

African legation in Washington and the consul general state that they had been corresponding about the CAA in 1943 and 1944: Consul General to South African Legation, May 1, 1946, re African Famine Relief Campaign, SAB, BNY, box 14.

The South African consul and legation discussed the CAA with the British consulate as well. In addition to reports on the CAA received from Ronald Sinclair (above), see F. B. A. Rundall, British Consulate-General, to T. Hewitson, South African Consulate, January 29, 1946, and South African Legation to South African Consul General, February 15, 1946, re *New York Amsterdam News*, SAB, BNY, Box 14.

#### CHAPTER FOUR The Diaspora Moment

1. Victor C. Gaspar, General Secretary-Treasurer, National Joint Conference Committee, The New Harlem Tenants League, to Mayor William O'Dwyer, May 15, 1946; O'Dwyer Papers, box 37, folder "Discrimination 1946," Municipal Archives, New York City. I thank Martha Biondi for bringing this document to my attention.
2. See Christopher Thorne, *Allies of a Kind: The United States, Britain and the War against Japan, 1941–1945* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1978), pp. 214–18, for a discussion of different positions within the U.S. government on colonial policy.
3. William Roger Louis and Ronald Robinson, "The United States and the Liquidation of British Empire in Tropical Africa, 1941–1951," in *The Transfer of Power in Africa: Decolonization, 1940–1960* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), p. 37. William Roger Louis, *Imperialism at Bay: The United States and the Decolonization of the British Empire, 1941–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 341. See also Christopher Thorne, *The Issue of War: States, Societies, and the Far Eastern Conflict of 1941–1945* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1985), p. 195; Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, pp. 664–67, 490–91.
4. "For a New Africa: Proceedings: Conference on Africa," New York, April 14, 1944, p. 17, W. A. Hunton Papers (CAA, organizational, to 1944), MG 237, Schomburg Library, New York.
5. "Canada Told of Africa's Needs," *Chicago Defender*, February 12, 1944, p. 11.
6. "For a New Africa: Proceedings, Conference on Africa," p. 16.
7. John Robert Badger, "World View: Correct Policy for Africa," *Chicago Defender*, July 29, 1944, p. 13.
8. See Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, pp. 100, 340–41, for the differences and Henry Wallace's criticism of the position of Bernard Baruch.
9. See Richard M. Freeland, *The Truman Doctrine and the Origins of McCarthyism: Foreign Policy, Domestic Politics, and Internal Security, 1946–1948* (1972; New York: New York University Press, 1985), chap. I, "Origins of the Foreign Aid Program," pp. 13–69, for a summary of post-war economic restructuring.
10. Kumar Goshal, "As an Indian Sees It: Collaboration Not Rivalry, Key To Post-War World," *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 1, 1944.
11. Timothy Sander Oberst, "Cost of Living and Strikes in British Africa c.1939–1948: Imperial Policy and the Impact of the Second World War" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1991), p. 101.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
13. "Protest Unfair Control of Cocoa Marketing," *New Africa* 3, no. 11 (1944): 2.
14. The CAA was informed that its letter had been referred to the commodities division, which explained that the State Department's previous communication with the British government had expressed "the views of the members of both the cocoa trade and chocolate industry" in the United States and that "it does not appear to us appropriate for the Department to facilitate the

holding of a conference between representatives of the Farmers Committee of British West Africa and representatives of our Embassy in London." In response, Yergan reiterated his hope that "the interests of the African producers" receive consideration "in the exchange of views between our own government and the British government with regard to the cocoa control policy." See Max Yergan to Henry S. Villard, Chief Division of African Affairs, Department of State, January 31, 1945, RG 59, 848K.61334/1-3145 CS/EG; Edward G. Cale, Acting Chief, Commodities Division to Yergan, February 14, 1945, RG 59 848K.6661334/1-3134; and Yergan to Cale, February 21, 1945, RG59 848K.41334/1-3145, National Archives.

15. "U.S. Policy in Africa Outlined by Henry S. Villard, State Department Official," *New Africa* 2, no. 2 (1943): 1.
16. "Conference on Africa Planned," *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 1, 1944, p. 3; Hollis R. Lynch, *Black American Radicals and the Liberation of Africa: The Council on African Affairs, 1937–1955* (Ithaca: Africana Studies and Research Center, Cornell University, 1978), pp. 26–27; Dorothy Hunton, *Alphaeus Hunton: The Unsung Valiant* (Chesapeake, Va.: ECA Associates, 1986), p. 58; John Robert Badger, "World View: Post War Jobs in Africa," *Chicago Defender*, April 29, 1944. See also, "Roosevelt Leads Way in Making Atlantic Charter a Living Reality for Dependent Peoples," *New Africa* 2, no. 3 (1943): 1.
17. Robeson to Du Bois, March 31, 1944, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers, microfilm collection, Columbia University, reel 55, frame 1130.
18. Nkrumah to Robeson and Yergan, March 26, 1944, W. A. Hunton Papers, box 1, folder 16 (CAA Correspondence).
19. "Africa and Post-War Security Plans: Outstanding American Citizens Join in Endorsing Recommendations to the Government of the United States," letter forwarded by the Council on African Affairs, December 15, 1944, published in *New Africa* 3, no. 11 (1944).
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. Viscount Halifax to Anthony Eden, May 11, 1944, FO 371/38639 188471:AN 1837/397/45.
23. For an example of the cover letter, see Du Bois Papers, reel 55, frame 1133.
24. "Africa and Post-War Security Plans."
25. Lynch, *Black American Radicals*, p. 28.
26. Endorsements are listed with letter "Africa and Post-War Security Plans," and further endorsements in *New Africa* 4, no. 1 (1945). Robeson's letter seeking endorsements further encouraged "independent action" in "voicing the state of colonial peoples in the post-war security plans" by "the Church, the trade unions, fraternal bodies, women's and youth groups."
27. In addition to conference coverage, the work of Robeson, Yergan, and Hunton received much publicity. John Robert Badger, "World View: A Survey of African Events," *Chicago Defender*, February 17, 1945, reported that "New Africa, organ of the Council on African Affairs, contains in its January issue a summary of African events during 1944 which is the best I have seen." The CAA's work on postwar colonial policy also received attention in the West African press. Wallace-Johnson's *African Standard* carried news from the CAA's *New Africa* via Azikiwe's *West African Pilot*: "American Institutions Demand Economic and Political Freedom for All Colonies," *African Standard* 6, no. 22 (1944): 10–11, Marx Memorial Library, London.
28. The text of this letter is reprinted in "FDR Asked to Fight Colonial Exploitation," *Chicago Defender*, September 23, 1944, p. 18. For a reply to the letter from the Department of State to Walter White, October 4, 1944, see Du Bois Papers, reel 56, frame 433.
29. See Chapters 1 and 2.
30. From *The Autobiography of W. E. B. Du Bois: A Soliloquy on Viewing My Life from the Last Decade of Its First Century*, quoted in Robert L. Harris Jr., "Racial Equality and the United Na-

- tions Charter," in *New Directions in Civil Rights Studies*, ed. Armstead L. Robinson and Patricia Sullivan (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1991), p. 128.
31. Harris, "Racial Equality and the United Nations Charter," p. 128.
  32. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
  33. Paul Gordon Lauren, *Power and Prejudice: The Politics of Diplomacy and Racial Discrimination* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1988), pp. 147–50.
  34. Harris, "Racial Equality and the United Nations Charter," pp. 131–32.
  35. A. N. Fields, "Today's Talk," *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 2, 1944, p. 7.
  36. "Dumbarton Oaks Proposals Exclude Colonies—Du Bois," *Baltimore Afro-American*, October 28, 1944, p. 3; "Dr. Du Bois 'Depressed' Colonial Questions Ignored at Dumbarton Oaks Peace Session," *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 28, 1944, p. 4.
  37. "'Gate Open for Another War,' Warns Dr. Du Bois," *Chicago Defender*, March 3, 1945.
  38. "Control of the Colonies," *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 16, 1944.
  39. Kenneth Robert Janken, *Rayford W. Logan and the Dilemma of the African-American Intellectual* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993), pp. 169–73.
  40. Rayford W. Logan, "Dumbarton Oaks Proposals Ignore Colonial Problem Says Dr. Logan," *Chicago Defender*, December 9, 1944, p. 2. Logan continued to write extensively on the issue. Identified as "Adviser on Foreign Affairs for the *Pittsburgh Courier*," he reported Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Harry White's "admission"—in a response to a question posed by Du Bois at a roundtable discussion—that "the Bretton Woods Agreement did not concern itself with the problems of colonies and other dependent areas" ("U.S. Admits: Colonies Ignored," *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 10, 1945, p. 1). Logan also addressed the National Council of Negro Women on the results of Dumbarton Oaks in October 1944 (Janken, *Rayford W. Logan*, p. 175).
  41. Nkrumah to Du Bois, January 28, 1945; Kumar Goshal to Du Bois, February 26, 1945; and Amy Ashwood Garvey to Du Bois, February 1, 1945, Du Bois Papers, reel 57, frames 727, 240, 228. See also Janken, *Rayford W. Logan*, pp. 175–76.
  42. Du Bois to Hunton, and Hunton to Du Bois, January 23, 1945, Du Bois Papers, reel 57, frame 388. Hunton suggested the names of Amy Ashwood Garvey; H. P. Osbourne, West Indian National Council; Jesus Colon, Puerto Rican Cervantes Society; Nkrumah; and Kumar Goshal. See also Du Bois to Hunton, February 26, 1945, reel 57, frames 388–94.
  43. Du Bois to Villard, March 7, 1945, and Villard to Du Bois, March 17, 1945, Du Bois Papers, reel 58, frame 12 and 17; Bunche to Du Bois, January 31, 1945, reel 56, frame 1252; Du Bois to Bunche, March 7, 1945, reel 56, frame 56; Bunche to Du Bois, March 17, 1945, reel 56, frame 1253.
  44. P. Bernard Young Jr., editor, "Dr. Ralph Bunche Advanced in State Dept. on Rare Merit," *Journal and Guide*, 1945, in Ralph Bunche Papers, box 144, University of California, Los Angeles.
  45. Essie Robeson to Bunche, March 24, 1945; and Walter White to Bunche, June 25, 1946, both in Bunche Papers, box 1.
  46. Janken, *Rayford W. Logan*, pp. 206–7.
  47. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 176.
  48. *Ibid.*, pp. 173–74.
  49. For an assessment of the Colonial Conference looking ahead to the founding conference of the United Nations, see "The San Francisco Conference," *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 14, 1945.
  50. "Randolph Warns Negroes of After the War Fascism," *Chicago Defender*, January 6, 1945.
  51. "Stettinius Takes Over," *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 16, 1944.
  52. John Robert Badger, "World View: The Specter of Hooverism," *Chicago Defender*, August 26, 1944, p. 13. See also Harry Paxton Howard, "Chiang Kai-shek Resists Imperialism: Would

Not Accept U.S. Dictatorship," *Pittsburgh Courier*, November 18, 1944, p. 9, for a critique of Western interests in China.

53. Metz T. P. Lochard, "Parley May Skip Over Hot Issue of Colonies," *Chicago Defender*, May 5, 1945, p. 2. See also three front-page articles that day under the heading "Delegates Juggle Colonial Question; White, Du Bois Ask Equality of Races," in which Lochard discussed the "ducking" of the colonial issue; Richard Durham, the lobbying on the part of White and Du Bois; and John Robert Badger, the differences between the positions of the State and the Navy Departments. See also Harris, "Racial Equality and the United Nations Charter," p. 126; and Thomas Borstelmann, *Apartheid's Reluctant Uncle: The United States and Southern Africa in the Early Cold War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 65.
54. Quoted in Lauren, *Power and Prejudice*, pp. 151–52.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 154–55.
56. Alphaeus Hunton, "Upsurge in Africa," *Masses and Mainstreams* 3, no. 2 (1950): 18.
57. Barbara Bair, "True Women, Real Men: Gender, Ideology, and Social Roles in the Garvey Movement," in *Politics and Policies of the Truman Administration* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970), pp. 154–66.
58. Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (New York: William Morrow, 1984), pp. 235–38.
59. John Robert Badger, "San Francisco Parley: Race Problem to Confront United Nations Parley," *Chicago Defender*, April 14, 1945, p. 1.
60. Quoted in Lauren, *Power and Prejudice*, p. 157. See W. E. B. Du Bois, "Color Line Absent at Frisco, Du Bois Finds," *Chicago Defender*, May 5, 1945, p. 1, for Du Bois's assessment of the opening of the conference.
61. W. E. B. Du Bois, "Du Bois Says Many at Parley Don't Know What It's About," *Chicago Defender*, May 19, 1945, p. 1.
62. Harris, "Racial Equality and the United Nations Charter," p. 136; "Statement on San Francisco Issued: Max Yergan Observer at Conference," *New Africa* 4, no. 4 (1945); Lauren, *Power and Prejudice*, p. 153.
63. Du Bois, "Du Bois Says Many at Parley Don't Know What It's About." On the role of Du Bois and the NAACP, see also Janken, *Rayford W. Logan*, p. 180.
64. George Padmore, "Colonial Issue on Frisco Agenda," *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 24, 1945, p. 1.
65. John Robert Badger, "San Francisco Parley: Race Problem to Confront United Nations Parley," *Chicago Defender*, April 14, 1945, p. 1.
66. *Ibid.* For earlier discussion of the Soviet Union, see George Padmore, "Soviets to Demand Equality at Peace Table," *Chicago Defender*, January 20, 1945, p. 1. For postwar French colonial policy, see Thyra Edwards and Murray Gitlin, "25 Million Negroes Getting New Deal in French Africa," *Chicago Defender*, January 13, 1945, p. 1.
67. Kumar Goshal, "As an Indian Sees It: Doubts Colonial Powers Will Want to Yield Control at San Francisco," *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 31, 1945, p. 7.
68. George Padmore, "Gandhi Urges Justice for Colored Peoples: Indian Leader Lashes Imperialist Rule over Colonies," *Chicago Defender*, April 28, 1945, p. 1.
69. W. E. B. Du Bois, "Du Bois, White Run from Photo with Indian Stooges," *Chicago Defender*, May 12, 1945, p. 5.
70. Lauren, *Power and Prejudice*, p. 155.
71. *Ibid.*, pp. 155–56.
72. Louis, *Imperialism at Bay*, p. 354; Thorne, *The Issue of War*, p. 190.
73. Badger, "Delegates Juggle Colonial Question."

74. Rayford Logan, "U.S. Favors Two Forms of Trusteeship for Colonies," *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 12, 1945, p. 10. See also Janken, *Rayford W. Logan*, p. 180.
75. Rayford Logan, "Colonial Powers May Oppose International Trusteeship," *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 28, 1945, pp. 1, 9.
76. "Hits U.S. Opposition to Colonial Independence," *Chicago Defender*, May 26, 1945, p. 5.
77. "Words! Words! Words!" *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 26, 1945.
78. "No Hope for the Powerless," *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 12, 1945.
79. "Demand U.N. Help Africans: Conferences Ask Political Rights," *Chicago Defender*, October 12, 1946, p. 4.
80. "6-Point Plan for Africa's Independence Suggested," *Baltimore Afro-American*, September 22, 1945, p. 7.
81. Paul Robeson to R. Webster, Consul General of the Union of South Africa, September 20, 1945, and enclosure, "Text and Analysis of the Colonial Provisions of the United Nations Charter" (8 pages), SAB, BNY, box 14, Papers of South African Consulate General, Pretoria.
82. Borstelmann, *Apartheid's Reluctant Uncle*, p. 79.
83. The origins of the CAA-ANC relationship are covered in Chapter 1.
84. Earl Conrad, "Color Issue Dominates U.N.: India, South Africa Cases High on Agenda; Protest of American Negroes against Oppression Listed," *Chicago Defender*, November 2, 1946, p. 1.
85. "South African Strife on Racial Issue Seen," *New York Times*, Tuesday, July 30, 1946; SAB, BNY, box 13; Borstelmann, *Apartheid's Reluctant Uncle*, p. 69.
86. The campaign continued into 1948, when the new Malan government arrested its leaders and closed down its newspaper, the *Passive Resister*. I owe special thanks to A. M. Kathrada of the African National Congress for alerting me to this paper's existence and its attention to the CAA, as well as for sharing his perceptions of the period and his memories of Hunton, Robeson, and Du Bois from the standpoint of his involvement with the South African Indian Youth Congress and the Young Communist League.
87. *Passive Resister*, August 20, 1948, p. 3, William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
88. "We Have Not Forgotten South African Indians," *Passive Resister*, June 11, 1948.
89. See Lauren, *Power and Prejudice*, pp. 166–71, for the role of India in the early United Nations.
90. "India and the U.N.," *New York Times*, June 25, 1946; SAB, BNY, box 14; Borstelmann, *Apartheid's Reluctant Uncle*, p. 75; Lauren, *Power and Prejudice*, p. 159.
91. Lauren, *Power and Prejudice*, p. 159.
92. Papers of the South African Indian Congress, Acc 105, 6.43, Unisa Documentation Centre for African Studies, Pretoria.
93. Ibid.
94. "India and the U.N."
95. "American Condemns S.A. Racial Policy," *Guardian*, April 25, 1946, p. 8, William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
96. "South African Freedom Fight Calls for American Support," *Chicago Defender*, October 19, 1946, p. 3.
97. Borstelmann, *Apartheid's Reluctant Uncle*, pp. 49–50.
98. Ibid., pp. 75–76.
99. "U.N. Approval of Indian Resolution Is Blow to Racism throughout World," *New Africa* 5, no. 11 (1946): 1; Lauren, *Power and Prejudice*, p. 171. See *Passive Resister*, December 6, 1946, p. 4, on the interim proposal of the UN Joint Political and Legal Committee in November 1946.

100. Lauren, *Power and Prejudice*, p. 171. For continuing tensions at the UN over treatment of people of Indian descent in South Africa, see Borstelmann, *Apartheid's Reluctant Uncle*, p. 142.
101. A. M. Wendell Malliet, foreign editor, *New York Amsterdam News*, to Sir Francis Evans, British Consulate General, October 28, 1946; and South African Delegation to the United Nations to R. Webster, Consul General for the Union of South Africa, November 11, 1946, both in SAB, BNY, box 14.
102. Ronald Sinclair, British Consulate General, New York, to Robert Webster, South African Consulate General, New York, August 7, 1946; SAB, BNY, box 14.
103. "Gen. Smuts Plan for the Colonial Races," *Chicago Defender*, June 10, 1944. For an example of Afrikaner challenges to Smuts, see "Pro-Nazis in South Africa Heading Country toward Fascism and Chaos," *New Africa* 3, no. 9 (1944): 1.
104. William Minter, *King Solomon's Mines Revisited: Western Interests and the Burdened History of Southern Africa* (New York: Basic Books, 1986), pp. 124–25; Borstelmann, *Apartheid's Reluctant Uncle*, pp. 76–77.
105. Richard Durham, "South African Plot Aims at Grabbing More Colonies," *Chicago Defender*, May 19, 1945, p. 1.
106. *New Africa* 4, no. 9 (1945): 4.
107. George Padmore, "UNO Gets South African Appeal," *Chicago Defender*, February 16, 1946, p. 5. See also Padmore, "Starvation and Sadism: Famine Grows in South Africa," *Chicago Defender*, February 23, 1946, p. 5; "South Africa, France Balk on Giving Up Colonies to UNO," *Chicago Defender*, January 19, 1946, p. 4.
108. R. T. Bokwe to Chief Tshekedi Khama, May 20, 1946, papers of South African Institute of Race Relations, AD843 B21:2, Historical Papers Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
109. Jas. A. Calata, Secretary General of the ANC, wrote, "Although you have gone to America for treatment and recuperation your people in South Africa will expect to hear from you when you return that you did represent them at the U.N.O. somehow": see Calata to A. B. Xuma, All Saints Day 1946, ABX 461101; Working Committee to Xuma, ABX 461025; R. V. Selothe Thema, on behalf of Working Committee African National Congress, to Xuma, November 18, 1946, ABX 461118, all in A. B. Xuma Papers, Historical Papers Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
110. Alphaeus Hunton to A. B. Xuma, October 4, 1946, Xuma Papers, ABX 46004.
111. Records of this work survive in the Xuma Papers. See ABX 470928 for the CAA's "Memorandum on the Issue of South-West Africa under Consideration by Committee 4 of the General Assembly," September 28, 1947; ABX 47002b, 471029d, and 471029e for CAA press releases. See also "Colonial Empires Assailed in Rally: Communist-Controlled Council Says U.S. Aids Others in 'Plundering Africa,'" *New York Times*, June 7, 1946, on the CAA's South Africa resolutions at the June 6 rally (also covered in Chapter 2).
112. See "Facts about South-West Africa—Annexation or Trusteeship," issued October 1946 by the CAA, Xuma Papers, 461031.
113. Edgar D. Draper to Walter White, June 3, 1948, Du Bois Papers, reel 61, frame 907.
114. "Facts about South-West Africa—Annexation or Trusteeship," pp. 1–2. The report also covered education and health care.
115. "Colonial Empires Assailed in Rally."
116. H. T. Andrews, Secretary for External Affairs, memorandum, June 13, 1946, SAB, BNY, box 14.
117. R. Webster, Consul General, New York to H. T. Andrews, June 11, 1946, SAB, BNY, box 14. Webster forwarded his report, transcriptions of speeches taken by a Miss O'Connor, a summary

- of the resolutions from the *New York Times*, and four CAA pamphlets distributed at the rally: "Facts about Starvation in the Union of South Africa"; "Facts about the Union of South Africa: South Africa's Aggressive Imperialism"; "What Do the People of Africa Want?" by Paul Robeson; and *The Job to Be Done*. Transcripts of speeches included those of Ferdinand Smith, National Maritime Union; Etukah Okala (Nigerian citizen), Columbia University; William S. Gaelmor, radio commentator, WHN, New York; Mary McCloud [sic] Bethune, president, National Council of Negro Women; Benjamin J. Davis, New York City Council; Adam Clayton Powell, U.S. congressman from New York and pastor, Abyssinian Baptist Church; W. E. B. Du Bois, director of special research, NAACP; William P. Hayes, president, New England Baptist Missionary Convention; Paul Robeson, president, CAA.
118. Webster to Andrews, June 11, 1946.
  119. Council on African Affairs, Notes on the Meeting at Madison Square Garden, on June 6, 1946, SAB, BNY, box 14.
  120. "S.A. People's Spokesmen Welcomed in New York," *Guardian*, November 14, 1946, p. 1; "Smuts' Annexation Demand Is Boomerang; Delegates Expose South African Misrule," *New Africa* 5, no. 10 (1946): 1-2.
  121. Major Robinson, "Money behind Smuts Plea for S.W. Africa," *Chicago Defender*, November 2, 1946, p. 13; "On Smuts," *Chicago Defender*, November 2, 1946.
  122. Major Robinson, "Africa Issue Perils UN: Dictator Smuts Demands Rule of New Territory," *Chicago Defender*, November 23, 1946, p. 1.
  123. "On Smuts."
  124. *New Africa* 5, no. 10 (1946): 3.
  125. Caption: "A New York Demonstration: Demonstration outside S.A. Embassy in New York, organized by the Council on African Affairs," *Passive Resister*, December 20, 1946, p. 1, *Passive Resister*, December 13, 1946, p. 1, and July 31, 1947, p. 1.
  126. Borstelmann, *Apartheid's Reluctant Uncle*, p. 77.
  127. Ibid.
  128. "South African Freedom Fight Calls for American Support," *Chicago Defender*, October 19, 1946, p. 3. See "Annexing of S.W.A. Opposed: Council on African Affairs Resolution," *Guardian*, November 14, 1946, p. 8, for South African reporting on these CAA resolutions.
  129. "Probe of Racism in Africa Asked: UN Unit Gets Data from African Council," *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 25, 1946, p. 10; "Africa—Continent in Bondage: Pleads for Subject Colonial Peoples on Eve of Mass Meeting," *New York Herald Tribune*, June 5, 1945.
  130. "Council Urges United Nations Human Rights Commission to Act on Discrimination in South Africa and All Colonies," *New Africa* 5, no. 6 (1946): 2. "S.A. Exposed in U.S.A.: Council's Charge of Racism," *Guardian*, June 13, 1946, p. 1.
  131. *Guardian*, December 5, 1946, p. 1; and "Smuts' Annexation Demand Is Boomerang."
  132. *Guardian*, December 5, 1946, p. 1.
  133. Borstelmann, *Apartheid's Reluctant Uncle*, p. 77.
  134. John Foster Dulles, United States Delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations to Paul Robeson, Chairman, Council on African Affairs, Inc., December 7, 1946, Hunton Papers, box 1, folder 16 (CAA 1945-55), MG 237.
  135. CAA, "Memorandum on the Issue of South-West Africa under Consideration by Committee 4 of the General Assembly."
  136. "Vindictive Attitude of U.S. Government: Stand at U.N.O. Condemned," *Passive Resister*, October 16, 1947, p. 7.
  137. CAA, "Analysis of the Government of the Union of South Africa on the Administration of South West Africa for the Year 1946," December 10, 1947, Xuma Papers, ABX 471210.

138. CAA Press Release, April 9, 1947, Hunton Papers, microfilm reel 2. Flyers and other publicity for the rally are in the papers of Lloyd Brown, in author's possession.
139. *Passive Resister*, November 20, 1947, p. 4. See also *New Africa* 6, no. 8 (1947): 1.
140. "Messages to Paul Robeson," *Passive Resister*, April 25, 1947, p. 3; "UNO Rally Unites Non-Europeans: Biggest Meeting Ever," *Passive Resister*, May 9, 1947, p. 1.
141. CAA news release, "Council on Africa Urges U.S. Take Strong Stand on South West Africa," October 29, 1947, Xuma Papers, ABX 471029e. See "U.S. Afraid to Hurt Smuts," *Passive Resister*, November 13, 1947, for the South African Indian Congress coverage of the Sayre meeting.
142. CAA news release, "U.N. Assembly Reverses Committee Decisions on S.W. Africa and Colonies—Viewpoint of Colonial Powers Prevails," November 4, 1947, Xuma Papers, ABX 471104c.
143. Lauren, *Power and Prejudice*, p. 262.

#### CHAPTER FIVE Domesticating Anticolonialism

1. Robert L. Zangrando, *The NAACP Crusade against Lynching, 1909-1950* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980), p. 6. For the text of Dean Acheson's speech, see Joseph M. Jones, *The Fifteen Weeks (February 21-June 5, 1947)* (New York: Viking Press, 1955), p. 281. I thank Eric Foner for drawing my attention to the speech.
2. Herbert Shapiro, *White Violence and Black Response: From Reconstruction to Montgomery* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), pp. 355-77; Zangrando, *NAACP Crusade*, pp. 172-73; Thomas Borstelmann, *Apartheid's Reluctant Uncle: The United States and Southern Africa in the Early Cold War* (New York: Oxford, 1993), pp. 62-65; Nelson Peery, *Black Fire: The Making of an American Revolutionary* (New York: New Press, 1994), p. 339.
3. Patrick Renshaw, *American Labor and Consensus Capitalism, 1935-1990* (London: Macmillan, 1991), p. 76. On the precarious economic situation for black workers and the expansion of black poverty and unemployment following the war, see Robin D. G. Kelley, *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class* (New York: Free Press, 1994), pp. 78-79.
4. On the Truman Doctrine, see Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992), pp. 144-46; Michael H. Hunt, *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), p. 158; and David Caute, *The Great Fear: The Anti-Communist Purge under Truman and Eisenhower* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1978), p. 29. On the impact of the announcement of the Truman Doctrine on race relations within the United States and in the international sphere, see Borstelmann, *Apartheid's Reluctant Uncle*, pp. 61-68; and Paul Gordon Lauren, *Power and Prejudice: The Politics and Diplomacy of Racial Discrimination* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1988), pp. 186-87.
5. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power*, p. 109. Leffler adds that although Americans reacted negatively to Churchill's call for a military alliance, the speech accelerated widespread hostility towards the Soviet Union. On negative reaction to the speech, see also Richard M. Freeland, *The Truman Doctrine and the Origins of McCarthyism: Foreign Policy, Domestic Politics, and Internal Security, 1946-1948* (New York: New York University Press, 1985), p. 64.
6. Martin Bauml Duberman, *Paul Robeson* (New York: Knopf, 1988), pp. 303-4.
7. "Paul Robeson Flays Churchill Plan for Anglo-Saxon World," *Chicago Defender*, March 30, 1946, p. 5.
8. "Churchill's Speech Shatters Colonials' Hopes for Freedom," *Chicago Defender*, March 16, 1946, p. 12.