firmly believe that the poverty and distress of the majority of human beings is primarily their own fault, and in all probability it can never be entirely alleviated. We are willing to do something in some ways "Point Four" or by missions to help the backward nations but we say even our wealth is not able to support the world. When the answer is made to this, we do not try to reply. The first answer is that a few centuries ago the aristocracy of the world believed that a standard of life such as American workers have today could not be achieved without the ruin of civilization. I was taught in high school at the close of the last century that labor unions were futile, strikes wrong and in-

charges mainly vanity and drunkenness. The second answer to inevitable poverty for most men is that the colonial system helped cause poverty and that this system is now disappearing, that the remaining poverty and distress are not our fault and are falsely made to seem so by Russia and China.

Here emerges the kernel of the falsehood which is scaring America into war. Colonialism has not disappeared, even though its back is broken in India and China. But American business is desperately trying to restore the essentials of colonialism under the name of free enterprise and Western Democracy and is plunging the world into destruction by false ideals and misleading fears.

This is a grave charge and needs, I am quite aware, circumstantial proof. Let me furnish proof in this way: there are today real causes of world war and none of them is Russia. On the contrary, these causes are the great groups of essential raw materials and the land and labor necessary for their production, which the leading nations of the world need for their industry and for their standard of living. These products are illustrated by the gold and diamonds from South Africa, copper, tin and uranium, together with mineral oil, from Rhodesia, the Congo and the Middle East; beverages like tea from China and coffee from Brazil and cocoa from West Africa; drugs like opium and quinine from India; foods like sugar, coconuts, fruits and spices from the whole tropical world; fibres like cotton, silk and hemp from our own South, China and India and dozens of other minerals, drugs, dyestuffs and foods.

These materials with few exceptions are produced in tropical lands, inhabited by colored races, whose poverty and ignorance are not natural nor historical but have been established during the last three centuries by the determination of Europe and North America to rule the world for their own comfort, luxury and power. Armed by scientific discovery and a new industrial technique, the White world since the 17th century has set itself to reduce colored labor to slavery; to seize the land and natural resources of colonial and quasi-colonial countries, and so far as possible, to rule these peoples by absolute, military dictatorship, allowing them little education, neither land nor health, nor income sufficient for decency. Spain, followed by France and Holland, and succeeded by Great Britain, built up a domination of the world which became the foundation of modern civilization. Wealth, luxury, art and learning was thus sustained in the Western world until its cultural accomplishments came to be regarded as the highest ideal in the universe: "Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle in Cathay."

Logic taught us that the revolt of the miserable victims of this world tyranny would eventually cause its extinction; and revolt came and still continues. But long before divided and ignorant colonial might could storm the battlements of the West successfully, these battlements themselves fell of their own presumption and overweight. The thieves fell out over the division of the fabulous spoils of Asia, Africa and South America. And Europe approached suicide in three world wars, each of increased cost, destruction and human murder.

The rift in Imperialism began when Germany and Italy, later Japan, and finally the United States, demanded a larger share of the spoils of imperial control of the colored world. They insisted on a redistribution of wealth and power.

The ensuing first world war effected only a redistribution but it also upheld the intricate system of colonial control which had placed the world in power of great [illegible] and so preserved the wealth, [illegible] of the rich [illegible] and during the last [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the past [illegible] the world [illegible] but [illegible] the [illegible] democracy [illegible] the majority of the people of the earth.

The first world war ended the century to its foundations not only by its cost, but because it failed many of the colored peoples with a firm desire [illegible] from the control of Europe; and in Eastern Europe, which under Western European guidance had sunk to quasi-colonial status, the result was a revolution which put Socialists in control of Russia.

Socialism was an old, but indefinite and unpractical theory of

ossing the monopoly of wealth and the oligarchical control of industry by substituting public welfare for private profit. The great but impractical theorists who had advocated such change from the first rise of modern industry in the 15th century had seldom been able to agree on a definite program and the few attempts at Socialism had usually failed or been easily suppressed.

In the case of the Russian Revolution of 1917, however, a set of educated and devoted leaders appeared, determined to carry out the theories of Karl Marx.

Marx, by long and thorough study of the Hegelian philosophy of science and by enquiry into actual working conditions, had tried to find a scientific foundation for the production and distribution of wealth. Lenin and his followers were not entirely dogmatic, doubted if the time was ripe or the Russians ready to found a complete socialist state, and tried to make some compromise and alliance with the economy of Western Europe. But Britain, France, and the United States made the mistake of trying summarily and by force to suppress this revolution, using the armies of 16 nations, together with spies, traitors, and the worst kind of hired mercenaries.

Without doubt this wide effort to stop the revolution of 1917 would have succeeded, had not the whole system of European economy tottered so easily in 1929! Europe, the United States and Japan needed all their energies to restore their own solvency and rebuild international trade. But Britain and France were still determined to dominate world industry and commerce as they had before the first world war, while admitting the United States and Germany to junior partnership, but ignoring Italy and firmly excluding Japan.

This short-sighted effort led to three developments which changed the course of modern history: it gave the Soviet Union time to build an independent socialist state; it encouraged Japan to undertake her own colonial empire in Asia; and Italy and Germany, joined later by Japan, attempted alone to restore European domination of labor, land and products in the colonial and semi-colonial areas of the world, but with the exclusion or only minor partnership of Britain, France and the United States. There ensued prolonged attempts at compromise — not touching the control of the world by Europe, but only concerning the division of power between the older empires and the newer interlopers. Both sides tacitly agreed that the destruction of Russia and socialism must follow their own understanding.

Western Europe and central Europe did not agree and a second world war followed which was at bottom caused by the rivalry in the control of the seven groups of products of colonies which I have named. This war not only further wrecked the world industrial system, but curiously enough, compelled Britain, France, and America to make alliance with the Soviets as the only method to conquer an almost invincible Germany, Italy and Japan. The Allies hesitated long, and hoped until the last that Germany and the Soviet Union would annihilate each other, while western Europe and America withheld their support of the hard-pressed Russian armies. They [illegible] and grievously disappointed by Stalingrad.

Germany and Japan were completely conquered, but what remained was the [illegible] causes of world war which antedated 1914; namely, those valuable and indispensable materials from colonial regions together with cheap labor necessary to produce them which must be seized and used for domestic industry and consumption if the pre-world war organization of industry and control of wealth continued. [illegible] continue as Britain or America for a moment doubted. Here a third [illegible] asserted.

[illegible] capital [illegible] profits. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

profitable than domestic industry. There are in colonies few if any labor unions; there is a minimum of taxation on foreign corporations; there are no wage floors or prohibition of child labor; freight charges are set by the foreign firms who monopolize transport and can make or break local industry. Thus foreign-born wealth controls home industry and wages. Capital rushes for such investments unless of course native presumption tries to control foreign capital. This is just what began to happen after the second World War. Not only was Russia, whose industries often paid 50% on investment to Germans, French and British lost to western business, but also Poland, Czechoslovakia, and much of the Balkan area.

Britain finally had to release and emancipate India, but she helped to paralyze India by encouraging religious hate and she broke alliance with native capitalists. The United States entered China but was more interested in tea, silk, fibres, tungsten, oils and cotton, than in people, so the Chinese drove the Americans and their struggles into the sea. Indonesia welcomed the bonds of Dutch and British control. Southeast Asia revolted against their British and French masters. There were signs of revolt in other colonial regions: in Africa, the South Seas, the Philippines, the Caribbean and South and Central America.

It was at this point that world-wide propaganda led and paid for by the United States, on a scale that put Hitler to shame, was started, to make men believe that it was Russian imperialism which was starting a third World War, when in fact it was the the desperate attempt to revive decadent imperialism with the United States in the cradle instead of Britain.

The United States strengthened its propaganda of disbelief in Communism by a terrible system by a bitter attack on the decency and ordinary humanity of the Russian people and their leaders. Every charge against the Soviets, no matter how unsupported and questionable, was given the widest publicity and the government openly supported subversive organizations here and abroad formed by the foes of Russia. It has just given 100 million dollars to encourage treason. The result is a hysteria and hate of the Soviets which almost precludes reason.

The real cause of world war still persist and threatened so long as Europe and America are dominated by motive of cheap land and labor to control the wealth of rest of the world. If we succeed, the resurgence of the revolt of the poor will raise from Russia from the dead and birth a new theory of Communism in Africa, Asia and South America where they could see the impossibility otherwise of conquering poverty, ignorance, and disease.

This brings the question of war straight back here. If the United States stops trying to control cheap colored labor and their own land and raw materials all over the world; to fix exchange so that while cocoa and sugar still for the highest prices when we buy them here, the people who raise them do not get enough to eat; if we stop our greed to continue this policy, will force by dangerous to the American way of life?

Or let us put it even more bluntly; suppose it proved true that if we had fewer automobiles, fewer night clubs and luxury hotels, and fewer pink cocktails, if this self-denial on the part of the citizens would prevent war would we be willing to make the sacrifice? Or would we call Force a dishonor?

I used to say as a text of youth: you are told, do right and you will be happy, have courage and you will win, sacrifice and you will be rich. For it is gloriously true that to may even have done right and are happy; many courageous heroes even win the good life, and many have sacrificed have gained more than [illegible] But let us also face the bitter truth that many who have stood for the right are beaten and many who have battled bravely have gone down in defeat. And many who have sacrificed have not only not gained in property, but even gained in poverty. But we have got to learn is to do right even if we do not receive happiness, to be brave in the face of defeat and sacrifice even if we never gain reward. My students used to look a bit doubtful at this doctrine and many I suppose look either to ignore or deny what they cannot doubt is true.

But let us apply this reasoning to what we call the American way of life. Most Africans do not enjoy this way of life. As I have said, probably two-thirds of American families are below this standard of comfort, and nine-tenths of the people of the world would be happy with a tenth of our standards. But are we going to do it: fight to preserve the present methods of world industry or take pause in order to consider what is right and best for humanity, even if this reduces our standard of living? We are told that justice to the backward world will not lower our standard of living. Perhaps this is true — in the long run it will be true, but that may take centuries. What if today when economic justice may give us less to eat and wear, could we bear it?

If we find this unthinkable, who are we to lord the world to peace and righteousness? When the nation is shot through with crime, graft, and lawlessness,

the pro-Driving decent Americans to jail, poverty and suicide; we witness "Un-American" inquisition against free speech and thought, long battled by a thief and now presided over by a Georgia storekeeper who holds office by 30,000 votes in a Congressional district where 150,000 of his Negro neighbors are disfranchised. We not only abrogate our own Bill of Rights, but send arms and aides to help overthrow any people on earth who dare to be free, and call to our aid the reactionary tyrannies in Spain, Turkey, and Greece. Our effort to control the world by force of arms is as fantastic as it is evil. Our last desperate plan to restore colonial imperialism with the help of Germany and Japan is the craziest dream of a crazy age.

To the brave home of a better America find the present scene abject unbelievable. A great silence has fallen on the real soul of the nation. We are cowering, decent citizens on the grid test ash of self-confessed liars, traitors and spies. We are refusing passports and visas to distinguished persons lest they tell the truth. We are trading the vital of America to the babble of carpetbaggers paid to talk.

Meanwhile, our native cities in many places, our workers are groaning under increasing prices and mounting taxes, our educational plans, our crime grows, gambling, liquor, and drugs spread, our democracy dies under police, unable to prevent murders and thieves, fraud, homicide, and pillage and arson like crime is abroad and pace.

My words are not a cry of despair, rather a call to hope and determination to know the truth. For a time it is well that we record history and remember: once at the end of the eighteenth century when we hesitated between the freedom of speech to independent editorials and the discipline of federated states; once again in the age of Jackson when democratic lust overthrew the oligarchical rule; once more in the nineteenth century how our slavery cut the nation in two and we half bled it to death; finally, when oligarchs made our industries fall in vast ruin which we built in seven years and set at the throat of rebellion. We have made the comeback again, but not by silence — not by refusing to face the ugly facts.

Concerning the author of this pamphlet

A graduate of Dartmouth College and winner of the Crawford-Campbell Literary Fellowship, Albert E. Kahn was editor during 1939-1941 of *The Hour*, a newsletter which achieved wide distinction for its revelations concerning Axis espionage, sabotage and propaganda operations in the Americas. In 1942, in collaboration with Michael Sayers, Mr. Kahn wrote *Sabotage!*, which was reprinted in condensation in *Reader's Digest* and became one of the leading bestsellers of the war years. Together with Michael Sayers, Mr. Kahn wrote two more bestsellers: *The Plot Against the Peace* (1945) and *The Great Conspiracy* (1946). In addition to reaching a circulation of a quarter of a million copies in the United States, *The Great Conspiracy* has been translated into approximately thirty languages and published in probably more foreign lands than any other non-fiction book of the last decade. Mr. Kahn's most recent book, *High Treason: The Plot Against the People*, has already had a circulation of more than 60,000 copies in America and has been translated into numerous languages.

This is the first of a series of "Pamphlets For Peace" to be issued by The Hour Publishers. The second pamphlet in this series will be entitled THE GAME OF DEATH: WAR PREPARATIONS FOR AMERICAN CHILDREN. *Advance orders can be placed with Albert E. Kahn, Groton-on-Hudson, N. Y.*

PRINTED IN U. S. A.

AGENTS OF PEACE

by Albert E. Kahn

AGENTS OF PEACE

By ALBERT E. KAHN

"I take my stand beside the millions in every nation and continent and cry PEACE—NO MORE WAR!"

—Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

1. *COURT HOUSE SCENE*

ON THE MORNING of February 16, 1951, in the Federal District Court House in Washington, D. C., one of the greatest living Americans was arraigned on criminal charges brought against him by the United States Department of Justice. He was Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, the eighty-two year old world-renowned scholar and Negro statesman who, as John Gunther writes in *Inside America*, "has a position almost like that of . . . Einstein, being the most venerable and distinguished of leaders in his field."

For more than half a century, the vast and varied talents of Dr. Du Bois had been passionately devoted to the advancement of world peace and the well-being of mankind. On myriad fronts, he had waged an incessant, uncompromising, wrathful struggle against war, the wrongs of society and the suffering of man. Universally revered as a protagonist of his people, world-famed as an exponent of freedom for the colonial nations, this small, sedate, quiet-spoken

(3)

trial,* Judge Letts ordered Dr. Du Bois and his co-defendants into the custody of a U. S. marshal while bond was being posted on their bail. They were led from the courtroom and taken down the "criminal chute" into the cell block. There, behind heavily barred doors, in the company of suspected drug addicts and prostitutes, they were photographed, fingerprinted and searched for weapons.

Then Dr. Du Bois was brought from the cell block; and on the wrists of the elderly genius there were manacles . . .

Later, outside the courthouse, near a statue of Abraham Lincoln, newsmen interviewed Dr. Du Bois.

"It is a curious thing," Dr. Du Bois told the reporters, "that today I am called upon to defend myself against criminal charges for openly advocating the one thing all people want—peace."

2. *MEETING PLACE FOR PEACE*

IT WAS early in April 1950 that a group of writers, churchmen, small businessmen and trade unionists had come together in New York City and founded the Peace Information Center.**

Only five short years had elapsed since the agony and havoc of the Second World War; and yet, incredibly enough, the dark clouds of a new and even more fearsome conflict now brooded ominously over every land. The secure and lasting peace so hopefully projected at Yalta and Potsdam seemed like an ill-remembered dream of the past. Fierce international tensions, prodigious armament pro-

* Originally set for April 2, the date of the Peace Information Center trial was subsequently postponed to May 14 and then October 2.

** Those assembled at the meeting constituted themselves as Advisory Council to the Peace Information Center. Dr. Du Bois was elected Chairman, and Mrs. Elizabeth Moos was appointed Executive Director.

(4)

American Negro stood as a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] thundering eloquence echoed around the earth like a tocsin of the human conscience."*

Now Dr. Du Bois was accused by the Justice Department of a most extraordinary crime. He was charged with the advocacy of peace. Together with four former associates in the Peace Information Center, of which he had been Chairman, Dr. Du Bois had been indicted by the Department of Justice on the charge of failure to register as a foreign agent.**

The proceedings in the Federal Court House were held in the Criminal Courtroom. Before Dr. Du Bois and his associates were summoned to the bar, a number of accused criminals appeared before the presiding magistrate, Judge Dickinson Letts, to have dates scheduled for their trials. As one of the journalists present, I noted down the crimes with which these individuals were charged: "Manslaughter —assault to commit robbery—violation of lottery laws—theft —forgery." Such was the category in which the Peace Information Center case had been placed . . .

After setting the date for the Peace Information Center

* Poet and university professor; co-founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and editor of *The Crisis* for more than twenty years; U. S. minister plenipotentiary to Liberia and special consultant to the United Nations; founder of the Pan-African Congresses and author of such brilliant works as *The Souls of the Black Folk, Dark Water, Dusk of Dawn* and *Black Reconstruction*—these were some of the multiple attainments of the amazingly versatile and prolific Dr. Du Bois.

** Indicted with Dr. Du Bois were Mrs. Elizabeth Moos, well-known educator, the first executive director of the Peace Information Center; Abbott Simon, subsequent executive director, a World War II veteran who had played a leading role in peace organizations since the end of the war; Kyrle Elkin, a public-spirited businessman who had been the Center's treasurer; and Sylvia Soloff, a young woman indicted merely because she had been employed at the Center as a clerical worker.

(5)

Headquarters for the Peace Information Center were established in a small office in New York City, and the work of the organization got under way.

The initial project of the Center was a bi-weekly bulletin entitled *Peacegram*. Concisely summarizing international peace developments, the first issue of the bulletin reported such events as these:

Italy: 30,000 peace committees organized. . . . In *Israel, Bombay, Budapest* thousands attend peace conferences and call for banning atomic weapons. . . .

Geneva: Worldwide appeal to outlaw atomic weapons launched by International Red Cross Committee. . . .

United States: Philadelphia—Women organize petition campaign for peace. . . . *Boston*—Massachusetts Action Committee for Peace inaugurates campaign for 100,000 votes to outlaw the atom bomb, for general disarmament, and immediate peace talks between the great powers. . . . *Chicago*—Mid-Century Conference for Peace called by Committee for Peaceful Alternatives. . . .

There was nothing pretentious about the *Peacegram*. The terse facts filling its four multigraphed pages were presented without stylistic embellishment or editorial comment. But the facts had an eloquence of their own.

Letters began pouring into the office of the Peace Information Center. They came from the Pacific coast, the deep South and the midland plains, from great industrial centers and obscure little towns, from organizations and individuals. They enthusiastically hailed the establishment of the Center, eagerly requested more news of the world peace movement, and exuberantly told of local peace activities—of forming peace councils and holding peace rallies, of staging demonstrations, distributing leaflets, circulating petitions. In different words, they all voiced the same mes-

(6)

sages and frenzied preparations for atomic global warfare were the nightmarish reality of the present.

"We have drifted into an age of unprecedented anxiety and fear," declared Dr. John B. Thompson, Dean of the Rockefeller Memorial Chapel. "It is not simply that we fear that we shall die . . . It is the fear that the whole human enterprise is washed up and hopeless." But there were Americans, added the eminent churchman, who refused to resign themselves to the ineffable disaster of another war. "We still believe that peace is possible . . . we do not believe that there are any differences between us and our potential enemies great enough to justify mutual destruction."

The beliefs of Dr. Thompson were fervently shared by the founders of the Peace Information Center. Of urgent moment, they felt, was the spreading of knowledge about the tidal wave of peace sentiment sweeping through the world. Day and night, the American press and radio were bruiting dire prophecies of war and portentous accounts of the imminent danger of armed attack. Scarcely a whisper was to be heard about mammoth peace conferences in Paris, Rome, Bombay and Prague, or the activities of multiple peace groups in the United States. Yet what was of more momentous concern than that the peoples of all lands be made aware of their common hopes and strivings for peace? What, indeed, could more surely advance the cause of peace than the dissemination of this knowledge?

Reasoning thus, the founders of the Peace Information Center set these as the organization's chief objectives: to publicize facts about peace endeavors of all sorts in America and throughout the rest of the world; and to provide media for the interchange of ideas for the promotion of peace and amity among the nations.

Appeal had been unanimously voted in Stockholm on March 19, 1950, by the Permanent Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace.*

Overnight the Appeal had become the rallying cry of a peace crusade of titanic scope. In scores of languages, its words raced across the continents of the world. Unresting legions of people yearning for peace began collecting signatures on Appeal petitions. By the end of May, more than 100,000,000 human beings had already signed the Appeal.

"Who is signing the Appeal?" wrote the famous French priest, Abbe Jean Boulier, in a letter addressed to religious leaders in every land. "The human race."**

Early in June, responding to insistent demands on all sides, the Peace Information Center undertook to print World Peace Appeal petitions and make them available for

* The World Congress of the Defenders of Peace had been founded in Paris in April 1949 at a huge congregation of 2065 delegates from seventy-two countries who represented organizations with a total membership of approximately 700,000,000 persons. Attending the Congress was a delegation of forty Americans, headed by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and O. John Rogge, former Assistant U. S. Attorney General, both of whom had served together with Bishop Arthur W. Moulton as co-chairmen of an American Sponsoring Committee. The Congress elected a Permanent or Executive Committee of 140 members, including eight Americans. The central theme and purpose of the Congress was the promotion of peace activities among the peoples of the world.

The March 1950 conference at Stockholm of the Permanent Committee of the World Congress was attended by one hundred delegates from approximately fifty countries. The three members of the American delegation were the famous artist and writer, Rockwell Kent, O. John Rogge and the author of this pamphlet.

** In addition to Abbe Jean Boulier, many religious leaders endorsed the World Peace Appeal. Twenty-four outstanding French Protestant Pastors issued a manifesto entitled "For Peace" in support of the Appeal. Eight Italian Bishops signed the Appeal. The General Conference of the French Rabbinical Organization endorsed the Appeal, as did Cardinal Sapieha, Roman Catholic Primate of Poland; Monsignor Santin, Archbishop of Trieste, and scores of other religious leaders of every denomination.

A total of some 500,000,000 persons ultimately signed the Appeal.

sage: a message of kinship with the peoples of other lands and of determination to keep the peace.

And suddenly it was as if, by some strange alchemy, the hectic little office with its clattering typewriters and jangling telephone had been transformed into a meeting place where men and women from all parts of the land were clasping hands in a solemn covenant to safeguard the lives and laughter of their children.

With requests for more peace material mounting daily, the Peace Information Center supplemented its *Peacegram* with a series of leaflets.* As rapidly as they were printed, the leaflets were consumed by communities throughout the country. Surfeited with war propaganda, people were famished for words of peace.

Numerous persons urged that a peace petition be added to the literature distributed by the Peace Information Center. Hundreds of peace petitions with various appeals were being circulated in America and other lands. Of all of them, one promised to inspire the broadest response among the American people.

It was known as the World Peace Appeal or Stockholm Pledge.

3. *WORLD PEACE APPEAL*

THE WORLD PEACE APPEAL called for outlawing atomic weapons, strict international control to enforce this measure, and branding as a war criminal the first government to resort in the future to the use of such weapons. Crystallizing the fervent will of countless millions in every nation, the

* These were the titles of some of the leaflets published by the Peace Information Center: *The People of the World Want Peace, Catholics Speak for Peace, The Negro People Speak for Peace, The Text of the International Red Cross Appeal.*

soaring to unprecedented heights, the big business journal, *U. S. News and World Report*, admonished its readers:

> Just keep this point in the back of your minds.
> A peace offensive can break out. Peace is Russia's propaganda game.
> *Peace moves* by Russia, right now, could embarrass U. S. They would get much support in a world fearful of big war . . . Of course, if a real "peace scare" should now develop, watch out . . . the boom would crack.

A similar anxiety over the chance of peace was felt in top army circles. As Holmes Alexander reported in his syndicated column:

> Military chiefs dread even the remote possibility of mediation in Korea . . . They need an extensive period in that bloody peninsula in order to pyramid what is realistically called "bodies and guns." Pentagon chiefs know that the more men in Korea, the more men and weapons Congress will authorize for services elsewhere. . . . Warmongering may now be called the almost official Pentagon policy.

Nor were high-ranking members of the U. S. Government disregarding the danger of a "peace offensive."

4. *COUNTER-OFFENSIVE*

SOON AFTER the outbreak of the Korean war, confidential letters were dispatched from the U. S. State Department to a number of carefully selected individuals in different parts of the United States. I chanced to see one of these communications. Signed by Francis H. Russell, Director of Office of Public Affairs, the letter had been sent to the president of a West Coast bank. Russell informed the banker that the State Department was holding private

distribution in the United States. Within a matter of days, across the whole great span of the land, Americans were enlisting by the thousands in the worldwide crusade to avert the measureless horror of an atomic war. In city after city, peace committees and trade unions, organizations of women, youth, veterans, parents and students pledged themselves to collect signatures on the Appeal. Prominent churchmen, scientists, writers, jurists and educators endorsed the Appeal and urged others to sign.*

In a letter informing the Peace Information Center of their intention to collect 50,000 signatures, members of the Pension Union in Washington State wrote: "Of course, we are old people, but we want to see the state we helped build stay green and beautiful and not be turned into a bleak Nagasaki."

Almost one million Americans had signed the World Peace Appeal by the fateful last week of June, when smouldering international tensions flamed into war in Korea and the armed forces of the United States were committed on the side of the Syngman Rhee regime.

And during the dark and perilous days that followed, as a third world war seemed ever more imminent, Americans added their signatures by the tens of thousands in an impassioned expression of their resolve to maintain peace.

There were, however, powerful interests in America which regarded not war but peace as a dread menace.

On August 4, with corporation profits from war orders

* Among the noted Americans signing the Appeal were Bishop Arthur W. Moulton of Utah; Bishop Sherman L. Greene of Alabama; Justice James H. Wolfe of the Supreme Court of Utah; composer Duke Ellington; nuclear physicist, Dr. Philip Morrison; Fred Stover, President of the Iowa Farmers Union; Paul Robeson; Emily Greene Balch, Nobel Prize winner; and Dr. Anton Carlson of the University of Chicago.

conferences to devise methods of thwarting the collection of signatures on the World Peace Appeal in America. "I ... should be pleased," wrote Russell, "to arrange for you to attend one of the Department's regular briefing sessions on world developments if you will let me know anytime that you plan to be in the vicinity."

Accompanying Russell's letter was a three-page mimeographed memorandum entitled *Moscow's "Signatures for Peace" Campaign*. Characterizing the World Peace Appeal as "the newest major development in Moscow's 'peace offensive'," the memorandum declared that one of the sinister aims of the Appeal was "to make any use of the atom bomb seem morally indefensible."

This memorandum had not been prepared solely for the consideration of the West Coast banker. Although bearing no markings identifying its origin or authorship, the memorandum was being sent by the State Department to congressmen, government agencies and U. S. foreign missions, as well as to numerous editors, radio news-commentators, educators, Negro leaders and other persons in a position to influence public opinion . . .*

* As the two Americans on the Resolutions Committee at Stockholm which had drafted the World Peace Appeal, Rockwell Kent and the author of this pamphlet wrote Secretary Acheson informing him of the flagrant inaccuracy of the State Department memorandum on the Appeal. We advised the Secretary that the American delegates to the Stockholm Conference had received no "orders from Moscow" but had supported the demand to outlaw the atom bomb because "we knew we were expressing the heartfelt desire of millions of Americans to eliminate the threat of this most monstrous weapon." We added that we would be glad to come to Washington to give a firsthand account of the democratic parliamentary conduct of the Stockholm Conference and its "broadly representative character - - - not only in terms of nationality but also of vocation, religious faith and political persuasion."

However, unlike the West Coast banker and other recipients of letters from Director of Public Affairs Francis Russell, Kent and I were not invited to visit the State Department.

(cont.)

were forcibly broken up and peace demonstrations assembled. When arrests were made, the police almost invariably jailed those who had been attacked or were circulating the peace petitions. "Instead of putting these guys in jail," declared Governor James Duff of Pennsylvania, "they ought to be hanged."

On August 2, in New York City, the campaign of violence against the peace movement reached a bloody climax.

A rally sponsored by the National Labor Peace Conference had been scheduled for that afternoon in Union Square; but Mayor O'Dwyer had arbitrarily refused to grant a permit for the assembly. To protest the ban and demonstrate their desire for peace, thousands of New Yorkers gathered quietly along the streets bordering the Square at the time set for the meeting. The Square itself was ringed by more than a thousand uniformed police officers, mounted policemen, radio-car patrolmen and detectives. . . .

Suddenly, and without warning, the police charged into the crowd. Flailing right and left with their riot sticks, they savagely beat men and women to the ground. Mounted police spurred their horses onto the sidewalks, riding people down, indiscriminately clubbing demonstrators and onlookers. Describing the scene, Sid Kline later reported to the *New York Daily Compass:*

> I heard beaten men groan with pain, and saw them kicked again before the sound of their cries had vanished. I heard women scream in agony, and I heard the sobs of other women driven near to hysteria by what they saw happen to others whom they did not know—but who were human beings.
>
> Scores were seriously injured . . .

Ted Thackrey, editor and publisher of the *Compass*, bitterly commented: "Our democracy is not dying—it is being clubbed to death."

5. *THE NATURE OF THE CRIME*

THE WIDESPREAD concerted campaign of propaganda, intimidation, repression and violence had failed, however, to dam the ground swell of anti-war sentiment surging through the land.

With casualties grimly mounting among U. S. troops on the desperately-held beachhead in Korea, more and more citizens on the home front were demanding an end to the sanguinary military adventure. Press and radio polls showed overwhelming majorities opposed to continued American participation in the war. By mid-summer the number of young men failing to answer their draft calls had reached such proportions nationally that the figure was being kept a military secret and special FBI contingents had been formed to round up the delinquents.

Regarding peace activities during the early days of August, the *National Guardian* reported:

> From thousands of pulpits in hundreds of U. S. communities religious leaders were resisting the tide toward war . . . From coast to coast a small army of brave people were still ringing doorbells, canvassing their neighbors, holding street corner rallies, getting more signatures to peace petitions. In many localities this had become dangerous but the work went on . . .

By August the Peace Information Center had distributed throughout the country more than a million peace emblems, pamphlets, bulletins and petitions. Included among the petitions were tens of thousands of copies of the World

Peace Appeal. Notwithstanding every official and unofficial contrivance to stop them, two million Americans had thus far signed the Appeal . . .

It was clear that if the growing demand for peace was to be stifled, new and more stringent measures were essential on the part of the Administration. One such measure was about to be taken.

On August 11 the Department of Justice summarily demanded that the Peace Information Center register immediately "as an agent of a foreign principal . . . under the terms of the Foreign Agents Registration Act."

Shocked and outraged, the leaders of the Peace Information Center denounced the Justice Department's action as an effort to discredit their work and frighten them into inactivity. Speaking as the Center's Chairman, Dr. Du Bois declared in a public statement:

> The Peace Information Center is an entirely American organization whose sole object is to prevent a third World War . . . The desire for peace cannot be made an "alien sentiment."

But the action of the Justice Department was not without its effect. Branded as a "foreign agent" by the press and radio, it became increasingly difficult for the Center to function effectively and raise sufficient funds for its work.

On October 12, after bringing its message of peace to millions of Americans, the Peace Information Center was dissolved by decision of its executive board.

Four months later, on February 9, 1951, the Justice Department indicted Dr. Du Bois and four of his former associates in the Peace Information Center for failure to register as foreign agents. Conviction on this charge could

carry a prison sentence of five years and a $10,000 fine for each of the accused.

For the Administration had not been content merely with the dissolution of the Peace Information Center. The American people needed to be taught a more important lesson.

And this was the lesson Americans were intended to learn: that advocacy of peace had become a crime in the United States and that those who spoke out against war were "foreign agents."

6. *FOR THE DEFENSE*

THE SHOCKING indictment of Dr. Du Bois and his associates precipitated an outcry of protest and condemnation throughout the country. Numerous civic, religious, professional, labor and Negro organizations, and scores of outstanding public figures, sharply decried the persecution of the former leaders of the Peace Information Center and called for the immediate withdrawal of the indictment.

"As a worker in science," declared the eminent nuclear physicist, Dr. Philip Morrison, "I am especially moved to protest the injustice of a prosecution based on the idea that the search for peace is alien. Peace, like science, ought to know no boundaries. It demands not stigma, but recognition."

From every section of the American Negro community came fiery denunciations of the Government's action against Dr. Du Bois and the monstrous indignity of his arraignment in Washington.

"If an outstanding American like Dr. Du Bois who has given fifty years of his life in the battle to wipe out second class citizenship for the Negro could be indicted because he

(end)

...as an officer sponsoring a petition for peace throughout the world," stated Judge Hubert T. Delaney of New York City, "then few of us are safe from attack upon our loyalty to the country of our birth."

In the *Pittsburgh Courier*, Marjorie McKenzie wrote:

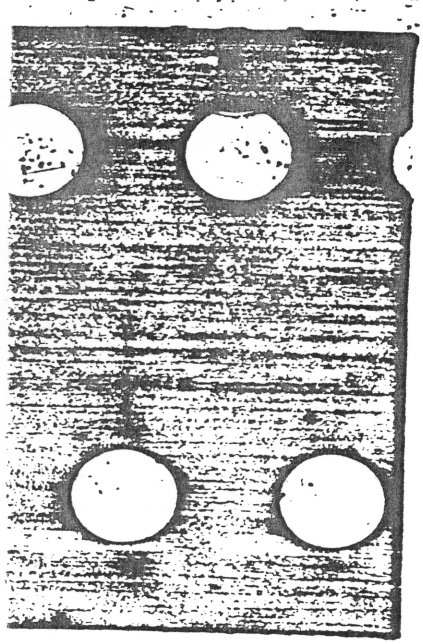
> The choice of Dr. Du Bois as a defendant is neither random nor routine . . . It occurs at a time when no other American Negro of comparable stature has spoken so fearlessly and critically of United States policies . . . We have to take a stand, here and now, with Dr. Du Bois.

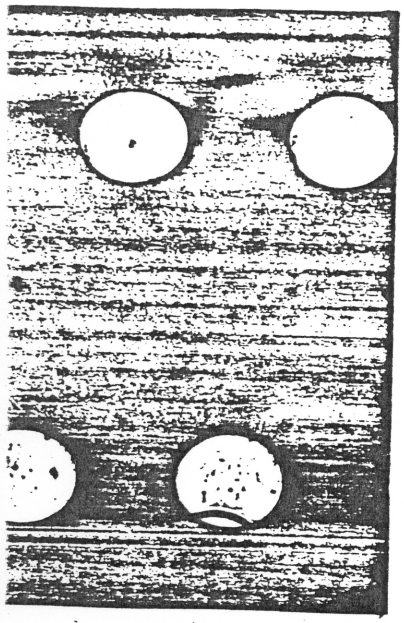
On February 23, one week after his arraignment, a testimonial dinner to honor Dr. Du Bois on the occasion of his eighty-third birthday took place in New York City. The sponsoring committee of the dinner was composed of more than three hundred of the nation's outstanding educators, writers, religious leaders and scientists.

"I stand tonight facing the possibility of celebrating my future birthdays in prison," Dr. Du Bois told the hundreds of men and women assembled to pay tribute to him. "The prospect is not pleasant. Yet I continue to maintain that advocacy of peace is not treason; that I am the agent of no foreign principal and never have been; that I am the champion of no idea alien to this nation; and that I have the right within the law in the future as in the past to fight for peace."

It is to safeguard this right not only for Dr. Du Bois and his associates but for the nation as a whole that ever-growing numbers of Americans are demanding the Government abandon its willful prosecution of the Peace Information Center.

And in proclaiming their prerogative to fight for peace and the prevention of an atomic war, these Americans are asserting their unalienable right to life itself.





W. E. B. DuBois

[redacted]

Dec 24 1951

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington D.C.

Dear Sirs;

The enclosed letter intended for W E B DuBois was delivered at my home. Will you please forward it to him.

Very truly yours;

[redacted]

WWW!

I KNOW THE FBI KNOWS!

WWW!

ENCLOSURE

100-99729-41

13 1-17-52

EX-15

57

[redacted]

TRUE COPY

Dec 24 1951

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington D.C.

Dear Sirs:

The enclosed letter intended for Dr. W. E. B. DuBois was delivered at my house. Will you please forward it to him.

Very truly yours;

[redacted]

COPIES DESTROYED
29 MAR 25 1974

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/2/80 BY SP1 [redacted]

100-99929-41

EX-15

January 7, 1952

[redacted]

Your letter dated December 24, 1951, together with enclosures, has been received, and I appreciate your interest in making this data available to me.

I am returning herewith the enclosures to your communication and suggest that you may desire to furnish them to the Post Office Department for further handling.

In the event you obtain additional data which you believe to be of interest to this Bureau, you may desire to communicate directly with the Special Agent in Charge of our New York Office located at 607 U. S. Court House, Foley Square, New York 7, New York.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/2/80 BY SP4

Attachments

cc: New York (with copies of incoming)

Correspondent forwarded as enclosures a letter addressed to "Dr. DuBois [redacted] New York City" together with the envelope in which the letter was mailed. The original address on the envelope had been crossed through apparently by the Post Office Department and the notation made "Not At Address Given". The address [redacted] and the letter delivered to the correspondent. It was undoubtedly originally intended to be delivered to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, who is under indictment for contempt of Congress.

Inasmuch as it is not deemed advisable to retain this letter which was not delivered to the original addressee, the enclosures are being returned to the correspondent with the suggestion that he return them to the Post Office Depart[redacted]

[redacted]

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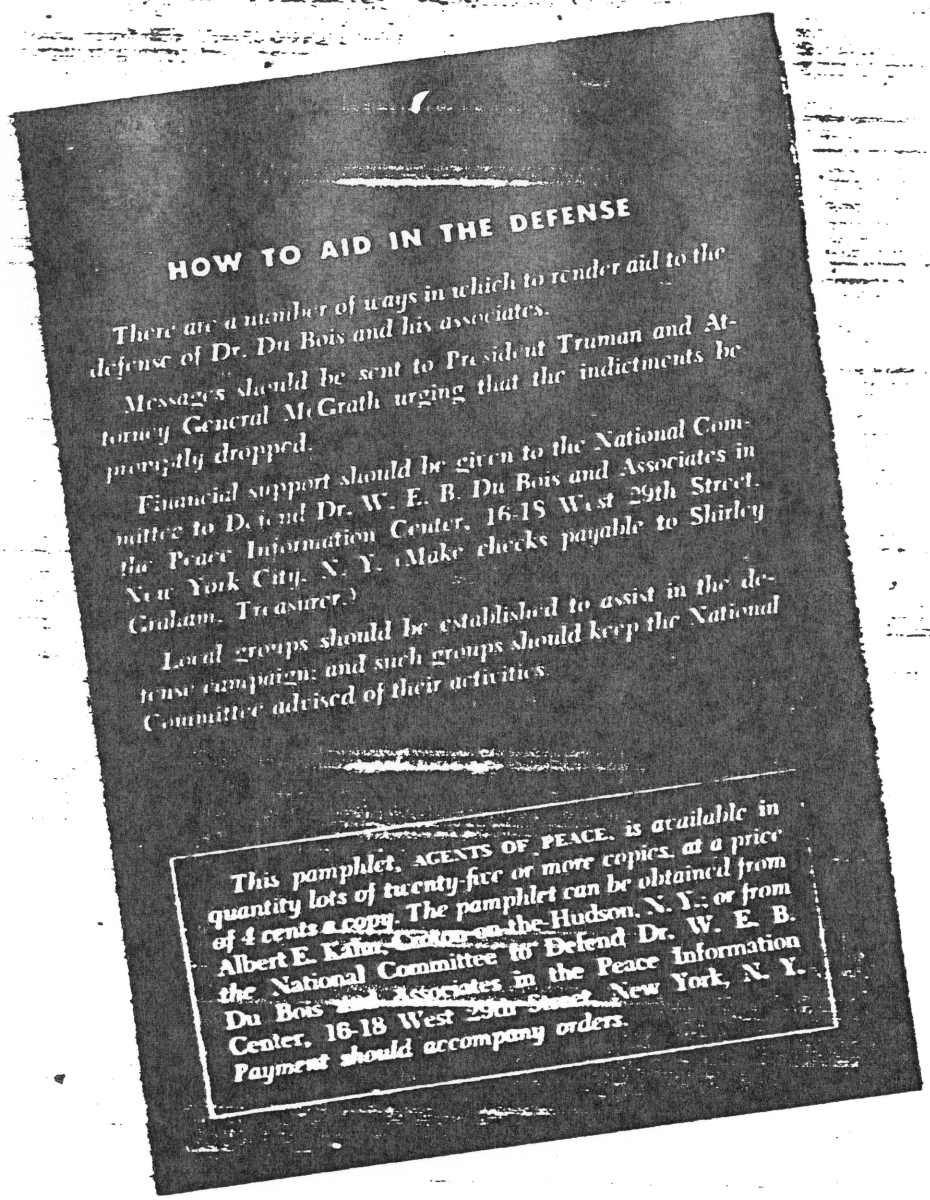

HOW TO AID IN THE DEFENSE

There are a number of ways in which to render aid to the defense of Dr. Du Bois and his associates.

Messages should be sent to President Truman and Attorney General McGrath urging that the indictments be promptly dropped.

Financial support should be given to the National Committee to Defend Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and Associates in the Peace Information Center, 16-18 West 29th Street, New York City, N. Y. (Make checks payable to Shirley Graham, Treasurer.)

Local groups should be established to assist in the defense campaign and such groups should keep the National Committee advised of their activities.

This pamphlet, AGENTS OF PEACE, is available in quantity lots of twenty-five or more copies, at a price of 4 cents a copy. The pamphlet can be obtained from the National Committee to Defend Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and Associates in the Peace Information Center, 16-18 West 29th Street, New York, N. Y. Payment should accompany orders.

100-392728-41

TRUE COPY

Dr. Du Bois,

Room 124, 186 Broadway,

NEWYORK CITY.

Dear Friends,

We have the pleasure to inform you that a provisional committee for defence of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois has been set up by the writers and contributors of the fortnightly art review "Kaboutare Solh" mouthpiece of progressive Iranian artists. This cimmittee has, up to the present, published several articles on the inhuman trial of Dr. DuBois and in a general statement, has called upon eminent personalities, judges, artists, writers and peace loving people to send their protests through this committee

The provisional committee requests you to send to it any information, letters and articles published throughout the world for the protection of the freedom of thought and opinions in the USA and the defence of Dr. DuBois.

We take the chance to send our best regards to you

Sincerely yours,

[redacted]

[redacted]

1.XII.1951

90

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

FD-122
(1-2-51)

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (100-99729)

FROM : SAC, New York [redacted]

DATE: March 17, 1952

SUBJECT: DR. WILLIAM EDWARD BURHARDT DUBOIS
SECURITY MATTER - C

[redacted] 4-1-52 ecf

___ It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.

X ___ The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows: (Specify change only)

NAME _____

ALIASES _____

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NATIVE BORN ____ NATURALIZED ____ ALIEN ____

COMMUNIST ____ SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY ____ INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE ____

MISCELLANEOUS (Specify) _____

TAB FOR DETCOM ____ TAB FOR COMSAB ____ RACE ____ SEX ____

DATE OF BIRTH _____ PLACE OF BIRTH _____

BUSINESS ADDRESS (Show name of employing concern and address) _____

Council on African Affairs

153 West 125th Street, NYC

NATURE OF INDUSTRY OR BUSINESS (Specify from Vital Facility List)

RESIDENCE ADDRESS 31 Grace Court

Brooklyn Heights, Bklyn, N.Y.

HQ 47 11 AM '52 FBI STATISTICAL SECTION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/2/80 BY SP1 [redacted]

[redacted]

100-99729-42

MAR 20 [illegible]

WJW:mat

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[redacted]

RA

dept a border

TORONTO--DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS, AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, WAS REFUSED ENTRY TO CANADA WHEN HE LANDED AT MALTON AIRPORT TODAY.

DU BOIS WAS SCHEDULED TO SPEAK AT THE PRO-COMMUNIST CONFERENCE ON PEACE, ARMS REDUCTION AND TRADE HERE SATURDAY.

AFTER DU BOIS WAS DETAINED BY IMMIGRATION OFFICIALS, BRUCE MICKLEBURGH, PUBLIC RELATIONS DIRECTOR OF THE CANADIAN PEACE CONGRESS, SPONSORS OF THE CONFERENCE, CHARGED THAT "AN IRON CURTAIN IS BEING THROWN AROUND CANADA."

DU BOIS LAST YEAR WAS CHARGED IN THE U. S. WITH BEING AN UNREGISTERED AGENT FOR A FOREIGN POWER. AT THAT TIME, HE WAS PRESIDENT OF THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTRE AND WAS PROMINENT IN DISTRIBUTING LITERATURE ABOUT THE STOCKHOLM PEACE APPEAL.

5/9--CE502P

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100-99729-

NOT RECORDED
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DATE 7/2/80 BY SP1 [redacted]

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MAY 20 1952

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4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

5 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☐ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552

☐ (b)(1)
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Section 552a

☐ (d)(5)
☐ (j)(2)
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☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

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FBI/DOJ

FD-36

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CONFIDENTIAL

AIR-TEL - AIR MAIL - REGISTERED

Transmit the following message to:

FBI, LOS ANGELES 12-15-52 2:30 p. m.

DIRECTOR, FBI

[redacted]

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS, IS - C. [redacted] A PEACE BULLETIN ISSUED BY THE SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PEACE CRUSADE, FURNISHED BY [redacted] REFLECTS THAT DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS AND SHIRLEY GRAHAM WILL ARRIVE IN LA ON FEB. ELEVEN NEXT ON THE FIRST STOP OF AN [redacted] EXTENDED TOUR OF THE WEST COAST UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PEACE CRUSADE [redacted] ACCORDING TO THE BULLETIN, THEIR VISIT WILL COINCIDE WITH OBSERVANCE OF NEGRO HISTORY WEEK AND WILL BE COMMEMORATED WITH A TESTIMONIAL DINNER QUOTE HONORING DR. DU BOIS FOR HIS LIFETIME CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND TO THE STRUGGLE OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE FOR EQUALITY [redacted] THIS DINNER IS SCHEDULED FOR FEB. THIRTEEN NEXT WITH RESERVATIONS AT FIFTEEN DOLLARS PER PLATE.

[redacted]

[redacted] DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

RECORDED - 140 100-997249

DEC 17 1952

EX. - 107

[redacted]

Approved: [redacted] Special Agent in Charge

Sent [redacted] M Per [redacted]

CONFIDENTIAL

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES NOTIFIED

DATE

CLASS. & EXT. BY [redacted]
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 2-2-80
pre-prewar release

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CONFIDEN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

AIR-TEL - AIR MAIL - REGISTERED

Transmit the following ~~TELETYPE~~ message to:

FBI, LOS ANGELES 2-18-53 4:30 p. m.

DIRECTOR, FBI

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS, IS - C. AS BUREAU PREVIOUSLY ADVISED, DR. DU BOIS WILL APPEAR AT A TESTIMONIAL BANQUET IN LA ON FRIDAY NEXT. DU BOIS AND HIS WIFE, SHIRLEY GRAHAM, ARE ALSO TO APPEAR AT OTHER SOCIAL FUNCTIONS. ADVISES THAT SHIRLEY GRAHAM WAS THE MAIN SPEAKER AT A MEETING SPONSORED BY THE JEWISH WOMEN-S CLUB HELD IN LA ON FEB. SEVENTEEN LAST. GRAHAM CHARGED THE U. WITH AGGRESSIVE AND INHUMANE WARFARE IN KOREA. SHE CHARGED FURTHER THAT THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE HAD TORTURED THE ROSENBERGS TO OBTAIN CONFESSIONS WITHOUT SUCCESS AND BOASTED THAT THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE HAD BEEN DEFEATED BEFORE AND THEY WILL AGAIN BE DEFEATED IN THE ROSENBERG CASE. ADVISES APPROXIMATELY EIGHTY PERSONS ATTENDED THE MEETING AND JOINED IN SENDING A TELEGRAM TO PRESIDENT EISENHOWER URGING CLEMENCY FOR THE ROSENBERGS.

G I. R. .8

100-997295

(Dr. W. E. B. DU BOIS)

166

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

Special ... in Charge

CONFIDENTIAL

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY LETTER SLIP(S) DATE

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP4 2/2/80
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 7-2-80
Per Pleasure Release

192

FD-1
(1-10-46)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FORM No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT NEW YORK CONFIDENTIAL [redacted]

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
LOS ANGELES	5/11/53	4/24;5/1/53	[redacted]

TITLE
Dr. W. E. B. DuBOIS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

CHARACTER OF CASE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

[redacted]

Dr. DuBOIS, in his recent appearance on the West Coast, was sponsored by the Southern California Peace Crusade in connection with Negro History Week. Various affairs were given in his honor 2/15,17,18,20/53 in Los Angeles. Los Angeles County Communist Party active in fund raising in order to attend DuBOIS affairs.

- RUC -

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP4 [redacted] 12
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 7-2-90
Pre-previous release

G I R 3

DETAILS: [redacted]

The Los Angeles County Communist Party will hereinafter be referred to as the LACCP and the Communist Party as the CP.

ACTIVITIES

[redacted] C

[redacted]

Declassified By 4417 2/14/77

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [redacted] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
100-99729-51
RECORDED-107
INDEXED-107

COPIES OF THIS REPORT
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[redacted]

47
50 JUN 4 1953

MAY 18 1953

[redacted]

PROPERTY OF FBI—This confidential report and its contents are loaned to you by the FBI and are not to be distributed outside of agency to which loaned.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16—60637-1

[redacted]

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted] C

[redacted] C in March, 1952, advised that the launching of the American Peace Crusade was announced at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Labor Peace Conference in Chicago, Illinois, on January 28, 1951. [redacted] further advised that in the Los Angeles area, the major policies and the orientation of the American Peace Crusade (APC) are determined by CP members and that the CP exercises control of the APC by the assignment of CP members to work within the organization. The Southern California Peace Crusade, which has replaced the Southern California Peace Council, is the Los Angeles chapter of the APC.

[redacted] C

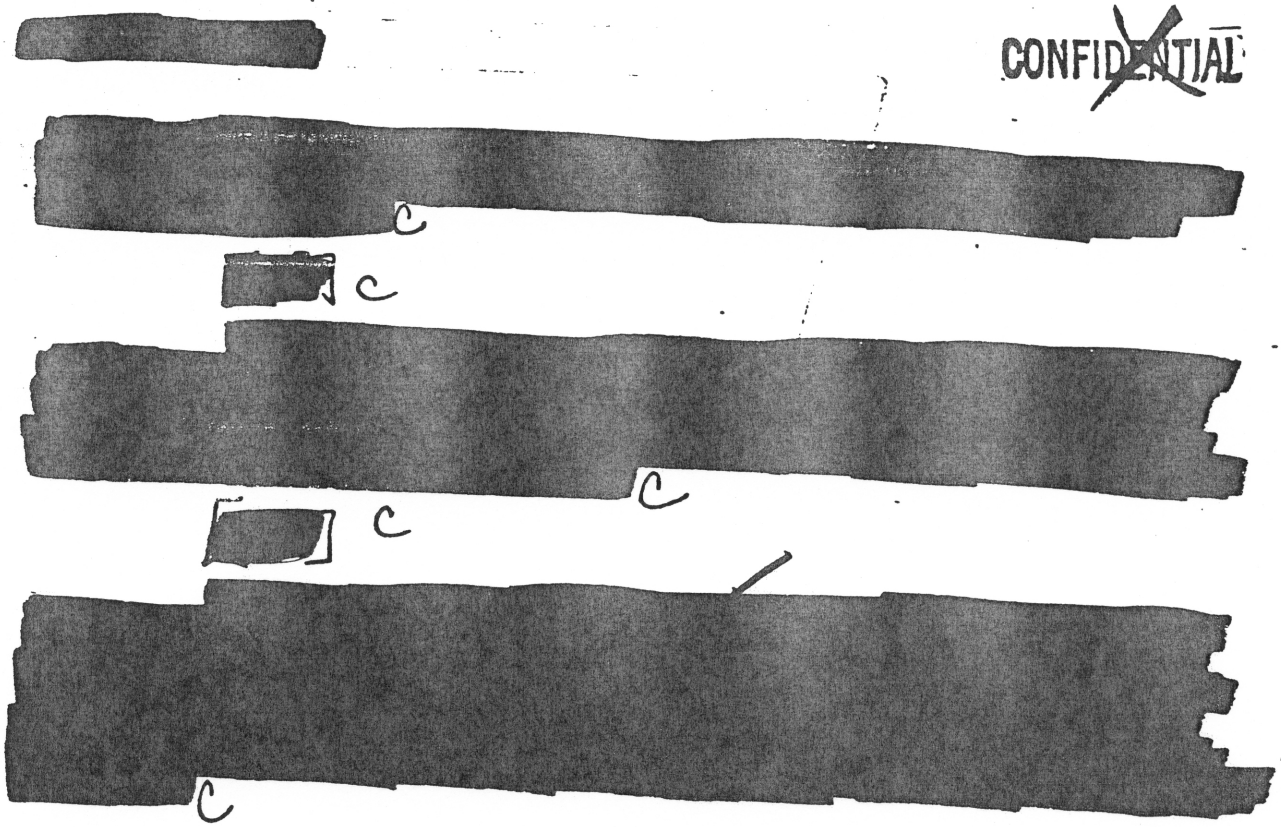
In December, 1952, [redacted] made available a "peace bulletin" issued by the Southern California Peace Crusade, which stated that Dr. W. E. B. DuBOIS, accompanied by his wife, SHIRLEY GRAHAM, would arrive in the Los Angeles area on or about February 11, 1953, which would be their first stop on an extended tour of the West Coast under the auspices of the Southern California Peace Crusade.

This bulletin also pointed out that his visit in the Los Angeles area was timed to coincide with Negro History Week, and his activities in this area would begin with a testimonial dinner in the honor of Dr. DuBOIS for his lifetime contributions to the cause of peace.

[redacted] C

[redacted] C

[redacted]



CONFIDENTIAL

"Los Angeles Tribune,"
a weekly Negro newspaper:

This paper contained an article entitled "DuBois Here, Speaking February 15." This article reflected that on February 15, 1953, Dr. DuBOIS would speak in the Negro area at the Elks Auditorium under the sponsorship of a committee known as the "Committee to Welcome Dr. DuBois."

"California Eagle"
Issue of February 12, 1953
A weekly Negro newspaper:

This newspaper contained an article on February 12, 1953, entitled "DuBois to Speak Here Sunday Night." This article reflected that Dr. DuBOIS, on the following Sunday night, would speak on "The Crisis in Africa" at the First Unitarian Church, Eighth and Vermont Streets, Los Angeles, California.

CONFIDENTIAL

195

[redacted] C

On February 15, 1953, Dr. DuBOIS made an appearance at the Elks Auditorium, 4016 South Central Avenue, Los Angeles, California, and spoke on the exploitation of Africa by colonial powers. These sources advised that the sponsorship of this meeting was under a committee known as the "Trade Union Committee to Welcome Dr. DuBois." These sources were unable to give any background information regarding the formation of such a committee but stated that it had apparently been formed extemporaneously in order to hold this affair.

[redacted] C

The Southern California Peace Crusade sponsored a reception in honor of Dr. DuBOIS at 2436 Grammercy Park, Los Angeles, California, on February 17, 1953, at which reception Dr. DuBOIS spoke on conditions in Africa.

[redacted] C

The Peace Crusade was issuing a letter during the month of January, 1953, that on February 19, 1953, a dinner in honor of Dr. DuBOIS would be given at [redacted] Los Angeles, California. [redacted] advised, however, that on February 18, 1953, a reception for Dr. DuBOIS was given at [redacted] the residence of [redacted]

House Committee on
Un-American Activities
Report for 1952, Page 64:

[redacted] C [illegible]

[redacted] C

On February 20, 1953, Dr. W. E. B. DuBOIS was given a testimonial dinner by the Southern California Peace Crusade

[redacted]

CONFIDENTIAL

at Park Manor, 607 South Western Avenue, at which dinner he spoke concerning conditions in Africa.

- RUC -

CONFIDENTIAL

197

May 19, 1953

RE: WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT Du BOIS
Born: February 23, 1868
Great Barrington, Massachusetts

Attached hereto are four copies of an investigation conducted by this Bureau, reflecting information concerning the above-named individual. 100-99729

However, information in Bureau files would indicate that William Edward Burghardt DuBois, born February 23, 1868, Great Barrington, Massachusetts, is of the Negro race while your inquiry reflects the above-captioned individual to be of the white race.

[redacted]

The foregoing information is furnished to you as a result of your request for an FBI file check only and is not to be construed as a clearance or nonclearance of the person involved. This information is furnished for your confidential use only and should not be disseminated outside of your agency.

[redacted]

Declassified By [redacted]
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/2/80 BY SP-1 [redacted]

100-99729-
52

EX-10[illegible]

[redacted]

198

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

FD-122
(5-11-53)

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (100-99729)

DATE: 2/9/54

FROM : SAC, New York (100-20789)

Card U.I.D.
3-16-54 DEW

SUBJECT: DR. WILLIAM EDWARD BURHARDT DUBOIS
SM-C

___ It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.

X
___ The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows: (Specify change only)

NAME _____

ALIASES _____

_____

_____

NATIVE BORN_____ NATURALIZED_____ ALIEN_____

COMMUNIST_____SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY_____INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE_____

MISCELLANEOUS (Specify) _____

TAB FOR DETCOM_____ TAB FOR COMSAB_____ RACE_____ SEX_____

DATE OF BIRTH _____ PLACE OF BIRTH _____

BUSINESS ADDRESS (Show name of employing concern and address) _____

Council on African Affairs, 53 W. 125th St., NYC, also
Office at 23 W. 26th St., NYC, known as the "Penthouse".

KEY FACILITY DATA:
GEOGRAPHICAL REFERENCE NUMBER _____ 100-99729- RESPONSIBILITY 52A

INTERESTED AGENCIES _____

RESIDENCE ADDRESS _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/2/80 BY SLC

[redacted]

194

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : [redacted]

FROM : [redacted]

DATE: February 3, 1954

SUBJECT: DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS
Internal Security - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/2/80 BY [redacted]

The attached memorandum containing information concerning captioned individual was furnished to the Bureau on January 11, 1954, by [redacted] advised he had obtained same from [redacted] It is noted that the attached memorandum contains information which, according to the House Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, is contained in the public records, files and publications of that Committee. This information was evidently prepared for Senator William E. Jenner, Chairman, Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security.

It is further noted that subject's name appeared in the October 1, 1953, issue of the "Daily Worker," east coast Communist newspaper, as one of 99 "notables" who were reported in that particular issue as sponsors of a National Conference to Repeal the McCarran - Walter Law. The conference was scheduled for December 12 and 13, 1953, Walsh's Hall, 1014 North Noble Street, Chicago, Illinois, under the auspices of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. This organization has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Captioned individual is ~~(is/not)~~ the subject of a pending ~~(closed)~~ Internal Security - C investigation. Subject is ~~(is/not)~~ listed on the Security Index. New York is the Office of Origin in this case.

[redacted]

100-99129-53

FEB [redacted] 1954

[redacted]

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

200

100-99729

INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FOR: Hon. Wm E Jenner DATE: Oct. 15, 1953

SUBJECT: Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

The public records, files and publications of this Committee contain the following information concerning Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this Committee and it should be noted that the subject individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler, unless otherwise indicated.

The Worker (Sunday edition of the Communist publication, the Daily Worker) on April 27, 1947 reported that "almost 100 Negro leaders, headed by W. E. B. DuBois, Paul Robeson and Roscoe Dunjee, last week called upon President Truman 'to repudiate decisively' steps to 'illegalize the Communist Party.' . . . 'As Negro Americans . . . we cannot be unmindful that this proposal to outlaw the Communist Party comes precisely when our Federal government professes grave concern over the democratic rights of peoples in far distant parts of the world.' . . ." (page 8 of The Worker).

Dr. DuBois sponsored a statement attacking the arrest of Communist Party leaders (Daily Worker, August 23, 1948, page 3); he sponsored a "Statement by Negro Americans" on behalf of the Communist leaders (The Worker of August 29, 1948, page 11); he filed a brief in the Supreme Court on behalf of the twelve Communist leaders (Daily Worker, January 9, 1949, page 3); he signed statements on behalf of Communist leaders, as shown in the following sources: Daily Worker, January 17, 1949 (page 3); February 28, 1949 (page 9); Daily People's World, May 12, 1950 (page 12); Daily Worker September 19, 1950 (page 2); and in 1952, he signed an appeal to President Truman, requesting amnesty for leaders of the Communist Party convicted under the Smith Act (Daily Worker, December 10, 1952, page 4). Dr. DuBois was one of the sponsors of the National Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the Twelve Communist leaders, as shown on the back of their letterhead dated September 9, 1949.

A statement on behalf of Eugene Dennis, a Communist, contained the signature of Dr. DuBois, identified as an educator (Daily Worker of May 5, 1950, p. 2); he signed a telegram of the National Committee to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims, greeting Eugene Dennis on his 48th birthday (Daily Worker, August 11, 1952, p. 3); Eugene Dennis was formerly Secretary General of the Communist Party.

The Daily Worker of August 2, 1949 (p. 2), disclosed that Dr. DuBois endorsed Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., well-known Communist leader; he was Honorary Chairman of the Committee to Defend V. J. Jerome, Chairman, Cultural Commission of the Communist Party, U.S.A. (letterhead dated June 24, 1952). A leaflet of the Civil Rights Congress (dated March 20, 1947) named Dr. DuBois as having defended Gerhart Eisler, Communist. He was one of the sponsors of the Committee to Defend Alexander Tractenberg, former member of the National Committee of the Communist Party (Daily People's World of April 17, 1952, p. 7; and the Daily Worker of April 18, 1952, p.

— ENCLOSURE —

100-[illegible]-53

The Daily Worker of February 16, 1948 (page 16), reported that some "eighty leading New York civic leaders, trade unionists and professionals yesterday joined Dr. William Jay Schieffelin, president emeritus of the Citizens Union, to demand the prompt seating of Simon W. Gerson to the City Council seat made vacant by the death of Councilman Peter V. Cacchione, Brooklyn Communist. . . The civic leaders' statement is directed to Mayor O'Dwyer and City Council majority leader Joseph T. Sharkey. It is a reprint of a letter to the New York Times by Dr. Schieffelin in which he charges that the real reason for the refusal to seat German (sic. Gerson) is 'the current anti-Communist hysteria.'. . ." Dr. DuBois was named as having signed the statement. (See also advertisement in New York Times of February 19, 1948, page 13.)

Dr. DuBois was a member of a committee formed to protest the arrest of Pablo Neruda, Communist Chilean Senator and world famous poet; he signed a statement of the organization in support of Neruda. (Daily Worker of April 7, 1948, p. 13, and April 10, 1950, p. 2, respectively.) He was sponsor of a reception and testimonial for Harry Sacher, defense attorney for the Communist leaders (Daily Worker of December 5, 1949, p. 2).

When Earl Browder (then general secretary, Communist Party) was in Atlanta Penitentiary serving a sentence involving his fraudulent passports, the Communist Party's front which agitated for his release was known as the Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder (Special Committee . . . in Report 1311 of March 29, 1944); the Attorney General of the United States had cited the Citizens' Committee as Communist (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7687, and press release of April 27, 1949). Dr. DuBois was a member of the Citizens' Committee. . . in 1942, as shown on their letterhead dated February 11, 1942; he sponsored a dinner of the group, according to the Daily Worker of February 5, 1942, and signed the call to the National Free Browder Congress, as shown in the Daily Worker of February 25, 1942, pages 1 and 4.

A 1950 letterhead of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born carries the name of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois in a list of sponsors of that organization; the same information appears on an undated letterhead of the group, distributing a speech of Abner Green at the conference of December 2-3, 1950; a letterhead of the Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born dated April 30, 1951, names him as a National Sponsor of the organization. He signed the group's statement opposing the Hobbs Bill (Daily Worker, July 25, 1950, page 4); he signed their statement opposing denaturalization (Daily Worker of August 10, 1950, p. 5); and signed a telegram prepared and dispatched by the organization to the Attorney General of the United States, protesting holding nine non-citizens without bail under the McCarran Act (Daily Worker of November 24, 1952, page 3).

The Special Committee cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States" (report of March 29, 1944; also cited in report of June 25, 1942); the Attorney General cited the organization as subversive and Communist (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948).

"For years, the Communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the entire American Labor Party throughout New York State. They succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn sections of the American Labor Party but

outside of New York City, they have been unable to win control" (Special Committee's Report 1311 of March 29, 1944). Dr. DuBois spoke at a state conference of the American Labor Party (Daily Worker of December 12, 1950, page 5); he spoke at a dinner, April 18th, opening the presidential campaign in New York City (Daily Worker of April 14, 1952, page 8, an advertisement; and the Daily Worker of April 21, 1952, page 1); he spoke at an election rally in Madison Square Garden, May 13th, held under the auspices of the American Labor Party (Daily Worker of May 8, 1952, page 8, an advertisement; and May 14, 1952, page 1); and he spoke at an election rally in Madison Square Garden, October 27th (Daily Worker of October 22, 1952, page 8, an advertisement; and October 29, 1952, page 2).

The Daily Worker of March 29, 1948 (page 7), named Dr. DuBois as a member of the Executive Board and of the Policy Committee, Council on African Affairs; he signed the Council's petition to the United Nations as shown in the Daily Worker of June 5, 1950 (page 4); and drafted their statement against the policy of the United States in Korea (Daily Worker of July 25, 1950, page 3); the Attorney General cited the Council on African Affairs as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948).

The Attorney General cited the Jefferson School of Social Science as an "adjunct of the Communist Party" (press release of December 4, 1947); the Special Committee reported that "at the beginning of the present year, the old Communist Party Workers School and the School for Democracy were merged into the Jefferson School of Social Science" (Report 1311 of March 29, 1944). Dr. DuBois was honored at the Jefferson School, as shown in the Daily Worker on February 1, 1951 (page 2); it was announced in the Daily Worker on January 2, 1952 (page 7), that Dr. Dubois was scheduled to conduct a seminar on "Background of African Liberation Struggles" at the Jefferson School; the January 26, 1952 issue of the same publication (page 7), named him as a faculty member of that School.

In a report of the Special Committee, dated March 29, 1944, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was cited as having been, in recent months, the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian (report dated March 29, 1944); Dr. DuBois signed a statement of the National Council in 1947 (Daily Worker, October 17, 1947, page 4); he signed the organization's statement protesting the Iron Curtain, as reported in the Daily People's World on May 20, 1948 (page 5); he signed a statement of the Council, praising Henry Wallace's Open Letter to Stalin in May 1948 (from a pamphlet entitled "How to End the Cold War and Build the Peace," page 9); he signed their statement calling for a conference with the Soviet Union (Daily Worker, June 21, 1948, page 3); he signed their Roll Call for Peace (Daily Worker of August 31, 1948, page 5); he sent greetings through the National Council on the Thirty-First Anniversary of the Russian Revolution (Daily Worker, November,10, 1948, page 11); he signed the Council's appeal to the United States Government to end the cold war and arrange a conference with the Soviet Union (leaflet entitled "End the Cold War - Get Together for Peace," dated December 1948); he spoke at the Congress on American-Soviet Relations, December 3-5, 1949, arranged by the National Council . . . and signed the Council's letter to the American people, urging that a unified democratic Germany be established (Daily People's World, August 13, 1952, pages 4 and 6).

A letterhead of the Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, dated August 21, 1949, lists the name of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois as having signed an Open Letter of the organization, addressed to Senators and Congressmen, urging defeat of President Truman's arms program; he answered a questionnaire of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy in favor of recognition of Chinese Communist government, as shown in Far East Spotlight for December 1949 - January 1950 (page 23).

The Conference for Peaceful Alternatives. . . was cited as a meeting called by the Daily Worker in July 1949, to be held in Washington, D. C., and as having been instigated by "Communists in the United States (who) did their part in the Moscow campaign" (Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 378 on the Communist "Peace" Offensive dated April 1, 1951). The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy has been cited as Communist by the Attorney General (press release of April 27, 1949).

A page of signatures from the Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union, "sponsored by American Friends of the Soviet Union, and signed by hundreds of thousands of Americans, was published in the November 1937 issue of Soviet Russia Today (page 79); the Golden Book was to be presented to President Kalinin at the Twentieth Anniversary Celebration. The page carried the title: "I hereby inscribe my name in greeting to the people of the Soviet Union on the 20th Anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet Republic" and a facsimile of the name, W. E. B. DuBois, appeared on that page.

The Golden Book. . . was cited as a "Communist enterprise" signed by "hundreds of well-known Communists and fellow travelers" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 1311 of March 29, 1944).

A letterhead of the New York Committee to Win the Peace, dated June 1, 1946, contains the name of W. E. B. DuBois in a list of New York Committee Members. The National Committee to Win the Peace, with which the New York Committee is affiliated, was cited as subversive and Communist by the U. S. Attorney General (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948).

Dr. DuBois sponsored a petition of the American Council for a Democratic Greece, as disclosed by the Daily People's World of August 23, 1948 (page 2); he signed a statement of the same organization, condemning the Greek government, as reported in the Daily Worker of September 2, 1948 (page 7). The American Council for a Democratic Greece has been cited as subversive and Communist, an organization formerly known as the Greek-American Council (Attorney General of the United States in press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948).

Dr. DuBois was a sponsor of a conference of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, October 9-10, 1948, as shown in a leaflet entitled "To Safeguard These Rights. . .," published by the Bureau of Academic Freedom of the National Council; a letterhead of the National Council (received for files January 1949) named him as a Member-at-Large of that organization; he was named as Vice Chairman of the group on the leaflet, "Policy and Program Adopted by the National Convention, 1950"; a letterhead of the same organization's Southern California Chapter, dated April 24, 1950, lists him as a Member-at-Large of the National

Council; he was elected vice-Chairman of the group in 1950 (Daily Worker, May 1, 1950, page 12); a letterhead of the group dated July 28, 1950 names him as a vice-Chairman of the group; he endorsed a conference on equal rights for Negroes in the arts, sciences and professions, sponsored by the New York Council of the Arts, . . . (Daily Worker, November 9, 1951, page 7); the call to the conference contained the same information. A letterhead of the National Council, dated December 7, 1952, named him as Vice-Chairman.

The call to a Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, issued by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions for New York City, March 25-27, 1949, as well as the conference program (page 12), and the Daily Worker of February 21, 1949 (page 9), named Dr. DuBois as one of the sponsors of that conference; he was a member of the Program Committee of the Conference, Honorary Chairman of the panel at Cultural and Scientific Conference (program, page 7), and spoke on "The Nature of Intellectual Freedom" at that conference (page 78 of the edited report of the conference entitled "Speaking for Peace").

The National Council of the Arts, . . . was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Committee on Un-American Activities in its Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, released April 19, 1949; in the same review, the Scientific and Cultural Conference was cited as a Communist front which "was actually a supermobilization of the inveterate wheelhorses and supporters of the Communist Party and its auxiliary organizations."

The Daily People's World of October 28, 1947 (page 4), named Dr. DuBois as one of the sponsors of a National Conference of the Civil Rights Congress in Chicago, November 21-23, 1947; he sponsored their Freedom Crusade (Daily Worker, December 15, 1948, page 2); the Call to a Bill of Rights Conference, called by the Civil Rights Congress for July 16-17, 1949 in New York City, named him as one of the sponsors of that conference; the program of the National Civil Rights Legislative Conference, January 18-19, 1949, called by the Civil Rights Congress, lists him as one of the conference sponsors; he was chairman of a conference of the Congress, as reported in The Worker of January 2, 1949 (page 5); Dr. DuBois was defended by the Civil Rights Congress (Daily Worker, February 13, 1951, page 3); he signed the organization's Open Letter to J. Howard McGrath, U. S. Attorney General, on behalf of the four jailed trustees of the Bail Fund of the Civil Rights Congress of New York (advertisement "paid for by contributions of signers" which appeared in the Evening Star on October 30, 1951, page A-7); he participated in the organization's Sixth Anniversary Dinner in New York City, March 26, 1952 (Daily Worker, March 28, 1952, page 4).

The Civil Rights Congress was formed in 1946 as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations, the International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; it is "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it" (Report 1115 of the Committee on Un-American Activities dated September 2, 1947); the Attorney General cited the Congress as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948).

Dr. DuBois spoke in Washington, D. C., on May 9, 1947, under the auspices of the Washington Book Shop, as shown by a leaflet of the Book Shop, cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General; it had previously been cited by the Attorney General as follows: "Evidence of Communist penetration or control is reflected in the following: Among its stock the establishment has offered prominently for sale books and literature identified with the Communist Party and certain of its affiliates and front organizations. . ." (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; and the Congressional Record of September 24, 1942, page 7688, respectively). The Special Committee cited the Washington Book Shop as a Communist-front organization (report of March 29, 1944).

The Workers Book Shop catalogue for 1948 (page 5), advertised Dr. DuBois' "The World and Africa" for sale; the 1949-1950 catalogue (page 11) advertised his "Black Folk Then and Now"; The Worker for March 1, 1953 (page 16) carried an advertisement of Dr. DuBois' books, "The Battle for Peace" and "Black Reconstruction" on sale at the Workers Bookshop, New York City. The Workers Book Shops are a chain of Communist bookshops which are official outlets for Communist literature.

As shown on the following sources, Dr. DuBois was a member of the Advisory Council of Soviet Russia Today: Letterhead of the publication dated September 8, 1947; a letterhead of September 30, 1947; and an undated letterhead received April 1948. The Daily People's World of November 6, 1952 (page 7), reported that Dr. DuBois had written an article for the November issue of New World Review. Soviet Russia Today has been cited as a Communist-front publication the the Special Committee in reports of March 29, 1944 and June 25, 1942; the Committee on Un-American Activities also cited it as a Communist-front publication in a report dated October 23, 1949. Soviet Russia Today changed its name to New World Review, effective with the March 1951 issue.

The Daily Worker of July 6, 1951 (page 7), reported that Dr. DuBois was author of the pamphlet, "I Take My Stand for Peace," published by the New Century Publishers, "official Communist Party publishing house which has published the works of William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis, Communist Party chairman and executive secretary, respectively. . ." (Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of May 11, 1948).

In 1947, 1948 and 1950, Dr. DuBois was Contributing Editor on the staff of New Masses magazine (New Masses, July 22, 1947, page 2; Masses & Mainstream, March 1948, Vol. 1, No. 1; and issue of August 1950, page 1); he contributed articles to the following issues of New Masses and Masses & Mainstream: New Masses for September 10, 1946 (page 3) and June 10, 1947 (page 20); Masses & Mainstream for April 1951 (pages 10-16); and February 1952 (pages 8-14).

In 1940, Dr. DuBois signed New Masses Letter to President Roosevelt as shown in New Masses for April 2, 1940 (page 21); he was honored at a dinner in New York City, January 14, 1946, arranged by New Masses and at which awards were made for greater inter-racial understanding (Daily Worker of January 7, 1946, page 11, columns 1 and 2); he endorsed New Masses, as reported in the Daily Worker of April 7, 1947 (page 11); he sponsored a plea for financial support of New Masses, as disclosed in the issue of that publication for April 8, 1947 (page 9); he received the New Masses award for his contribution in promoting democracy and inter-racial unity at the publication's Second Annual Awards Dinner (New Masses of November 18, 1947, page 7); the February 1953 issue of Masses & Mainstream carried a chapter

from Dr. DuBois' book, "The Soul of Black Folk," written fifty years ago (Daily Worker, February 23, 1953, page 7); he was author of "In Battle for Peace," described as the story of his 83d birthday, and which was published by Masses & Mainstream (the Daily Worker of June 18, 1952, page 7; Daily People's World of September 17, 1952, page 7; the Daily Worker of September 23, 1952, page 7; and The Worker of December 21, 1952, page 7).

The Attorney General of the United States cited New Masses as a "Communist periodical" (Congressional Record of September 24, 1942, page 7688); the Special Committee cited it as a "nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party" (report of March 29, 1944; also cited in reports of January 3, 1939 and June 25, 1942). Beginning with the March 1948 issue, New Masses and Mainstream (Marxist quarterly) consolidated into what is now known as Masses & Mainstream, with the announcement that "here, proudly, in purpose even if not in identical form, is a magazine that combines and carries forward the thirty-seven-year-old tradition of New Masses and the more recent literary achievement of Mainstream. We have regrouped our energies, not to retire from the battle but to wage it with fresh resolution and confidence" (Masses & Mainstream for March 1948, page 3).

A letterhead of the Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, dated March 15, 1952, carries the name of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois in a list of sponsors; he joined in a request of that Committee for a new trial for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg (Daily Worker of June 12, 1952, page 6); he participated in a rally October 23 in New York City, to demand clemency for the Rosenbergs (Daily Worker, October 27, 1952, page 8); he signed an amicus curiae brief presented to Supreme Court in Washington, D. C., urging a new trial for the Rosenbergs (Daily Worker of November 10, 1952, page 3); and the Daily People's World of November 13, 1952, page 8). He wrote an article entitled "A Negro Leader's Plea to Save Rosenbergs" (The Worker of November 16, 1952, page 3M); and the Daily Worker of January 21, 1953 (page 7), reported that he had urged clemency for the Rosenbergs.

The Daily Worker of April 11, 1949 (page 5), reported that Dr. DuBois was a member of the Sponsoring Committee of the World Peace Congress in Paris; he was co-Chairman of the American Sponsoring Committee of the Congress, as disclosed on a leaflet entitled "World Congress for Peace, Paris," April 20-23, 1949; he was proposed as a candidate for the World Peace Prize, awarded by the World Peace Congress (Daily People's World of December 7, 1951, page 4); he was a member of the Executive Committee of the World Peace Congress (Daily Worker of September 14, 1950, page 5); he was one of the sponsors of the Second World Peace Congress in Sheffield, England (Daily Worker of October 19, 1950, page 3); he was elected to the Presiding Committee of the World Peace Congress (Daily Worker of November 17, 1950, page 1); he was a member of the World Peace Council of that Congress (Daily Worker of November 24, 1950, page 9); a mimeographed letter dated December 1, 1950, contains his name in a list of sponsors of the American Sponsoring Committee for Representation at the World Peace Congress.

Dr. DuBois was a member of the United States Sponsoring Committee of the American Intercontinental Peace Conference (Daily Worker of December 28, 1951, page 2, and February 6, 1952, page 2); the Peace Conference was called by the World Peace Council, formed at the conclusion of the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw; he was awarded the International Peace Prize for "six world figures" by the World Peace Council (Daily People's World of January 29, 1953, page 7; and The Worker of February 8, 1953, page 5).

The Daily Worker of June 20, 1950 (page 2), reported that Dr. DuBois signed the World Peace Appeal; the same information appears on an undated leaflet of the enterprise, received by this Committee September 11, 1950. A mimeographed list of individuals who signed the Stockholm World Appeal to Outlaw Atomic Weapons, received for filing October 23, 1950, contains the name of Dr. DuBois. He was Chairman of the Peace Information Center where the Stockholm peace petition was made available (Daily Worker of May 25, 1950, page 2; and August 16, 1950, page 5).

The World Peace Congress which was held in Paris, France, April 20-23, 1949, was cited as a Communist front among the "peace" conferences which "have been organized under Communist initiative in various countries throughout the world as part of a campaign against the North Atlantic Defense Pact" (Committee on Un-American Activities in reports of April 19, 1949; July 13, 1950; and April 1, 1951). The World Peace Council was formed at the conclusion of the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw and was "heralded by the Moscow radio as the expression of the determination of the peoples to take into their own hands the struggle for peace" (Committee on Un-American Activities in a report dated April 1, 1951).

The World Peace Appeal was cited as a petition campaign launched by the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress at its meeting in Stockholm, March 16-19, 1950; it "received the enthusiastic approval of every section of the international Communist hierarchy" and was "lauded in the Communist press, putting every individual Communist on notice that he 'has the duty to rise to this appeal'. . ." (Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of April 1, 1951).

The American Peace Crusade, organized in January 1951, was cited as an organization which "the Communists established as a new instrument for their 'peace' offensive in the United States" (Committee on Un-American Activities in its reports of February 19, 1951 and April 1, 1951); Dr. DuBois was one of the sponsors of the Crusade (Daily Worker of February 1, 1951, page 2); minutes of the Sponsors Meeting which was held in Washington, D. C., March 15, 1951 (page 4), named him as one of the initiators of the Crusade and also as having been proposed as Co-Chairman of that meeting; he was a sponsor of the American People's Congress and Exposition for Peace which was held in Chicago, June 29-July 1, 1951, called by the American Peace Crusade to advance the theme of world peace (Daily Worker, April 22, 1951, page 2; May 1, 1951, page 11; the American Peace Crusader, May 1951, pages 1 and 4; the Daily Worker of May 9, 1951, page 4; Daily Worker of June 11, 1951, page 2; a leaflet of the Congress; Daily Worker of July 1, 1951, page 3; a leaflet entitled "An Invitation to American Labor to Participate in a Peace Congress. . ."; the Call to the American People's Congress. . ."; the Daily Worker of July 3, 1951, page 2). He signed a petition of the Crusade, calling on President Truman and Congress to seek a big-power pact (Daily Worker, February 1, 1952, page 1); he attended a meeting of Delegates Assembly for Peace, called by the Crusade and held in Washington, D. C., April 1 (Daily Worker, April 3, 1952, page 3); he was one of the sponsors of a Peace Referendum jointly with the American Peace Crusade to make the end of the Korean war a major issue in the 1952 election campaign (Daily People's World of August 25, 1952, page 8).