

THE EAST IS BLACK

Cold War China in the Black Radical Imagination

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Cover art: Detail of "Dadao Mei di! Dadao Su xiu!"

(Down with American imperialists and Russian revisionists!), 1967.

Courtesy of the University of Westminster.

To Ebony, Seu, and my parents.

IN MEMORY OF

Julian W. Pyles

Doris Brooks Cheatem

Shawishi Monroe

And my grandparents, Pearline, Huelett, De Lois & Jay.

side of the world. She assured them that if they saw what she saw, they too would comprehend the significance of China's overthrow of white supremacy. Robeson insisted, "Every Negro . . . who has not been allowed to enter the public libraries, parks, theatres, stores; every Negro who has been denied proper respect, human dignity and human rights—All these Negroes will be able to understand and fully appreciate what is happening in the Chinese People's Republic."²⁴

Other black Americans echoed Robeson's assertion. Langston Hughes's poem "Consider Me" (1951), for instance, emphasized such connections, encouraging blacks to consider the structural and ideological links that tied populations in Beijing to black communities of the U.S. North and South:

Black,
Caught in a crack
That splits the world in two
From China
By way of Arkansas
To Lenox Avenue.²⁵

It was this kind of thinking that led some black radicals to identify in the Chinese Communist Revolution a movement of which other blacks required greater awareness and understanding. The defeat of the GMD and the onset of a Chinese government and society that prioritized social struggle and the uplift of workers and the poor had to be shared and learned from, most centrally by people attempting to galvanize similar developments elsewhere. Through travel narratives and media, these black travelers' impressions and imaginings took on greater meaning.

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RUMINATIONS ON EASTERN PASSAGE



The traveler must take with him much knowledge or he will never see what is before his eyes, or hear with his ears. . . . Of China what little he knew was mostly distortion. Through that false fog he saw little even when he stood with open eyes.

— W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Worlds of Color*

China changes before one's eyes. It is the "Land of Tomorrow."

— SHIRLEY GRAHAM DU BOIS

Xiyou ji (Journey to the West), Wu Ch'êng-ên's sixteenth-century tale, is a parable about the travels and travails of Sun Wukong (the Monkey King).¹ Born from stone, the Monkey King's supernatural powers continuously develop during his travels and study of Taoism. As his abilities multiply, he is summoned inside the gates of heaven to receive his place as one of the deities. Once inside, however, he is insulted when the Jade Emperor assigns him a lowly position in the celestial kingdom. Angry and in defiance, he breaks into the garden owned by Xiwangwu, the "Queen Mother of the West," and steals her prized peaches of immortality. War commences between him and heaven's army, and in the end it is the Monkey King who is victorious. But his feat is short-lived. The Buddha visiting from the West intercedes. Sun Wukong is quickly subdued and imprisoned for five centuries. He is only released in exchange for his pledge to protect a Buddhist monk on his pilgrimage.

After winning the Chinese Communist Revolution, Chinese communists appropriated the Monkey King parable to describe their elimination of foreign rule in China. Mao Zedong remarked, "We have been like the 'Monkey King Upsetting Heaven' in the old play. We have thrown away the Heavenly Rule Book. Remember this. Never take a Heavenly Rule Book too seriously. One must always go by one's own revolutionary rules."² Across the Pacific, W. E. B. Du Bois was listening. For him, the Monkey King's tale of struggle and resur-

rection symbolized both China's rise to independence and how the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) victory signified a shift in the imperial crucible faced by people of color worldwide.³ During a visit to China in 1959, Du Bois wrote that he could "never forget the assault of the Monkey King on the hosts of Heaven, facing God and the angels," or the ways "the Monkey King fool[ed] the hosts of Heaven and overthr[ew] the angels."⁴ For Du Bois, China was doing more than just defying the imperialist and globalist aims of the United States and Europe. China's commitment to regenerating domestic economic and social growth was producing new relationships between individuals and the larger society. This was evidence to Du Bois that China was cultivating "a nation where human nature was so abreast of scientific knowledge; where daily life of everyday people was so outstripping mechanical power and love of life so triumphing over human greed." Just as the Monkey King was released to help guide the monk westward, the lessons of the Chinese government and public in its postrevolutionary period directed Du Bois eastward. "I have never seen a nation which so amazed me and touched me as China in 1959," Du Bois related.⁵

The activist Shirley Graham Du Bois, his travel partner and spouse, was also fascinated with all she came in contact with while in China, noting how the Peking Opera's *The Monkey King* "foretold the upsurge and rebellion of the people long before it took place."⁶ But she also described her journey with her husband in different terms and inscribed it with different meanings than he did. Acknowledging that she knew little about China before arriving in Beijing, Graham Du Bois was taken aback with the hospitality with which she and Du Bois were treated, the scale of China's multiple development initiatives, and Chinese citizens' incessant affirmations of the Chinese Communist Revolution and the CCP's role in building a new China. She also met numerous women who were playing prominent roles in China's social transformation, features of the trip that influenced her evolving feminist outlook.⁷ Summing up the visit she recounted: "We have seen how the Chinese people literally move mountains, level valleys and change the course of rivers."⁸ It was these experiences, she explained in an editorial for the *Pittsburgh Courier*, that led her to believe that China's development represented the future of the Third World, or, as she termed it, "The Land of Tomorrow."⁹

Assessing intellectual work on W. E. B. Du Bois, scholars Kate Baldwin, Gerald Horne, Brent Hayes Edwards, and others have noted that scholarship, with some exceptions, has generally avoided critical engagement of Du Bois's final years. This was a tumultuous period in his life, an era when his socialist and communist leanings were met with intense government scrutiny and suppression. Eric Porter has recently challenged this negation, examining what



FIGURE 1.1: The Du Boises on stairs of a guest house in Changtu, April 1959. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries.

he describes as "the early late period" of Du Bois's life, specifically the years of 1940–52. But despite the soundness of Porter's assessment, he too disregards Du Bois's last decade alive and his affiliations with the Soviet and Chinese governments during this period. Porter rules these features of the elder sage's closing years as "significantly less nuanced," failing to "respond more directly to a specific set of social and historical phenomena."¹⁰

My appraisal of the short-lived relations Du Bois cultivated with the CCP contrasts with Porter's evaluation and, moreover, with the dominant scholarly tendency of overlooking and downplaying Du Bois's shift to communism.¹¹ In

particular, I find Du Bois and Graham Du Bois's two-month journey through China in 1959 complex and captivating. I argue that it offers a productive preface to consider China's Cold War political outreach to U.S. black radicals and the different tropes, analogies, and designs through which black-radical travelers came to represent the Chinese Communist Revolution.

Ultimately, travel to China widened Du Bois's and Graham Du Bois's perceptions of the process of galvanizing less-developed, formerly colonized nations toward economic sufficiency and social values of selflessness, sacrifice, and collective toil. In writings and journalistic accounts, the couple waxed lyrical about the political energy permeating Chinese society, frequently emphasizing their faith in the possibilities of an Asian-African tactical alliance. In effect, these portrayals situated China as a leading figure in an international decolonial collective, a body composed primarily of African nations to which China's influence would spread. But this was not the only political imaginary through which the couple identified China's political importance. The Du Boises asserted that the Chinese Communist Revolution was an extension of a long history of anticapitalist and antiracist struggles, movements that in their totality composed a distinct transnational collective capable of confronting the U.S. Cold War model of global relations and political modernity.

Of significant note though is that the couple, in some measure, defended their endorsement of China through claims of evenhanded perception. They argued that they were supplying Americans with a more straightforward, on-the-ground evaluation of Chinese life than that which was transmitted in U.S. media and government reports. But in the process, the Du Boises never openly weighed in on the regulated nature of their visit. They neither dissected how their Chinese hosts labored to facilitate and influence the couple's perceptions of China nor whether or not their encounters and impressions were a viable reflection of the quotidian realities and treatment experienced by Chinese citizens.

This chapter revisits this episode. It mulls over the Du Boises' representations of their travel to China in print media and literature by focusing on several things: how their travel and reflections helped to propagate China's achievements; how these writings and media offer a window to China's methods and strategies of impacting foreign visitors' viewpoints; and the notable differences between Du Bois's and Graham Du Bois's depictions of China, particularly regarding gender and sexuality. Bearing in mind the limitations and misunderstandings of the Du Boises' encounters in China and their portrayals of this visit, the chapter then closes by briefly thinking through Du Bois's socialist-realist novel *Worlds of Color*, a work he completed just prior to the trip. Certain sections of the novel help tease out some of the gaps of radical imagining—

that is, the negotiations and ambivalence, contestations and contradictions—demonstrated by black radical travelers in their endeavors to represent and inscribe China with particular racial meanings. In the novel, encounters in China display how the prohibitive state regulations of the host country and the subject position of the traveler can work to organize and restrict the traveler's perceptions abroad. Among other lessons, what is conveyed is the difficulty in not collapsing the self and the Other in imagining and cultivating transnational racial solidarity.



JOURNEY TO THE EAST

The couple's trip to China came at the culmination of Du Bois's near decade-long fight for his passport. In 1951 the U.S. State Department seized his passport after the federal government indicted him as a foreign agent of the Soviet Union. These accusations stemmed from his public support for several communist governments and his political work in two lobbyist organizations, the anti-imperialist Council on African Affairs and the short-lived antinuclear Peace Information Center (PIC). Branded as Soviet affiliates by the U.S. right wing, these organizations and Du Bois fell victim to the McCarran Internal Security Act (1950), a bill that required persons suspected of engaging in subversive or communist activities to register with government. Amid allegations that the PIC's leadership in facilitating the Stockholm Appeal's antinuclear campaign was in fact a front for the Soviet regime, Du Bois and four other PIC officials were charged and forced to stand trial.¹² The charges came just two years after Du Bois was sacked from his position in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), an organization he helped to found. Summing up this political backlash, Du Bois solemnly remarked: "I found myself being punished before I was tried."¹³

Although Du Bois would be acquitted of these charges in 1951, it took almost a decade for the Supreme Court to reverse the State Department's seizure of his passport. Prevented from international travel, he found himself with little to no savings and income, marginalized from employment, and abandoned by various wings of the mainstream black political and intellectual establishments. It was this last fact, the failure of black liberals and the black intelligentsia to publically support Du Bois's freedom of speech and political ideology, that left him most dispirited. While he attributed some people's abandonment of his cause to the fear instigated by anticommunist intimidation and coercion, he also felt that access to wealth, status, and gradual racial inclusion was inducing old allies and educated blacks to shrink from the tasks and responsi-

bilities of social leadership. Rather than establish “a new cultural unity, capable of absorbing socialism, tolerance, and democracy,” this group was being freed “to ape the worst of American and Anglo-Saxon chauvinism” and “become American in their acceptance of exploitation as defensible.”¹⁴

Yet facing these challenges supplied Du Bois with a reinvigorated cultural and political perspective. He commented that he no longer felt encumbered by his own reductive reading of racial struggle. His political isolation, and furthermore his introduction to nonblack radicals and members of the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA) by the likes of Graham Du Bois, freed him from what he described as “that racial provincialism which [he] always recognized.” He felt poised to make “new friends and liv[e] in a wider world than ever before—a world with no color line.”¹⁵ He insisted that it was this world, the space of radical democracy and ensuring the ability of the poor and oppressed to develop their societies and cultures on their own terms, void of Western interference and influence, that more black Americans, in their demands for civil and human rights, needed to consider. “American Negroes have now entered the current of world affairs. . . . Their inner struggle parallels the struggle of the modern world,” Du Bois explained in 1953. “This is the new problem which faces the American Negro,—the problem which many colored and colonial peoples have already faced.”¹⁶ Du Bois pointed out that the “problem”—the direction in which U.S. black political struggle must proceed—was not a quandary exceptional to black Americans. Instead, it was part of a world-historical struggle. Liberal proposals of U.S. racial integration and world community, he argued, were attempting to wrestle workers and global colonized populations’ anticolonial efforts away from alignment with a global anticapitalist movement. Du Bois, however, countered that what people required was worldwide socialism, a global system with “workers as the chief citizens of the state” and that restructured commerce and industry away from private interests and toward public welfare, wealth redistribution, collective ownership, and public sustainability.¹⁷ Consequently, over the course of the decade Du Bois would become more adamant in his endorsement of socialism and, later, communist ideology. Growing relations with the CPUSA, moreover, led him to join the party in 1961, two years before his death.

Graham Du Bois, an author and playwright, also endured serious setbacks as a result of McCarthyism’s political attacks on the U.S. Left. As a closeted communist, her political alignment and work in the world peace movement and with radical organizations, including the CPUSA, led the State Department to seize her passport, leaving her unable to travel abroad for work, political outreach, and leisure. Thereafter, she dedicated most of her time to helping

lead the charge for Du Bois’s legal defense, playing a central role in the national committee that solicited and raised money for him and his PIC codefendants. While traveling across the country, she spoke in support of Du Bois’s freedom of speech and travel, her own income and national book sales suffering as a result of being linked with Du Bois and communist ideology. She did not let this suppression halt her leftist radicalism though. She continued to serve as a contributing editor for the left-wing journal *Masses & Mainstream* and as a member of several black arts initiatives. She additionally authored several biographies and journalistic accounts while building close relations with various diplomats and UN political dignitaries.¹⁸

In comparison to earlier decades though, Graham Du Bois’s political life during this period was somewhat insipid. Prior to marrying Du Bois in February 1951, she had achieved major accomplishments as a highly acclaimed artist and writer, composing musical scores, musicals, plays, dramatic works for radio, and numerous biographies. Moreover, most of this was done as a single mother, raising two sons amid severe racial oppression, indignity, and modest means. “She was a twenty-five hour-a-day worker,” her son David Graham Du Bois divulged.¹⁹ Beyond her creative work, she was extremely active politically. During the 1940s, Graham Du Bois contributed to radical leftist political groups, including CPUSA, Sojourners for Truth and Justice, the Council on African Affairs, and the Civil Rights Congress. But after marrying the senior Du Bois, a substantial amount of her time was devoted to aiding him with his declining health and struggling to meticulously organize the couple’s political and intellectual activities, financial matters, and household. The historian Gerald Horne notes about Graham Du Bois: “The years she was married to Du Bois, 1951 to 1963, were in many ways the least interesting and least productive of her long life, in part because of the subordinate role she felt obligated to adopt.”²⁰

It was in this context that the Du Boises’ journey to China came to fruition. In June 1958, amid growing public defense of the couple’s right to travel free from government or ideological restraint, the Supreme Court handed down a decision that the State Department was not mandated the authority to deny passports based on citizens’ political beliefs or refusal to publically divulge their political beliefs. The decision’s result was that the couple’s unwillingness to sign a political affidavit explicitly stating their political stance did not mean they could be refused a passport. With their passports reissued and having received invitations to visit several countries, the Du Bois wasted no time in leaving the United States, embarking on a one-year journey that took them to Western and Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and China. “I felt like a released

prisoner," Du Bois wrote.²¹ The opportunity to travel to China came as the couple was wrapping up their London stay. In September Guo Moruo, a statesman and prolific writer, and Soon Ching-ling, a government official and the widow of the Chinese revolutionary Sun Yat-sen, cabled the Du Boises with an official invitation from the Chinese national affiliate of the World Peace Council.

Graham Du Bois had never traveled to China. Furthermore, what little she knew of the country was either stereotypical, coming from experiences "in Chinese restaurants or laundries," or from books "written by Westerners or by Chinese who had defected to the West."²² But her son, David Graham Du Bois, a World War II veteran and activist in the making who went on to become the editor-in-chief of the Black Panther Party's weekly newspaper, had journeyed there in 1950. Attending a conference in Prague that convened student-activists from all over the world, the younger Graham Du Bois was one of two delegates from the Young Progressives of America invited by the Chinese delegation to travel to China at the conference's end. On a train filled with student-leaders from all over the world, he traveled through north and south China for three months, stopping in cities and rural areas to visit factories, schools, and collective farms. At each stop he was enamored by the sheer scale of Chinese people's eagerness to build a "new China": "To see the enthusiasm and the absolute, very highly demonstrated delight of particularly young people at the emergence of the People's Republic of China; you could never question the fact that this was a major change in the life of these young people, and a major change in the life of China. And it was clearly demonstrated by the enormity of the reaction on the part of everywhere we went. . . . Everywhere we went we were overwhelmed with the new China." Having joined the CPUSA just two years prior, he acknowledged that seeing this energy and its impact on the country enabled him to strategize about how communism and "all [he] had learned would be applied in America."²³

His stepfather too had traveled to China, but decades earlier, in the winter of 1936. Du Bois found the country's citizens ravaged by Japanese occupation and Western exploitation. The racial, ethnic, and class hierarchy that governed Chinese life called to mind his lifelong experiences with U.S. racism. Shanghai, for instance, China's most economically developed city, seemed "both modern and colonial." While foreign governments and corporations reaped immense economic and cultural benefits from the city, making it a cosmopolitan attraction for world travelers, foreign residents, and foreign businesspersons, Chinese residents, most especially the poor, remained at the bottom of the pecking order. "It looked quite like Mississippi," Du Bois reported.²⁴ Despite defending Japanese imperialism in China as the lesser of two evils (Western imperialism representing the more dominant evil) throughout the

1930s, by the 1940s he had changed his mind. Furthermore, after Japan's defeat in World War II and its being forced to surrender its power in China, Du Bois also denounced the prospect of China being led by a Nationalist Party (GMD) government. GMD, he insisted, was merely a surrogate for the anti-communist, antiworker, exploitative stance of the United States. Calling out the GMD's leadership's repressive, antipopulist tactics, Du Bois wrote: "Chiang Kai-Shek is fighting farmers and laborers in China by calling them communist."²⁵

Therefore, it was with enormous glee that Du Bois viewed the GMD's defeat and the establishment of a communist-led China in 1949. Identifying this moment as signaling a larger shift in refiguring America's postwar global order, Du Bois emphasized that waves of revolution were surging throughout Asia. He wrote, "This is a morning when the sunlight is streaming from the East, and I mean the East: China and India and Indonesia."²⁶ Du Bois furthermore rejected anticommunist denunciations of China, defending Chinese communists' endeavor to build a socialist model unique to the nation's history and culture. In a newspaper column, he implored Americans to support China's right to self-determination, sovereignty, and a government responsive to the needs of its people. He asserted, "It is time that Public Opinion . . . refuse to be stampered by the silly yell of 'Communist' and try to give the great and long suffering Chinese people a chance to have real voice in their own government."²⁷ He added that it was this fact, the potential worldwide influence of China's socialist ambitions, that was most politically applicable to U.S. black social struggle and that the U.S. government feared. "White America fears that the example of the Soviet Union and China may tempt the Negroes of America to see the salvation in socialism rather than in the free enterprise of capitalism," he maintained.²⁸ Du Bois thus concluded that Americans should not underestimate China's revolutionary appeal. Reasoning that the U.S. public had grown too accustomed "to sneering at Asia and insulting her and stealing from her," he cautioned that "[China's] possibilities are enormous. As China grows in power [so will] her influence."²⁹ It was consequently with these thoughts that Du Bois eagerly anticipated travel to China. "I wanted to re-visit China because it is a land of colored people," he later explained.³⁰

Arriving in Beijing by plane on February 14, the Du Boises were aware that by entering China they were violating the State Department's ban on U.S. citizens' travel to China, a law that the department maintained was in place to protect U.S. travelers. Du Bois sarcastically mocked this contention, seeing it as flimsy justification. "Certainly the United States could give me no less protection in China than it could in Mississippi," he joked.³¹ Protection was the last thing the pair would require while abroad. Over the course of two months, they were

treated as honorary guests of state. They traveled several thousand miles, visiting Shanghai, Chengdu, Hankou, Wuhan, Guangzhou, Chongqing, Nanjing, and Kunming, and were received by Chinese leaders, including Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, and Chen Yi, and spent quality time with various members of China's Western expatriate community.

During their stay, the Du Boises took note of the immense development of Chinese industry that had taken place from 1953 to 1957, products of China's First Five-Year Plan, a program modeled after the Soviet Union's mode of economic development. The focus on industrializing and modernizing what many considered a backward economy through investments in heavy industry, and later collective and cooperative farming, demonstrated to Du Bois the economic and social possibilities that could arise when mobilizing the peasantry toward socialism. But what was most remarkable to the Du Boises was the scale and speed of these developments. Throughout the couple's visit they watched the laying of concrete for roads and railways for trains and cable cars, and the construction of factories, buildings, sewer lines, and irrigation pathways.

Years earlier, Du Bois had maintained that the Chinese Communist Revolution represented an important shift in global capitalism. It symbolized "more than freedom for a colony," he remarked. "It marks a new aspect of colonialism." The main fear the United States had of China, he explained, was that Chinese economic growth would overtake U.S. domination of industrial production and world exports. Whereas the colonial nations of the era of old imperialism were unable to produce goods dependent on high-skilled production, China's robust labor force and determination to modernize the nation in a short period of time would enable it to produce goods for export at a far lower cost than other countries. Its production would then become unmatched, where it would be in all countries' best economic interest to purchase Chinese goods. But by replacing U.S. production and capital's monopoly, Chinese manufacturing would force U.S. businesses to lose profit and possibly deindustrialize, a fate the U.S. government and Western capital were working to prevent. Du Bois, moreover, reasoned that what America feared most was the CCP preventing U.S. control of Chinese and East Asian markets; economic access to China was thus essential to preserving America's place as the top economic and geopolitical power. "This new Chinese market could easily be the economic salvation of the western world," he wrote. "It could make it possible for America to be prosperous, with high wages and government subsidized social progress, without depending upon high taxation and growing expenditures for war and war materials."³²

Du Bois believed that China's rejection of U.S. domination and its projects



FIGURE 1.2: Du Bois with Ghanaian embassy officials, the novelist Mao Dun (third from right), and several Chinese hosts, ca. 1959. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries.

to induce China's economic advancement could aid decolonial efforts in Africa. As populations vying for independence or in the early stages of self-rule, these groups were facing economic challenges similar to that of China, most especially the difficulty in becoming economically competitive and technically skilled. Du Bois ruled that what Africans lacked in education, technology, and capital could be attained via close relations with China. In a speech to thousands at Peking University, which was also broadcast internationally, Du Bois advised African countries to build close relations with China. "No nation better than China can offer this," he remarked. "China is flesh of your flesh, blood of your blood. China is colored and knows to what a colored skin in this modern world subjects its owner." Sidestepping European and U.S. investment and structuring African economic and social modernization around aid and assistance from the Soviet Union and China could provide Africans with a far more advantageous road to become self-sufficient and preserve their economic and political sovereignty. "Turn from the West," Du Bois closed, "and face the rising sun."³³

Du Bois's recommendation to build Chinese-African "friendship and sympathy" echoed Mao Zedong's and the Chinese government's foreign policy of establishing *youyi* (friendship) with African movements.³⁴ Mao asserted that generating the communist transformation of China required the country to embark on a different sociopolitical and economic journey than that specified within classical Marxism and by the Soviet leadership. Mao believed that China

could bypass the period of bourgeois capitalism that Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin argued was the precedent to socialism. Instead, China would embark first on a new democratic revolution (*xin minzhu zhuyi geming*). This would begin with a nationalist, patriotic, and united front that would eliminate imperialism and foreign influence from China. This multiclass force would then spur a movement whereby revolutionary parties fostered a coalition between classes as a means to withstand bourgeois democracy's tendencies of divide and rule. By "unit[ing] with the forces of the Left, win[ning] over the middle, and isolate[ing] the rightists," China would then focus on the task of building socialism.³⁵ Furthermore, through rapid economic modernization and collectivization, particularly of agriculture and light industry, the sectors of labor worked by peasants and the most downtrodden economic classes, China would bypass bourgeois capitalism. These ideas contradicted Marxism-Leninism's tenet that only by experiencing an industrial revolution and the capitalist mode of production and class relations could the oppressed masses forge a revolutionary socialist movement. But as the historian Arif Dirlik notes, Mao's development model and process of socialist revolution was distinctly suited to the underdeveloped context of the Third World. By "recast[ing] Marxism in a global perspective," Mao and the CCP offered similar rural-based developing countries, especially rising African nation-states, with a development model and ideology of Third World Marxism that contrasted with the modernization models put forth in Soviet-centralized socialism and Western capitalism.³⁶

To some degree, Du Bois's remarks were a reiteration of his rejection of the classical Marxist-Leninist definition of "the proletariat." From World War I onward he had called attention to the role of colonial labor, imperial conquest, racial formation, and racial citizenship in capitalism's expansion, noting the entanglement of race and racism with class exploitation and class warfare. He thus ruled that many Marxists' identification of the Western industrial (white) working class as the world-historical, anticapitalist subjects of modernity ignored the resistance and radicalism vibrating among "the dark workers of Asia, Africa, the islands of the sea, and South and Central America." Challenging dominant Marxist thinking, Du Bois maintained that it was these nonwhite groups who truly constituted capitalism's greatest opposing force. "It is the rise of these peoples that is the rise of the world," he wrote.³⁷ In the period leading up to his travel to China, Du Bois reaffirmed this stance. In various statements and writings, he identified rising decolonial and antiracist resistance in Africa, the Americas, and the Caribbean alongside the Bolshevik and Chinese Revolutions. "The struggle of this part of the world," he insisted, "is more than the last battle of the West. It is the third battle of the Rising East. The first was

the Russian Revolution. The second was the revolution of China to free yellow labor. The third coming revolution, in black Africa, is to free black labor, and thus to complete Negro emancipation in the United States."³⁸ Through this genealogy, Du Bois encouraged people of Asian and African descent "to close ranks against" European and U.S. imperialism and cultivate "Pan-Colored" proletariat partnership.³⁹ "The East" in his proposal thus did not denote a formation uncomplicatedly oppositional to, or representing the direct antipode of, the West. Instead it was a metaphor and comparative example that helped describe the struggle against U.S. globalism and global white supremacy by a world proletariat movement led by the "darker races of the world"—a collective body that came to represent what one scholar has called Du Bois's historical materialist "global model of race."⁴⁰

Still, one drawback of Du Bois's proposal for Chinese-African friendship was that it perpetuated a paternalist framing of Sino-African relations: Africans as under Chinese tutelage. In short, Du Bois's encouragement of Africans to learn from China was an early version of a discourse that became far more prominent during the 1960s and 1970s, when China was frequently depicted as a "shepherd of a flock of African parties."⁴¹ In such claims, African countries and populations were never positioned as having something to offer China in terms of knowledge production, cultural exchange, and geopolitical strategizing. Instead they were positioned merely as the recipients.

Furthermore, Du Bois's celebration of the Chinese economy did not match up evenly with the reality of economic and social upheaval internal to China. The image of China's economy that he and Shirley Graham Du Bois were supplied contrasted with the real economic troubles and social hardship that the country was beginning to experience. Throughout the couple's stay in China they were frequently inundated with *da yue jin*, the Great Leap Forward (GLF), a state-sponsored project that came to describe the first three years of China's Second Five-Year Plan (1958–62). The GLF was an attempt to increase the speed of China's modernization through a model of economic development and political radicalization specific to the Chinese context, one shifting away from the moderately paced road to socialism laid out in the Soviet-influenced policies of China's First Five-Year Plan. Organized around the elimination of private property and the addition of collective ownership of land and machinery, the GLF fused hundreds of thousands of farms into massive, autonomous rural *renmin gongshe* (people's communes) and *nongye hezou she* (agricultural cooperatives) manned by peasants, city workers, intellectuals, and bureaucrats. Mao insisted that such collective labor in agriculture and light industry would enable China to "leap" to socialist modernity.

This, however, was not the case. The GLF ultimately resulted in calamity, mired in food shortages, mismanagement, unproductive labor, corrupted leadership, and imbalanced and exaggerated production expectations. By the early 1960s, the GLF had a dreadful impact on Chinese life, resulting in a famine that led to what some scholars have estimated at anywhere between twenty and forty million deaths.⁴² Some of this was a consequence of Mao's directives. Throughout his leadership, he was extremely critical of the growth of an imperial bureaucratic elite and intellectual class not engaged with the everyday struggles of the rural and working-class masses. One consistent strain in his thought was that the rise of an independent China had brought forth new contradictions, the most important of which concerned the state's relationship to civil society. He argued that China's postrevolutionary period had produced a class of bureaucrats reliant upon political graft and disconnected from the project of building socialism and the everyday lives and difficulties of Chinese peasants.

The GLF was built out of Mao's demand that China rapidly transition toward socialism. Mao argued that implementing such a system required both swift economic development and decisive radicalization of consciousness. The GLF was thus one of several state-established national campaigns aimed at reinvigorating the leftist radicalism of the Chinese Communist Revolution and purging the CCP and the nation of conservative elements. Its precursor was the *baihua yundong* (Hundred Flowers Campaign). Spanning from 1956 to 1957, this initiative encouraged nonparty intellectuals to freely express their dissent and criticisms of the government and "let one hundred flowers bloom, let one hundred schools of thought contend."⁴³ Members of the intelligentsia, a class spurned by both the CCP and Mao, heeded Mao's call for open ideological criticism of the state. In official newspapers, pamphlets, and wall posters, as well as in numerous public meetings, they condemned CCP officials for being corrupted by material advantages and privileges. The intelligentsia asserted that there was an extreme gulf between the party and nonparty professionals and that the former's authoritarianism and centralization of power repressed the pursuit of building a classless society. Mao's outlook in favor of criticism, however, changed drastically once the intelligentsia's denunciations were redirected toward him, various intellectuals calling into question Mao's leadership. Thereafter, Mao remobilized the Hundred Flowers Campaign as an "anti-rightist" purge of those intellectual dissidents who criticized the government. The regime's critics were no longer identified as agents for transformation and revolution. They were instead perceived as having betrayed the Chinese Communist Revolution's mission by challenging the CCP. Forced to renounce their criticisms and sent to the countryside to labor alongside the peasantry, these

people became pawns in Mao's dictums of constant revolution and protracted struggle.

The CCP's control of foreign visits and censorship of viewpoints in opposition to the party's main line prevented many visitors and expatriate residents from learning about this, never mind the GLF's severity. Furthermore, those foreigners with knowledge of the social upheaval's impact, particularly foreign residents of China, added to the culture of disinformation by denying Western media reports of famine in China.⁴⁴ Yet it is baffling that as the Du Boises championed the strides being made by the Chinese government, frequently employing GLF terminology, the Chinese public at large was beginning to contend with the real social and economic costs of the GLF. Moreover, Chinese victims of the CCP's antirightist campaign were simultaneously experiencing a containment culture analogous to, if not more severe than, that to which the Du Boises were subjugated in the United States.



GENDERED BORDERS AND THE POLITICS OF SEEING

In different mediums, the Du Boises documented their visit to China. Graham Du Bois summed up the trip in several journalistic accounts for the *Pittsburgh Courier* and later in a postmortem biography on Du Bois, whereas Du Bois detailed the trip in his final autobiography. Regarding style and genre, their writings took very different approaches. Graham Du Bois's writings slid between participant ethnography and diary entry, paying close attention to details and commenting often in poetic terms about the sights, sounds, tastes, and smells that surrounded her. Du Bois's account, on the other hand, was more moralist soliloquy. What it lacked in description and detail it made up for in grandiose story line—his multiple visits to China and the CCP's rise to power depicted in epic, *Iliad*-like fashion.

At certain points Du Bois and Graham Du Bois pinpointed similar encounters as novel—witnessing Guangzhou's immeasurable production and export of retail goods, visiting a commune in Chengdu where sixty thousand people labored for the collective good, and meeting members of the Yi minority group in Sichuan province. In addition, they both championed the government's efforts to incorporate into national life China's ethnic minorities (*shaoshu minzu*), fifty-six ethnic groups who for centuries were not universally accepted as ethnically Chinese, a contrast to the dominant Han ethnic group. Both of the Du Boises also noted perceiving a lack of unemployment throughout the country; everyone they encountered appeared "to be at work."⁴⁵ Little sights of an informal economy led them to believe that through infusion of formal employment

and national pride, the poor were being incorporated into the project of nation building. "There were no signs of want," Graham Du Bois wrote, "no beggars, no gaunt, hollow-eyed children on the streets, no frail young girls who had to sell their bodies to exist."⁴⁶ And the couple was continually astonished by everyday people's excitement about China's social and economic transformation. For the couple, the fact that it was these Chinese people—what Du Bois described as "the laboring people, the people who in most lands are the doormats on which the reigning thieves and murdering rulers walk"—who were rebuilding the country was of supreme magnitude. "We saw the planning of a nation and a system of work rising over the entrails of dead empire," Du Bois explained.⁴⁷

But by and large, what distinguished the couple's accounts was how they represented China through gender. Although Du Bois praised the ways the Chinese Communist Revolution was emancipating women from patriarchal rule and oppression, his writings about Chinese communism primarily relied on masculine metaphors and examples. His account began by figuratively distinguishing China of past times to that of his 1959 visit. Reflecting on his travel to China in 1936, he described Shanghai as the "epitome of the racial strife, the economic struggle, the human paradox of modern life. Here was the greatest city of the most populous nation on earth, with the large part of it owned, governed and policed by foreign nations." But according to Du Bois, the China of 1959 was a transformed country, "a miracle land," arming Chinese people with hope and a sustainable system of work and living through rapid advancements in industry, health care, and education. Du Bois further added that this evolution of Chinese life was the result of the Long March leadership of Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, and others. For Du Bois, the Long March's culture of peasant radicalism embodied the CCP's rise and served as a metaphor for the historical progress of the nation-state. He wrote, "This monster is a nation with a dark-tinted billion born at the beginning of time, and facing its end. This struggle from starved degradation and murder and suffering to the triumph of that Long March to world leadership. Oh beautiful, patient, self-sacrificing China, despised and unforgettable, victorious and forgiving, crucified and risen from the dead."⁴⁸ Du Bois's depiction, however, was pervaded with masculine rhetoric. By frequently establishing the Long March and the Chinese Communist Revolution as movements led and fought for by men, he gendered China's transformation as a male-induced achievement. Such constructions persisted; he described China as an "amorphous mass of men . . . [with] impenetrable will to survive," and Chinese children visiting Tiananmen Square, according to Du Bois, were informed: "Your fathers are building new palaces for you."⁴⁹ Through this language, Du Bois portrayed China mainly through tropes and attributes of manhood.⁵⁰

By the conclusion of Du Bois's account, Eastern communism was pitted against Western capitalism, a Manichean struggle between good and evil. But in this section, his depiction of China remained explicitly embedded with ideas and arguments about sexuality. Western imperialism was identified as a sexually pathological male culture, incapacitated by lust and exploitation. It was composed of "grafters, whoremongers and gamblers," people with a preponderance to "skimp and save, cheat and steal, gamble and arm for murder." Chinese communism, on the other hand, was framed as sexually composed, its desire restrained in the interest of the people, of the collective good. Whereas "the people" and the "Chinese worker" were presented as synecdoche for the nation-state, it was Chinese women who stood in for the restrained sexuality of the nation. Du Bois remarked, "The women of China are becoming free. They wear pants so that they can walk, climb and dig; and climb and dig they do. They are not dressed simply for sex indulgence or beauty parades."⁵¹ Despite Du Bois's suggestion that Chinese women's physical labor and the covering of their bodies with clothing was producing less sexual objectification and exploitation of women in daily life, he perpetuated a patriarchal reading of women in the aforementioned schema. In his statement, women were framed as people whose clothing, or lack thereof, helped yield in both Western and Eastern contexts either the nation's (i.e., male's) sexual deviancy or its restraint of sexual desire. In the end, control over women's bodies and attire was subtly linked to the progress or failure of the nation-state.

That Du Bois harnessed mild masculine rhetoric and ideology in his representation of Chinese communism does not efface his condemnation of women's oppression and his support for feminist causes throughout his life. But as various black feminist intellectuals have noted about the trajectory of Du Bois's thought and writing, what Du Bois's commentary does relay is the prominent role masculinism played within his political arguments and theoretical models of race and radical internationalism.⁵² Du Bois's representation of Chinese communism was thus gender specific, denoting male activity, male knowledge, and a geopolitics as a site of male struggle. While this comes through via his language, it was also expressed through his failure to imagine and represent Chinese women as leaders and equal participants in China's revolution and reconstruction. In his account, Chinese women were barely implicated in the country's development; they only had agency in relation to the changed sexual mores of the country, and even in his description this is not of their own individual merit and collective doing but rather the proletarian culture instituted by the CCP. Chinese women were thus made to remain outside of Chinese history and Chinese communism. Having barely made mention of them throughout the bulk of his account, they were only included in his final

paragraph, portrayed as mothers, workers, and professionals gaining greater access to employment and government leadership—but always on male terms and male standards. Nowhere were they represented through their words, their own definitions of communism, their own agency in uplifting China from imperialism and capitalist exploitation.

In contrast, Graham Du Bois's various accounts reflected her feminist sensibility. In her writings women were prominently featured, their voices, agency, and history, to some extent, made audible. In one of her accounts, the first person readers were introduced to was the minister of public health, Li Dequan, also chairperson of the Red Cross Society and the first woman to become a full minister in the newly established government. Li was a champion of women's and children's rights, establishing more than fifteen primary schools that offered free admission to women and girls from poor families and to the children of peasants. As a leader of several women's organizations and organizations committed to protecting children's welfare, she actively challenged conservative Chinese perspectives about women's rights, maintaining that the struggle to upend patriarchy had to be perceived as a crucial feature of all national liberation movements.⁵³ From Li, Graham Du Bois learned about China's health clinics and the role of doctors in educating Chinese publics about family planning and birth control. Graham Du Bois was also impressed with the minister of justice, Shi Liang, the second woman to be selected as a full minister in the PRC government. One of the first women to be admitted to the Shanghai bar and to practice law, Liang primarily specialized in marriage cases and representing political prisoners. It was her commitment to justice that drew her into the wings of the CCP, where she ultimately became a leader in the All China Women's Federation and later the head of the PRC's legal-affairs and judicial branch.⁵⁴

Graham Du Bois also highlighted the elderly women inside the Forbidden City in Beijing. Their physical bodies and movements immediately struck her. These women were victims of the mutilating practice of *chanzu*, China's custom of tightly binding young girls' feet to prevent growth. They "hobbled around the courtyards," Graham Du Bois remarked, "hobbled because their feet had been bound and, after years of torture, were permanently crippled." For Graham Du Bois, these women's bodies displayed the physical and psychological violence Chinese women experienced at the hands of patriarchy. Here, Graham Du Bois implicated Chinese society in these patriarchal conditions. Chinese women's treatment was not just a product of imperialism; it was also the result of China's own oppressive gender relations and inhumane treatment of women. Graham Du Bois could not help but watch though as these women moved at a snail's pace, "peer[ing] at the wonders of ancient China which had

been denied them" by class and gender oppression. Despite physical disability and trauma, these women still demonstrated a compelling resolve, traveling to Beijing to obtain a glimpse of China's social transformation. "These old women wanted to see for themselves," Graham Du Bois noted.⁵⁵

Meeting women who worked in various branches of government, labor, and education convinced Graham Du Bois that China was on a rapid pace toward the elimination of gender oppression and toward the social sufficiency of all citizens. She concluded, "Chinese women today are, in my opinion, more the equal of men than in any country I know. . . . In China this equality is neither a courteous gesture nor an issue to be debated. Chinese women are sharing on every level in building New China."⁵⁶ Graham Du Bois's celebration of these changes did not prevent her from acknowledging the reality that the majority of Chinese women, and moreover Chinese people in general, were still living in abject poverty. Traveling from Wuhan to Chongqing by boat along the Yangtze River, the families and workers she saw living and laboring in the countryside were a reminder of the long road China had ahead of it in modernizing the country and improving the material conditions of these people's lives. Describing the journey, she wrote: "We were meeting crowded junks, sampans and sailboats. . . . Along a footpath walked peasants carrying baskets hanging from poles from their shoulders. . . . Evidently it was an arduous task. Here was old China again."⁵⁷

Still, observing these people's destitute lives did not dissuade Graham Du Bois from being hopeful about China's future. China's potential was best demonstrated to her by the self-sacrificing commitment and service of the Du Boises' interpreter, a female teacher and translator named Bei Guangli.⁵⁸ Near the end of the couple's journey, Bei informed them that after completing her duties as their interpreter, she wanted to participate in the erection of the People's Hall of Congress in Beijing, which at that time was in early stages of construction. Bei explained, "It doesn't matter what job they give me. I want to be able to tell my children that I myself, with my own hands, helped put up our Hall of Congress. . . . I'll have special reason to be proud." Shocked to hear the ambitions conveyed by this slight woman, "with her dainty hands and feet," Graham Du Bois concluded that Bei's political consciousness was emblematic of the country. "Bei Guangli is China," she reckoned.⁵⁹ Like Du Bois, Graham Du Bois exoticized aspects of these encounters, likening Du Bois's nurse to a Chinese doll and the countryside landscape to silk-screen art prints. But through Graham Du Bois's explicit and detailed attention to women's experiences and female voices, China was characterized as a country of profound female political agency and sacrifice, a model that should be implemented in the United States.



FIGURE 1.3: Graham Du Bois talking with children at a workers' community center in Kunming, in the Yunnan province, 1959. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries.

It should be pointed out that, retrospectively, what is also conveyed in Graham Du Bois's and Du Bois's accounts are some of the tactics through which the Chinese government staged and showcased China's uplift for foreign eyes and how such activities worked to engender positive impressions from foreign visitors. For instance, the Du Boises' travels were chaperoned by Tang Ming-

zhao, head of the Chinese People's Committee for Defending World Peace (*Zhongguo renmin baowei shijie heping dahui*; commonly referred to as the China Peace Committee), and director of the Department for Liaison with English Speaking Countries.⁶⁰ Four others joined him in supervising the Du Boises' visit: Ding Xilin and Zhu Boshen, two leading officials of the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations/Friendship with Foreign Countries (*Zhongguo renmin duiwai wenhua xiehui*); the interpreter Bei Guangli; and Wang Huifang, a nurse assigned to aid Du Bois and monitor his health.⁶¹ The goal of this group was to provide the Du Boises with an exceptionally idealized depiction of Chinese life and politics. Thus, every moment of the couple's tours was scripted and preplanned. Led around and trailed at all times by government-assigned guides and handlers, guests of state like the Du Boises were generally only allowed to engage with people, institutions, and societal realities preapproved by the government, of course with some exceptions (Graham Du Bois's consideration of the impact of *chanzu* on Chinese women, for instance, being one example). Nonetheless, foreign visitors like the Du Boises were offered few, if any, opportunities for informal contact and chance conversations.

This careful orchestration of foreign guests' movements and encounters was a chief tactic of Chinese foreign policy.⁶² The Chinese government frequently invited and hosted foreign activists and intellectuals who were critical of the United States and who appeared to be receptive to China. They believed that if these travelers had positive hands-on experiences in China, they would return to their homelands lauding the PRC and advocating on its behalf through media, public speaking, and criticism of U.S. policy. "Visitors were selected for their credibility and their favorable attitude toward Beijing," the political scientist Ann-Marie Brady explains. "A visit to see new China was not meant to be an exchange of ideas: the visitors' role was to learn and admire, and if possible write favorable reports which could be used in China and the West."⁶³ These tours and the various rallies, day trips, and public demonstrations that foreign visitors were taken to were carefully planned spectacles designed to engender positive impressions. With itineraries preapproved by government officials, foreign travel groups' days were jam-packed with events and visits that were performative in nature. Attending rallies and visiting communes, factories, schools, and large-scale infrastructure projects conveyed that China was experiencing modernization and demonstrated the aura of Chinese communism. By simulating experiences that felt distinctive, unforced, intimate, and enriching, the tours ultimately shielded foreigners from aspects of Chinese life that contradicted the government's position. Such practices of "selective exposure and display" manipulated "the mystique of personal experience and the belief in the superiority of being-on-the-spot."⁶⁴

These ritualized demonstrations for foreign activists and intellectuals also took on central importance in the CCP's project of unifying the nation and indoctrinating Chinese citizens with the revolutionary ideas and leadership of Chairman Mao and the party. Depicting China as the exceptional leader of a world struggle enabled the Chinese government to instill in the Chinese masses the need to play their part as workers in constructing a new China and be representatives of the nation in their daily labor and in their encounters with foreigners. The historian Chen Jian explains, "A revolutionary foreign policy helped to make Mao's various state and societal transformation projects powerful unifying and national themes supplanting many local, regional, or factional concerns."⁶⁵

Linking China to foreign movements and hosting foreign visitors thus helped mobilize Chinese citizens around the CCP's platform, everyday Chinese citizens being positioned as having an important role to play in China's diplomatic outreach to foreign publics and expanding the country's influence abroad.⁶⁶ And the Du Boises' accounts offer an intriguing portal to this spectacle of nation making—various Chinese people tasked with representing and performing the nation for foreign eyes and ears. Through labor, politeness, affirmation of the CCP's central line, and patriotism, people such as Bei Guangli stood in for the nation, supplying the Du Boises with a rewarding, though uncomplicated, image of nationalism and communist success.

Whether or not the Du Boises deeply questioned these features of their travel is unknown. Graham Du Bois implied some skepticism. Referring to the couple's team of chaperones, she described each of them using a particular title or signifier of their purported duties, titles that the couple most likely didn't come up with on their own but that were relayed to them by Chinese officials or by Bei Guangli, their interpreter. According to Graham Du Bois, Tang Mingzhao was the "manager," whereas the others were "advisors" and "special attendants."⁶⁷ She used quotes around each of these titles, which might be construed as betraying certain suspicions she held of her chaperones' true duties. But other than this example, conflicts and contradictions internal to China were, to a large extent, unexplored by the Du Boises in their writings, and, moreover, were relentlessly misrepresented to the couple throughout their visit.

The most blatant example of such misrepresentation was Chinese explanations regarding the Tibet rebellion, a popular revolt that erupted during the second month of the Du Boises' visit. Anti-Chinese and anticommunist sentiment became violent in Lhasa, Tibet's capital, in March 1959, after nearly a decade of strained relations between the PRC and Tibet. From 1911, the year of China's successful republican revolution and elimination of the Chinese mo-

narchial system, until the CCP's 1949 defeat of the GMD, Tibet had operated as a de facto independent polity. However, with the establishment of PRC, the CCP rejected Tibet's claims of being an independent nation-state and countered that Tibet remained a part of China. Ultimately, in the view of the CCP, Tibet's location made it a geographical buffer between India, Nepal, and Bhutan; Tibet was consequently perceived as just as valuable as, if not more than, Taiwan in protecting China from foreign incursion. In October 1950, People's Liberation Army (PLA) troops attacked Tibet, first seizing Chamdo/Qamdo (officially Chengguan). Incapable of repelling the PLA, Tibet's feudal theocratic government had little choice but to concede, agreeing to Chengguan's status as Chinese territory. However, CCP and PLA presence in Tibet over the course of the 1950s and rising inflation and food costs were met with fury by Tibetans, numbers of whom formed the Four Rivers and Six Ranges guerrilla group, a CIA-trained force that initiated an armed rebellion against Chinese rule.⁶⁸ Come 1959, this Tibetan anger erupted after rumor spread that the CCP had concocted a plan to kidnap and arrest the Dalai Lama, Tibet's paramount spiritual leader and de facto head of state. Tibetans demonstrated and attacked PLA soldiers, Tibetans of Han ethnicity, and Tibetans who sided with the PRC government.⁶⁹

To the Du Boises, this armed resistance was portrayed as a minor conflict motivated by and generally composed of upper-class, landholding Tibetan elites. This claim deliberately disregarded the revolt's multiclass composition and the reality that it represented a popular Tibetan rejection of the PRC's claims to Tibet. But by framing the rebellion as being waged by reactionary elites frustrated with the CCP's efforts to create an equitable socialist society, the Chinese government appeared justified in its speedy suppression of the rebellion. In any case, the complexity of the rebellion was not relayed to the Du Boises. Graham Du Bois referenced the rebellion, yet refrained from taking a position on it. Du Bois on other hand defended China's claims over Tibet, insisting that "Tibet has belonged to China for centuries."⁷⁰ That the couple lacked an understanding of the ethnic divides and disputes that fueled Tibetan rejection of Chinese rule and Tibetan demands for independence is evident. For the Tibetan rebels, China represented an alien force that was encroaching on Tibetan self-determination and sovereignty. The couple's unawareness of the anticolonial features of Tibetans' struggles was thus a product of their own ignorance and, moreover, indication of their handlers' success in presenting a heroic depiction of China.

After returning to the United States, Du Bois wrote that "China is no utopia" and conceded that he "did not see everything" and "may have been in part deceived." But he also defended his perceptions as based on on-the-ground

experiences. He additionally pointed out that his encounters challenged the anti-China reporting of Western reporters who had never even visited the country. "The truth is there," he claimed. "I saw it."⁷¹ Graham Du Bois defended her account of the couple's visit with similar language. She asserted, "I shall not here attempt to pass judgment but only record something of *what we saw*."⁷² The couple's descriptions of their travel were thus presented, in some measure, as eyewitness accounts, reports suffuse with claims about sight and objectivity. In effect, the Du Boises singled out their eyes, and, correspondingly, their writings, as direct, untampered-with portals to what they encountered and experienced abroad.

Numerous scholars have unraveled the power of discourses of objectivity and sight in intellectual production and cultural representation. At the heart of these scholars' critiques is deconstruction of the notion of cultural representation as a mirror, replica, and "re-presentation" of what a person sees or experiences. The act of representation, it has been argued, is no mere indicator of objective truth. Mary Louise Pratt, for example, considers these issues within Western travel writing and travel narratives. Pratt asserts that these genres of literary representation were an essential element of European continental and national identities, simultaneously informing European understandings of both Europe and non-Europeans and legitimizing Western ways of knowing and organizing the world. Through tropes of discovery and vision, European travel writers framed their depictions of "the foreign" as heroic, observant, and objective—merely conveying an unbiased and trouble-free account of the geographical spaces and peoples that the writer and traveler witnessed and encountered abroad. The travel writer's *politics of seeing* was thus organized around demonstrating the "cultural authority to represent, to depict, or recreate what he sees." Pratt continues, "The act of discovery itself . . . consisted of what in European culture counts as a purely passive experience—that of seeing." But Pratt maintains that such cultural representations and politics of seeing are not passive and evidence of empirical truth, but rather always constructed, always tied to efforts to control the definition of both Europe and non-European worlds. Imperial practices of representing "the foreign" were therefore dependent on "the relation of mastery predicated between the seer and the seen," where the travel narrator (the seer) was singled out as "both the viewer to judge and appreciate it [the seen], and the verbal painter who produces it for others." Imperial travel writing (and later Western journalism and other genres of media and representation) ideologically relied on legitimizing the idea that the seer "sees all there is."⁷³ Nonetheless, as Pratt points out, such inscription of the foreign rests on unequal power dynamics between reporter and reported, narrator and narrated, and seer and seen; Franny Nudelman sim-

ilarly explains, "to judge, compare, report back . . . belie an imperialist's sense of superiority."⁷⁴

While the Du Boises' representation of China did not hint of such blatant imperialist objectivism, I do think it important to trouble the couple's accounts, specifically regarding their defense of what they "saw." For the couple, lauding China in journalistic and biographical writings provided a mode to mediate between their perceptions of China and their valuation of what these perceptions might mean to others. It was a modality of their radical imaginaries, a practice in the Du Boises' efforts to create transnational political connections between black Americans and China. But the couple's representations were steeped in a credulous "politics of seeing," one that gave little attention to questioning, identifying, and reconciling the inconsistencies of PRC-sponsored visits by foreigners.



THE COLOR OF ASIA

The misunderstandings, misperceptions, and contradictions of international travel were not subjects foreign to Du Bois. Considering how imperial governments employed diplomatic visits and tourism as modes to mask their nations' true realities of domination and exploitation, he once pointed out: "Empires do not want nosy busybodies snooping into their territories and business. Visitors to colonies are, to be sure, allowed and even encouraged; but their tours are arranged, officials guide them in space and in thought, and they usually see what the colonial powers want them to see and little more."⁷⁵ Du Bois's point, of the different techniques and narratives that states employ to shape foreign visitors' perceptions, offers a more nuanced consideration of the politics of international travel during the Cold War than that which he and Graham Du Bois tendered after their travel to China.

Likewise, in the historical novel *Worlds of Color*, a book that Du Bois completed just prior to leaving for China, he fruitfully mulled over this same dilemma. In a chapter titled "The Color of Asia," in particular, Du Bois attended to the prohibitive features, limited politics of seeing, and tendency to collapse self and Other that sometimes constitute international travel experiences and efforts to imagine and represent transnational coalition. Published by the Marxist-Leninist journal *Masses & Mainstream* in 1961, *Worlds of Color*, what one scholar describes as Du Bois's "low-budget mass-media broadcast," was the closing text of the *Black Flame Trilogy*, a three-volume narrative centered on the life of a Southern educator, Manuel Mansart.⁷⁶ The trilogy surveys Mansart's evolution from racial compromiser and integrationist to political dissident and

global citizen of color. Sprinkled throughout these texts are historical events and symbolic moments from Du Bois's life, elements that give the novel some verisimilitude.⁷⁷ Past experiences and writings are curated into three historical novels that seem to be concerned with figuratively revisiting symbolic themes and contradictions from the U.S. social struggle, as well as from Du Bois's own history of political activism and intellectualism.

Worlds of Color covers the final twenty years of Mansart's life (1936–56), examining Mansart; Jean Du Bignon, his confidante and future spouse; and other characters' journeys toward a leftist political disposition. Mansart begins the novel as a sixty-year-old college president, well respected among his peers, and aided in thought, work, and life by Du Bignon, his personal secretary. Following the suggestion of colleagues, he takes a sabbatical and embarks on a trip around the world, hoping to broaden his narrow understanding of labor exploitation, colonialism, and global politics. Du Bignon later makes her own journey to several non-U.S. locations and experiences a growth in her political perspective. The novel then follows as the two of them, along with Mansart's adult children, develop global awareness and an anticapitalist stance amid the ideological shortcomings of the black American antiracist movement and the political repression and containment ethos of Cold War U.S. liberalism.

Mansart's *Wanderjahr* leads him on a journey through Europe, the Soviet Union, Japan, and China. At the heart of this plotline is his ideological evolution toward a global understanding of the "Negro Problem." The author explains that for Mansart, "the 'color line' was principally a matter of admission to street cars, trains, schools, and restaurants. Of an equality higher and broader than this, involving economic equality, he had not given much thought."⁷⁸ However, traveling abroad reveals his narrow understanding of racial inequality: "All the old certainties were gone—all that neat little world. . . . What now was this thing called the 'Negro Problem' at which all his life he had been working?" (1). Clued into his simplification of the global depths of racial and class oppression, Mansart has no choice but to consider the connections between U.S. racism and the injustice experienced by groups outside the United States and the shortcomings of antiracist politics centered merely around racial integration. Du Bois writes, "[Mansart] began to have a conception of the world as one unified dwelling place. He was escaping from his racial provincialism. He began to think of himself as part of humanity and not simply as an American Negro over against the white world" (53).⁷⁹

Building on a similar dialectic as that conveyed in Du Bois's 1925 essay of the same name, *Worlds of Color* frames travel as a praxis that facilitates heightened, critical consciousness.⁸⁰ Travel is represented as ideological and political, never

neutral. It is depicted as always entrenched in viewing the world from positions of power and standpoints of dominance, exploitation, inequality, and resistance. Travel is also portrayed as a methodology for interrogating the structural forces and relations of power that organize different places and which shape travelers' particular preconceptions, perceptions, and assessments of these places. But travel is also depicted as capable of challenging the demand for national allegiance and instead inducing the birth of new cultural subjectivities and alternative forms of citizenship and community. "Travel becomes the other of [U.S.] expansionism," Kate Baldwin explains about both Du Bois's writings and political practice. As a mode of movement and trope for critical politics, Du Bois's concept of travel therefore encourages theorization and identification "across specific national borders as [means for] internationalist counters to Americanization."⁸¹

Alongside the conceptual importance of travel, the metaphor of color helps to differentiate and connect the distinct realities of racial and economic oppression that Mansart and Du Bignon encounter while abroad. The novel's first five chapters are titled "The American Negro's World," "The Color of England," "The Color of Europe," "The Color of Asia," and "Color in the West Indies." Within this chapter-by-chapter structure is a formation of the global landscape of empire, a shaping of the world and the relations forged by capitalist accumulation and white supremacy.

But even more important is that through this narrative arc, Du Bois tenders what James Clifford has identified as the "possibility of 'travelling East': an alternative 'root and route' of consciousness and subjectivity than that which characterizes dominant Western discourses of political modernity."⁸² *Worlds of Color* thus commences with each of the protagonists yearning to redefine their cultural citizenship, politics, and relationship to the world in terms and practices neither constricted nor bound by Western elitism, the reign of the marketplace, and white supremacy. Over the course of the novel, Mansart, Du Bignon, and other characters embark on their own personal long march, journeys metaphorically akin to that treaded by the CCP. As these characters become more radicalized in their political thought and criticisms of Euro-American imperialism, militarism, labor exploitation, and racial injustice, these same people also endure turmoil, harassment, and hardship. In the end they are not triumphant or revered within their society. These people are rather increasingly regulated, marginalized, and isolated by U.S. containment culture. Traveling east consequently embodies these characters' byways toward rethinking what it means to be black, American, and global citizens of a leftist ideological bent, as well as the struggles these people face due to their unwillingness to abide by America's racial, economic, and political status quo.⁸³

Throughout Mansart's international travel, each sojourn offers conflicting ideas and points of self-reflection, China most strikingly. There, he is astonished with the magnitude of Chinese people's historical struggle, which in his view easily displaces that of the Western world. This realization compels him to rethink "where the population of the world really centers." After admitting that "never before has a land so affected" him, he concludes: "China is inconceivable. . . . China . . . is incomprehensible." In this place he has "missed the whole meaning of a people." "Any attempt to explain the world without giving China a place of extraordinary prominence, is futile," he remarks. "Perhaps the riddle of the universe will be settled in China" (39).

At certain points, Mansart's descriptions replicate Western representations of China, particularly Europe's inscription of Asia as feminine. The cultural theorist Edward Said has detailed how Asia was represented in the European modern imagination as its contrasting image and spatiotemporal and ontological Other. Racist and demeaning images of Asia were frequently rendered through "metaphors of depth, secrecy, and sexual promise" that rationalized Europe's domination of Asia through the narrative of sexual encounter—the masculine West possessing the feminine East. "The Orient was routinely described as feminine, its riches as fertile, its main symbols the sensual woman, the harem and the despotic—but curiously attractive—ruler," Said wrote.⁸⁴ Mansart, to a lesser degree, frames China through such metaphors. The country is "pregnant with history," he states after arriving in Beijing, going on to describe China at later points through similar coded language (39).

But what also becomes clear is that the representation of China in this section of the novel is not aimed at supplanting Europe's demeaning representation of China with a more optimistic depiction, or with a narrative where China is easily integrated into black American internationalist understandings. It's rather the opposite. China helps bring into focus and trouble the standpoint and frameworks through which Mansart perceives and deciphers African American–Chinese cultural exchange and solidarity.

For one, Mansart's tentativeness in inscribing China with particular meanings—"China is inconceivable. . . . China . . . is incomprehensible"—enables him to aesthetically disarticulate imperialist travel narratives of discovery and objectivity, as well as the libidinal discourse of mastery and possession expressed in Said's formulation of Orientalism. In Mansart's commentary, China is depicted as incapable of being entirely grasped, comprehended, or inscribed. The epigraph by Du Bois articulates Mansart's view. He relates that "what little" Mansart knows about China is "mostly distortion," and admits that even "through that false fog" of Orientalist discourses Mansart sees "little even when he stood with open eyes" (42). Yet it is Mansart's willingness to

face his own blurred and impaired view and his acknowledgment of his short-sightedness that enable Mansart to take on what Édouard Glissant describes as a relational identity: an identity "linked not to a creation of the world but to the conscious and contradictory experience of contacts among cultures." Mansart's voyage demonstrates that to represent what travelers see, as well as what they didn't see and in fact how they see—through what dispositions—was always a selective, contradictory, and prohibitive enterprise. He consequently identifies China and other locations, in Glissant word's, "as a place where one gives-on-and-with rather than grasps."⁸⁵

These themes pervade Mansart's train ride through northern China.⁸⁶ As he travels in a U.S.-made Pullman railroad car from Moscow into Manchuria, Mansart's memories of labor, race relations, and technology are countered by newfangled encounters with Asia. On the train he is reminded of black porters who serve and cater to whites inside railroad cars in the United States. Mansart at that moment realizes that the train he is riding in is not segregated by race. He subsequently feels aware of "a new world," one where "color was nothing unusual" (39). His romanticism ties into the broader culture of mid-twentieth century Western reflections about train travel in communist China. Discussing Western travelers' descriptions of visits to China, the political scientist Paul Hollander notes that "the fascination with trains was especially noticeable among American travelers." For these travelers China's steam locomotives represented the introduction of modernity to a humble population not yet corrupted by the greed and selfishness of Western life. Chinese trains, Hollander concludes, were therefore viewed with "an almost pre-industrial nostalgia."⁸⁷ Be that as it may, Western evaluations of Chinese trains reinforced a Euro-American model of socioeconomic development, the notion being that the influx of Western technology and knowledge was modernizing Chinese people away from their pastoral history and toward economic and social progress.

Mansart, in contrast, does not value the train within the framework of Western development. It is not perceived as a mechanical device that will haul Chinese people into the future. Instead, the lure of the train resides in its subversion of racial hierarchy. In this confined physical space Mansart experiences egalitarianism nonexistent within his homeland, an encouraging treatment of racial difference that has not yet been made manifest within the United States. Cultural theorist Paul Gilroy has briefly pointed to "the chronotope of the train" in Du Bois's writings, explaining how it works as a figurative site for "the exploration of new territories and the cultural differences that exist between and within groups called races."⁸⁸ Mansart's experience definitely corresponds with this explanation, the train portrayed as taking on a racial hue and as a point for contemplation and cultural awareness. How Mansart experiences the

train then inverts, while not transcending, the fetishism of the train exhibited by Hollander's subjects. While Hollander asserts that foreigners perceive the train—that is, Western culture—as transporting China toward modernity, Mansart suggests that it is China that should be transporting the West.

This moment, however, illuminates the misperceptions and selective perceptions that encompass experiences of travel. Mansart's racial imaginary of the train ignores the presence of Japanese empire. While he champions the train as a space of racial egalitarianism, outside the train's windows sits Manchuria, a region of China incapacitated by Japanese imperialism and subject to a racial, class, and gender hierarchy that adversely impacts Chinese people.⁸⁹ In addition, Mansart seems to overstate the tolerance of the train environment. He, for example, says nothing about the other forms of segregation that were practiced and mapped onto Chinese passenger locomotives, such as how people's class background impacted what seats they could purchase and who they could interact with; class distinction could be discerned within the train's specific classes of seats: hard seat (*yíngzuo*) versus soft seat (*ruanzuo*), hard sleeper (*yíngwo*) versus soft sleeper (*ruanwo*). This is one instance in the novel where Eastern passage signifies the contradictions and misunderstandings of international travel and transnational affiliation.

Such symbolism continues in Manchuria. When Mansart's train enters a war-zone territory, the passengers are instructed to pull down the curtains on their windows or face punishment. Mansart complies with the order and for a period of time is prevented from viewing the terrain. It is odd that Mansart neither reflects nor says a great deal about this directive, his acquiescence, or his inability to view outside the train. "I wanted to look out," he remarks, however he tersely confirms: "I did not look out" (39). Here, Du Bois's aesthetic use of the train again contrasts with the descriptions of trains supplied by other Western travelers of that time. Hollander asserts that for many Western intellectuals, another novelty of Chinese trains were the windows, which offered travelers a view to observe China's agrarian countryside. "The poetic qualities of the countryside were especially hard to resist," he explains, where trains became means to witness the countryside's serenity and the evolution of "mellow landscapes, gentle people."⁹⁰ Du Bois's depiction of the train window undermines this structure. The window is depicted not as a site for seeing and gaining open access to truth or unmediated images of Chinese life but rather as a site of power and regulation. The window insulates and prohibits travelers from contact and perception of images and realities that might reveal inconsistency and flaw. The closing of the window curtains and Mansart's compliance in not looking encapsulate the ungraspable, regulated, and complicit features of many travel encounters.

Besides emphasizing the different techniques of state coercion and regulation present within his travel, this train scene showcases how Mansart's desire to locate racial connections makes him, at times, oblivious to cultural difference and to his own reductive tendencies. These themes resonate later in Shanghai, when Mansart witnesses a racist act against a group of Chinese children. Angry and astonished, Mansart challenges a group of Chinese businessmen and intellectuals to justify how such practices can occur without any recourse in a nation where Chinese outnumber foreigners. He alleges, "The whites here treat the Chinese just as we Negroes are treated in the Southern United States. . . . The white foreigners rule your city, force your children into separate schools and in general act as though they owned China and the Chinese. Why do you permit this?" The Chinese intellectuals provide clarity to his question. They respond that improving China's education system and abolishing racial and class discrimination cannot occur without first eliminating the influence and power of foreign capital. One man explains, "The chief difficulty is industrial. . . . That is a start. But of course only a beginning, so long as industry is monopolized by outsiders. They own the factories and ships" (41).

This discussion ultimately demonstrates to Mansart "how abysmally ignorant he was of China and her history" (40). But while this scene again reveals Mansart's (and Du Bois's) idealized figuration of China as a woman, it also offers a subtle lesson. Here, Mansart ashamedly becomes conscious of how he is transferring "the Negro Problem"—a narrative that he himself repudiates for its lack of nuance and compassion and its essentialist features—into the Chinese context. Du Bois writes of Mansart: "When he asked why they submitted to the West, there was a sensible pause. . . . Mansart remembered how often he had sat in similar quandary when well-meaning strangers had stripped his soul bare in public and blandly asked him why and how and what" (40). This comment brings to a mind the opening lines of *The Souls of Black Folk*, where Du Bois asserts: "Between me and the other world there is ever an unasked question. . . . How does it feel to be a problem? I answer seldom a word."⁹¹ In both of these statements, Du Bois dismisses conventional discourses of the "Negro Problem" as reductive. Therefore, to juxtapose Mansart's narrow understanding of China's struggles to these statements, what becomes clear is that Mansart's conversation with the Chinese intellectuals offers him a situation to become aware of and acknowledge his own reductionism, his own collapse into essentialism and Orientalism. By framing China's struggle simply through the U.S. narrative of civil rights and racial discrimination, Mansart downplays the complexity of China's political struggles and projects a limited understanding of imperialism and racial capitalism. The East may be black, but not through the paradigm that Mansart proposes.

In these encounters and exchanges, China is displayed as an object of Mansart's desire, his wish for transnational affiliation and mutuality. But Mansart's construction of internationalism is hindered by his reliance on a U.S. racial narrative—U.S. racial oppression and segregation remain at the center of his global imaginary. Chinese anti-imperialism consequently remains misconstrued and misperceived within his U.S.-centric scope, bound by the conceptual parameters of U.S. racial history. The two scenes—Mansart on the train and Mansart speaking with the intellectuals—thus work in tandem to demonstrate some of the ineluctable challenges of foreign travel and articulating transnational and transracial connection. In these sections, the inconsistencies of Mansart's (and potentially Du Bois's own) inscription of Chinese political struggle are subtly made evident. In so doing, Du Bois conveys the downside in flattening out the plurality of Euro-American imperialism and white supremacy—the drawbacks when it is constantly framed in unifying language, rather than as forces that operate unevenly in diverse contexts and disparate historical moments. Mansart therefore exhibits black-radical internationalism and Afro-Asian solidarity as, respectively, an ideology and political formation with serious limitations, whose potential can always be shortened by prohibitive strategies, coercion, and illusions, as well as by the national, racial, class, and gender subject positions and worldviews of its agents—traits that also undermined the Du Bois's evaluations of Chinese Communism during their 1959 trip.

Yet readers of *Worlds of Color* also obtain an example of how unpacking a national discourse within an international context and taking account of one's subject position (the processes, structures, and ideologies that have produced them as subjects) can illuminate important lessons about global hierarchies of power and multiaxial relations of inequality and domination. Mansart becomes self-aware of the poverty of his radical imagination. He discovers that compressing Chinese and African American political struggle into a unitary and identical historical narrative fails to consider and address the specificity of both black and Chinese people's lives and struggles. While the two histories should not be perceived as untouched and disconnected from other political movements and histories, it is nonetheless essential to pay close attention to their differences. In recognizing the error in his ways, Mansart is able to forgo what the feminist intellectual Chandra Talpade Mohanty describes as a "politics of transcendence"—that is, a universalist imaginary of anti-imperialist resistance. Instead, he opts for a "politics of engagement," one interested in building relations through acknowledgment of the boundaries and differences that both connect and distinguish struggles and people from one another.⁹² Here, Mansart discovers that similar to the U.S. black struggle, the complexity

and texture of Chinese subjugation and anti-imperialist activism cannot be absolutely summed up or translated, especially not in the simple terms and national discourses with which he understands U.S. social conflict and Euro-American empire. Consequently, in this moment Mansart enacts a symbolic identification with the Chinese intellectuals with whom he speaks, what Slavoj Žižek defines as when "we identify ourselves with the other precisely at a point at which he is inimitable, at the point which eludes resemblance."⁹³ From this standpoint, it is only when China and the imperial challenges and diverse oppressions that the country endures evade easy representation and imagining that Mansart identifies with the Chinese intellectuals in a meaningful way.⁹⁴

Worlds of Color consequently oscillates around a desire for union with the world and Afro-Asian solidarity, albeit on very different terms than Mansart's original aspirations. Toward the end of the novel, in a heated discussion, Mansart explains that when abroad he became more conscious of his national and racial subject position and the underlying frameworks that constitute it. This recognition enabled him to better identify how such ideology structured and occluded his comprehension of the complexity of non-American racialized subjects' struggles. "Not since I girdled the globe, not since I conceived of One World instead of increasing congeries of new peoples and nations, infinitely dividing and subdividing until nationalism becomes a virulent cancer that threatens to kill humanity," he explains, did "I realize that unity in variety is the true end of this world and also I can see that the world is ripe or ripening for such union" (210). "Unity in variety," Mansart's schematic formation of cross-cultural coalition, seems to infer a transhistorical model of cultural pluralism. But by the novel's endpoint the phrase embodies a network of interacting communities and peoples who are tied by difference and struggle against racial capitalism rather than by sameness and liberalism.⁹⁵

It is safe to assume that Du Bois's travel to China in 1959 provided him with similar visions, and hope that China's anti-imperialist project might dynamically shape the global landscape. China offered him a stirring example to prophesize the socialist transformation of the world and blacks' radicalization in opposition to Cold War liberalism and U.S. globalism. The Du Bois's returned to China in 1962 and again marveled about the developments altering the country. Graham Du Bois often remarked that her husband was reborn during these trips, his conviction in the possibilities of radical democracy reinvigorated. "Du Bois found truth in the People's Republic of China," she stated. "The light came out of the red sun rising in the east, and he saw that the world and all its abundance not only belongs to the people, but that the people shall claim and hold it for their own. Here in China was the proof!"⁹⁶

Graham Du Bois also found truth in this country of near 700 million peo-

ple. She went on to cultivate her own ties with the Chinese government and its project of global revolution throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Still, her and Du Bois's reflections and representations of their travel to China offer instructive entry to some of the challenges incurred by black radical travelers attempting to carve out racial solidarity and representations of China that countered its dominant portrayal in Western media and U.S. popular culture. Similar limitations were present in the articulations and representations of others who traveled and lived in China—they too influenced and at times blinded by their adamant rejection of America foreign policy and their positive impressions of Chinese communism and Third World internationalism. Like Du Bois, their criticisms of U.S. empire and fascination with decolonial, anti-imperialist movements were also laced with ideologies of gender and desires for Asian-African solidarity.

Even so, these issues don't outweigh the symbolic identifications that the Du Boises' journey to China stimulated. Days after Du Bois's death in August of 1963, Mao cabled his condolences. "Du Bois [is] a great man of our time," Mao remarked. "His deeds of heroic struggle for the liberation of the Negroes and the whole of mankind, his outstanding achievements in academic fields and his sincere friendship toward the Chinese people will forever remain in the memory of the Chinese people." Until Du Bois's dying day, a slender volume of Mao's poems remained at his bedside, a gift given by the chairman after their discussions in 1959. In the volume, one of Du Bois's favorite works bespoke a vision of Eastern passage and protracted struggle:

Soon the dawn will break in the east,
But do not say we are marching early.
Though we've travelled all over these green hills we are not old yet,
And the landscape here is beyond compare.
Straight from the walls of Huichang lofty peaks,
Range after range extend to the eastern ocean.
Our soldiers, pointing, gaze south towards Kwangtung,
So green, so luxuriant in the distance.⁹⁷



FIGURE 1.4: Du Bois and Mao in a garden, Lake Country, central China, April 1959. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries.

13. Kennan, "Moscow Embassy Telegram #511, February 22, 1946," 63. This posture was further stipulated in government memos, the most notable including Kennan's article, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct"; the State Department official Paul Nitze's national security policy paper NSC-68; and President Harry Truman's "Truman Doctrine."

14. Du Bois, *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois*, 388.

15. Von Eschen "Who's the Real Ambassador?," 112.

16. See Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 79–83.

17. Southern Democrats briefly seceded from Truman's liberal racial policies to form the Dixiecrats, a party that smeared civil rights activists and leftist radicals as communist collaborators and Soviet stooges. Simultaneously, African American war veterans returned to their homelands to be attacked and murdered by racist militias who accused them of being closeted subversives. Unions, such as the Congress of Industrial Organizations, purged from their ranks members accused or known to have communist or socialist ideological leanings. For more on containment culture's impact on black politics, see Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line*; Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*; Plummer, *Rising Wind*; Singh, *Black Is a Country*; and Von Eschen, *Race against Empire*.

18. Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line*, 66. In the aftermath, W. E. B. and Shirley Graham Du Bois, Paul and Eslanda Robeson, Josephine Baker, Claudia Jones, C. L. R. James, and W. Alphaeus Hunton, among others, were branded persona non grata and saw their international activism and mobility curtailed. See Davies, *Left of Marx*; Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 61–78; Horne, *Black and Red*; Ransby, *Eslanda*; and Von Eschen, *Race against Empire*.

19. Hero, "American Negroes and U.S. Foreign Policy," 12.

20. On U.S. "Yellow Peril" discourse, see Hamamoto, *Monitored Peril*; R. Lee, *Orientalism*; E. Lee, *At America's Gates*; Xing, *Asian America through the Lens*; and Yoshihara, *Embracing the East*.

21. "Ike Charges Treason in Coddling of Reds," *New York Daily News*, October 4, 1952; and U.S. Department of State, "Memorandum of Discussion of the 237th Meeting of the National Security Council."

22. See Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line*, 81.

23. In 1950 the *Chicago Defender* editor Lucius Harper acknowledged that the Chinese communists were the far more favorable choice in leading China's population. The U.S. government's support of the GMD, he explained, demonstrated its "fear of the spread of Communism" and willingness to go "to the rescue of a government against the best interests of the people." Newspaper readers of the *Afro-American* also criticized the country's closed-door policy toward China. While one person condemned the State Department for keeping "the door to China closed too long to the detriment of American people," another rationalized that the American government could not "ignore Communist China like a headache that will go away if we don't talk about it." "China was never ours to lose," another person commented. "What we did destroy was the friendship of the Chinese people by the arrogant attitude of our diplomats and businessmen on the color question. We are making the same mistake in our disdainful 'white is right' approach."

Lastly, the writer James Baldwin, though no fan of communism, reasoned that China's opposition to the United States was a consequence of Western domination of Asia. "There's no point in being offended at their [China's] lack of generosity in wishing to impose their image of the world on the world," he wrote to his editor in 1956. "This is precisely what Europe did to them and, as far as they are concerned, this is almost the entire history of European civilization." Lucius Harper, "Some Sidelights on the Korean War," *Chicago Defender*, August 5, 1950; "What AFRO Readers Say," *Baltimore Afro-American*, January 19, 1957, 4; "What AFRO Readers Say," *Baltimore Afro-American*, January 1, 1957, 4; "What Afro Readers Say," *Washington Afro-American*, December 7, 1954, 4; Baldwin and Stein, *Native Sons*, 100–101.

24. Ransby, *Eslanda*, 197–201.

25. Hughes, "Consider Me."

1. RUMINATIONS ON EASTERN PASSAGE

1. See Wu C., *Journey to the West and Monkey Nobel of China*.

2. Strong and Keyssar, *Right in Her Soul*, 322.

3. Ironically, the figure of the monkey is venerated in both Chinese and African American historical traditions. Within Chinese mythology and customs, Hou, the monkey, is known as a saintly deity and practical joker, representing the ninth creature in the zodiac system. In African American folklore, the signifying monkey is a trickster figure whose origins lie in Yoruba mythology and the deity of Eshu Elegbara, messenger of the gods, protector of travelers, and most importantly the divine mediator who dwells at the crossroads.

4. Du Bois, *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois*, 49; Du Bois, "The Vast Miracle of China Today," 191.

5. Du Bois, "The Vast Miracle of China Today," 190.

6. Graham Du Bois, *His Day Is Marching On*, 278.

7. The historian Gerald Horne also points to the trip's impact on Graham Du Bois's feminist outlook. See Horne, *Race Woman*, 160.

8. Graham Du Bois, *His Day Is Marching On*, 294.

9. Graham Du Bois, "China's Expansions Make It 'The Land of Tomorrow,'" *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 11, 1959, B2.

10. Porter, *The Problem of the Future World*, 4–5. Notwithstanding the differences between Porter's and my reading of Du Bois's outreach to China, Porter's final chapter is intriguing and rich. Two useful concepts he employs are Julianne Malveaux and Regina Green's argument about "the paradox of loyalty" and M. Jacqui Alexander's category of the "suspect citizen." For Porter they help to describe Du Bois's mediated responses to the political alienation he experienced among U.S. political circles as a result of 1950s Cold War anticommunism. Positioned as a "suspect citizen"—a person whose citizenship and nationality were deemed to warrant doubt and coercive regulation—Du Bois perceived how black liberals' pursuit of racial democracy was

predicated on their abandonment of an explicit anticolonial and anti-imperialist position and their support of U.S. foreign policy. Porter explains that within this context Du Bois realized that blacks were faced with a “paradox of loyalty”—the ways membership in the nation-state demanded their consent and participation in U.S. global hegemony. For Porter, “these restrictive aspects of national citizenship” best frame the simultaneous processes of inclusion and exclusion through which black people are incorporated into the nation and implicated in projects of U.S. empire. See Porter, *The Problem of the Future World*, 147–48, 166.

11. There has only been modest contemplation of Du Bois's fascination with Chinese communism. The literary historian Bill Mullen has pointed to the novel *Dark Princess* (1928) as a central Du Boisian text that proposes the union of Pan-African and Pan-Asian anticolonial political sensibilities. While *Dark Princess* provides a productive vantage point to unpack Du Bois's interwar contentions about Afro-Asian internationalism, in the context of the Cold War, the novel's revelations are limited. Considering that it was published more than three decades before Du Bois's death in 1963 illuminates that *Dark Princess* did not fully correspond to the scholarly giant's outlook during his later years. See Mullen, “Du Bois, *Dark Princess*, and the Afro-Asian International”; also see Mullen, *Afro-Orientalism*, 1–42. In addition, Du Bois's thought and activism has also received attention in Chinese scholarship. See Juguo, “Du Bois' Quest for Solution to the American 'Negro Problem'”, “The Thought of William E. B. Du Bois in Comparison with Booker T. Washington,” and “W. E. B. Du Bois and the Pan-African Movement”; Xiaoyang and Yanhong, “On W.E.B. Du Bois's 'Double-Consciousness' and Its Influence on Black American Literature.”

12. The Council on African Affairs advocated immediate decolonization of African colonies and opposition to Western corporations' exploitation of colonial nations' natural resources. The Peace Information Center on the other hand was devoted to petitioning governments, most specifically the United States, to cease development of nuclear weapons and take an explicit foreign policy against using such weaponry. By the fall of 1950, financial constraints and governmental pressure led the Peace Information Center to be dissolved. Similarly, the Council on African Affairs disbanded in 1955 after having spent two years defending itself against similar federal charges of subversion. See Porter, *The Problem of the Future World*, 157–61; Von Eschen, *Race against Empire*.

13. Du Bois, *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois*, 369.

14. Du Bois, *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois*, 393, 370.

15. Du Bois, *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois*, 393, 395

16. Du Bois, “The American Negro in My Time,” in Du Bois and Aptheker, *Writings by W.E.B. Du Bois in Periodicals Edited by Others*, 194–95 (originally published in *United Asia* [Bombay], March 5, 1953, 155–59).

17. Du Bois, “Socialism and Democracy,” in Du Bois and Aptheker, *Writings by W.E.B. Du Bois in Periodicals Edited by Others*, 278 (originally published in *American Socialist*, January 1957, 6–9).

18. Horne, *Race Woman*, 145–49.

19. Interview of David Graham Du Bois, National Visionary Leadership Project interviews and conference collection (AFC 2004/007), Archive of Folk Culture, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (the interview can also be viewed at: <http://www.visionaryproject.org/duboisdavid>).

20. Horne, *Race Woman*, 123.

21. Du Bois, *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois*, 11.

22. Graham Du Bois, *His Day Is Marching On*, 276.

23. David Graham Du Bois remarked that the people he met rarely exhibited overt racial discrimination or prejudice toward him; however, one encounter stood out. A young Chinese girl gasped when she saw him, appalled at his skin color. Immediately, a superior slapped the child and chastised her. In all probability, the adult deemed the girl's reaction an embarrassment, her gasp disrespectful to a state guest. “Apparently she had never seen anything that looked like me,” Graham Du Bois revealed. “I felt sorry for the child.” But according to Graham Du Bois, this one occurrence was the exception; at no other point during his time in China did he feel that his skin-color was an issue. Impressed with the social developments he witnessed, Graham Du Bois returned to the United States more firmly committed to the project of building communism stateside. Of the trip, he commented: “It was an extraordinary opportunity and it had an enormous impact on me and on my life and on my subsequent years.” See Interview of David Graham Du Bois, National Visionary Leadership Project (see endnote 20).

24. Du Bois, *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois*, 45.

25. Du Bois, untitled article, *The Crisis* 35 (February 1928): 39.

26. Du Bois, “The Winds of Time: Christmas Contrasts,” *Chicago Defender*, December 29, 1945, 13.

27. Du Bois, “The Winds of Time: Conference on China,” *Chicago Defender*, January 10, 1948, 15.

28. Du Bois, “Colonialism and the Russian Revolution,” in Du Bois and Aptheker, *Writings by W.E.B. Du Bois in Periodicals Edited by Others*, 277 (originally published in *New World Review*, November 1956, 18–21).

29. Du Bois, “Normal U.S.-China Relations,” in Du Bois and Aptheker, *Writings by W.E.B. Du Bois in Periodicals Edited by Other*, 223 (originally published in *New World Review*, August 1954, 13–15); Du Bois, “The Winds of Time: the Future of the Colonies,” *Chicago Defender*, May 19, 1945.

30. Du Bois, *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois*, 47.

31. Du Bois, *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois*, 47.

32. Du Bois, “Normal U.S.-China Relations,” in Du Bois and Aptheker, *Writings by W.E.B. Du Bois in Periodicals Edited by Other*, 222–23.

33. Du Bois, “China and Africa.” This work is also found in Du Bois, *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois*, 405–8.

34. Du Bois, *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois*, 406. Du Bois's rhetoric (“Africa does not ask alms from China. . . . It asks friendship and sympathy”) intersected with Chinese foreign policy discourse. “Friendship projects” were a central component of Cold

War Sino-African relations, particularly Chinese-financed and -constructed infrastructure projects in Africa. "Friendship roads, friendship ports and friendship buildings sprang up all over the continent," one historian notes. See P. Snow, *The Star Raft*, 166; also see Monson, *Africa's Freedom Railway*, 26–29.

35. Mao, "The Situation in the Summer of 1957 (July 1957)," 482.

36. Dirlik, *Marxism in the Chinese Revolution*, 78. Also see Elbaum, "What Legacy from the Radical Internationalism of 1968?"

37. Du Bois, *Black Folk*, 383.

38. Du Bois, "Africa and Afro-America," in Du Bois and Aptheker, *Writings by W.E.B. Du Bois in Periodicals Edited by Others*, 220 (emphasis added; originally published in the *Spotlight on Africa: Newsletter from the Council on African Affairs* in 1956).

39. Du Bois, "The Bandung Conference," in Du Bois and Aptheker, *Writings by W.E.B. Du Bois in Periodicals Edited by Others*, 236; Du Bois, "Pan-Colored," in Du Bois and Aptheker, *Writings by W.E.B. Du Bois in Periodicals Edited by Others*, 225 (originally published in *Spotlight on Africa*, January 1955).

40. See Cooppan, "Moving on Down the Line," 36. Regarding Du Bois's fondness for comparative examples, Paul Gilroy notes that Du Bois throughout his life "moved beyond simply using European history to generate comparative examples. . . . Instead of this one-way traffic, a systematic account of the interconnections between Africa, Europe, and the Americas emerged." Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, 121.

41. Shinn and Eisenman, *China and Africa*, 64.

42. There has been wide debate over the number of deaths caused by the GLF. Some scholars defend them. Others argue that they are too high and not reflective of reality but rather the social construction of famine as a discourse and the anti-Maoist ideological outlook of the intellectual field. For the former view, see Chang and Halliday, *Mao*; Y. Chen, "When Food Became Scarce"; Dikötter, *Mao's Great Famine*; Hershat, *The Gender of Memory*; Thaxton, *Catastrophe and Contention in Rural China*; and Yang, *Tombstone*. For the latter view, see Gao, *The Battle for China's Past*; and Patnaik, "On Famine and Measuring 'Famine Deaths.'"

43. See MacFarquhar, *The Hundred Flowers and the Chinese Intellectual*.

44. For more on the expatriate community's participation in this culture of disinformation, see Brady, *Making the Foreign Serve China*, 117–20.

45. Du Bois, *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois*, 49.

46. Graham Du Bois, *His Day Is Marching On*, 293.

47. Du Bois, *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois*, 50, 47.

48. Du Bois, *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois*, 45, 50, 53.

49. Du Bois, *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois*, 44, 51 (emphasis added).

50. Steve Estes explains the primacy of masculinism in the dominant ideology and rhetoric of the Civil Rights Movement: "Masculine rhetoric uses the traditional power wielded by men to woo supporters and attack opponents. It rallies supporters to a cause by urging them to be manly or to support traditional ideas of manhood. It challenges opponents by feminizing them, and therefore linking them to weakness. When political

leaders harness the power of masculinism to forward their agendas, they often simplify complex issues into binary oppositions, placing themselves and their allies in the dominant position." Estes, *I Am a Man!*, 7–8.

51. Du Bois, *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois*, 48, 52.

52. For more on this, see Carby, *Race Men*; and Gillman and Weinbaum, *Next to the Color Line*.

53. Lee and Stefanowska, *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women*, 302–3. Also see Sheridan, *Chinese Warlord*.

54. Lee and Stefanowska, *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women*, 450–55.

55. Graham Du Bois, *His Day Is Marching On*, 279; this quote is also found in Graham Du Bois, "China's Expansions Make It 'The Land of Tomorrow.'"

56. Graham Du Bois, "China's Expansions Make It 'The Land of Tomorrow.'"

57. Graham Du Bois, *His Day Is Marching On*, 287.

58. Graham Du Bois spells Bei Guangli's name as "Pei Kwang-li," which is the Wade Giles spelling of this particular name. Bei was clearly a top tour guide used by the Chinese government. The Swedish leftist and writer Jan Myrdal (son of the economist Gunnar Myrdal) mentioned being guided around by Bei during a 1962 trip to China. See Myrdal, *Report from a Chinese Village*, 35.

59. Graham Du Bois, *His Day Is Marching On*, 295.

60. For more on Tang Mingzhao, see Renqiu, *To Save China, to Save Ourselves*, 192; Haiming, *The Transnational History of a Chinese Family*, 197–98; Ji, *The Man on Mao's Right*, 35–36.

61. When Graham Du Bois refers to these different people, their names are spelled with Wade Giles spelling: Ding Xilin is "Ting His-lin"; Zhu Boshen is "Chu Po-shen"; Bei Guangli is "Pei Kwang-li"; and Wang Huifang is "Wong Huei-fang." See Graham Du Bois, *His Day Is Marching On*, 282.

62. On China's practices of managing foreigners' travels, what Hollander refers to as governmental "techniques of hospitality," see Brady, *Making the Foreign Serve China*, 94–136; Hollander, *Political Pilgrims*, 278–499.

63. Brady, *Making the Foreign Serve China*, 94.

64. Hollander, *Political Pilgrims*, 372, 355.

65. Chen J., *Mao's China and the Cold War*, 11.

66. Emmanuel John Hevi, a Ghanaian student who studied in China from 1960 to 1962, detailed the process through which the PRC preselected Chinese citizens to participate in these tours and in rallies and ceremonies championing foreign movements. He wrote, "I have since witnessed several other similar rallies, and, what is more, I have learnt how they are organized. The Party orders that it wants fifty, seventy or a hundred thousand persons to attend such-and-such a rally; and the heads of street committees, factories and other establishments select the people who are to attend. When you are selected, attendance is compulsory, but when you are not selected you have no right to attend. Each group of participants is under an individual who alone is authorized to act as slogan-leader, the slogans being approved by the Party for the occasion. . . . At the

rally you watch your group leader and applaud when he does, shout when he does. In the whole show there is not a single trace of spontaneity which should mark the public demonstration of people who, moved by a common sentiment into words and action rally together to put that sentiment into words and action." Hevi, *An African Student in China*, 160–61.

67. Graham Du Bois, *His Day Is Marching On*, 282.

68. See Knaus, *Orphans of the Cold War*.

69. For more on the Tibetan rebellion of 1959, see Chen J., "The Tibetan Rebellion of 1959 and China's Changing Relations with India and the Soviet Union"; Conboy and Morrison, *The CIA's Secret War in Tibet*.

70. See Graham Du Bois, *His Day Is Marching On*, 289; Du Bois, *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois*, 48.

71. Du Bois, "Let Us Have Freedom in America," in Du Bois and Aptheker, *Writings by W.E.B. Du Bois in Periodicals Edited by Others*, 317 (originally published in *Worker* [New York], March 6, 1960, 8, 9, 11); Du Bois, *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois*, 51, 53 (emphasis added). Du Bois also discussed his China travels in the essay "Our Visit to China," *China Pictorial*, March 20, 1959.

72. Graham Du Bois, *His Day Is Marching On*, 276 (emphasis added).

73. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 198, 228, 200–201.

74. Nudelman, "Trip to Hanoi: Antiwar Travel and International Consciousness," 241.

75. Du Bois, *Color and Democracy*, 540.

76. See Sanders, "Afterword: The Black Flame Then and Now," 249.

77. Quite a number of people have detailed the stylistic innovations of Du Bois's writing, particularly how he blended various genres of writing and forms of cultural composition—personal and public history, fiction, poetic verse, autobiography, musical composition, sociology, and ethnography. Such methods, according to Paul Gilroy, worked to interpellate the reader into "different registers of address" and "the intensity of feeling" that "exploration of racialized experience demanded." Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, 115.

78. Du Bois, *Worlds of Color*, 23. Subsequent citations to pages in *Worlds of Color* will appear in the text.

79. In *Worlds of Color*, Du Bignon has a conversation with one of her colleagues where her peer rejects the view that African Americans must align their political strivings with anticolonial movements abroad. "Our problem is simpler. We want to be Americans," the colleague states, reinforcing the idea of antiracist struggle as primarily concerned with black American access to the benefits of U.S. citizenship. Du Bignon, however, shoots this proposal down. "No. Becoming Americans does not mean automatic settlement of our problems. It means sharing the problems of Americans," she states. "We must emerge into the greater world before we become Americans." Du Bois, *Worlds of Color*, 66.

80. Du Bois's essay "Worlds of Color" was first published in the journal *Foreign Affairs* in 1925 and revised that same year for Alain Locke's landmark anthology, *The New Negro*. The essay details Du Bois's travels to the Iberian Peninsula and several West African countries and his participation in several Pan-African Congresses. But more sig-

nificantly, the essay unpacks the shifts in Western imperialism in the years following World War I that have helped produce a colonial class of civil servants and colonized elites and a growing colonial intellectual and worker-led anti-imperialist movement. Brent Hayes Edwards notes that in both Du Bois's essay and the novel *Worlds of Color*, Du Bois "pushes towards a 'planetary' perspective" that "revises the 'color line' in terms of global imperialism and class dynamics." The novel, Edwards concludes, therefore simultaneously operates as a formal dialectic "after-thought" to the article and a fictionalized characterization of Du Bois's "last 'romance' with internationalism." Edwards, "Late Romance," 128–29.

81. K. Baldwin, *Beyond the Color Line and the Iron Curtain*, 162, 163.

82. Clifford, *Routes*, 5.

83. "The East" as a trope for the radicalization of a person's thought and politics is echoed throughout the novel. At the tail end of Mansart's journey, he leaves Asia and sails "east into the sunset again to discover America, in his own thought and through the thinking and doing of other folk." Later, it is this idea that a Brit imparts to Mansart's grandson: "The center of the world is undoubtedly moving East. We must move with it—in thought certainly, if not body." Du Bois, *Worlds of Color*, 43, 189.

84. Said, *Orientalism*, 222; Said, "Orientalism Reconsidered," 103.

85. Glissant, *Poetics of Relation*, 142.

86. This section of the novel is composed from Du Bois's editorials in the *Pittsburgh Courier* that documented his train ride from the Soviet Union into China during the winter months of 1936, and "Yellow Sea," an essay that he authored after this 1936 trip to China. See Du Bois, "Forum, Fact and Opinion: Moscow to Lake Baikal," *Pittsburgh Courier*, January 23, 1937, 11; and Du Bois, "Forum, Fact and Opinion: Manchuria," *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 6, 1937, 6.

87. Hollander, *Political Pilgrims*, 310.

88. Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, 133.

89. Referencing Du Bois's 1936 train ride through northern China, David Levering Lewis agrees that Du Bois's assessment of the train bleeds of "racial romanticism." See Lewis, *W.E.B. Du Bois*, 604.

90. Hollander, *Political Pilgrims*, 311.

91. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 37.

92. Mohanty, "Feminist Encounters," 84, 89.

93. Žižek juxtaposes "symbolic identification" with "imaginary identification," the latter of which he describes as the problematic attempt to identify with the Other through discourses and claims of imitation and resemblance. Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology*, 109.

94. Mansart's conversation with the Chinese intellectuals was most likely based on discussions Du Bois participated in during his own 1936 travel to China. At the Chinese Bankers' Club, Du Bois spoke with a group of intellectuals and business professionals, discussions that he described in subsequent accounts as "a most illuminating conversation." The group mostly talked about how China planned to get from under the yolk

and “spell of Europe.” What Du Bois identified as a transformative moment though came when he specifically questioned them about their hatred for Japan. Revisiting the conversation in later decades, Du Bois took account of the narrowness of his question and his knowledge of China. Recalling the dialogue twenty-five years later, he commented: “We talked three hours but it was nearly a quarter of a century before I realized how much we did not say.” Du Bois, “Normal U.S.-China Relations,” in Du Bois and Aptheker, *Writings by W.E.B. Du Bois in Periodicals Edited by Other*, 222; Du Bois, *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois*, 46. Lewis also describes this discussion, noting similar contradictions within Du Bois’s questions: “Their presumptuous guest had turned a blind eye to the bitter paradox that just as China was regaining a modicum of political cohesion and instituted economic reforms, the Japanese had trumped the British as masters of gunboat imperialism.” Lewis, *W.E.B. Du Bois*, 606. Du Bois, in his later years, clearly regretted his failure to acknowledge the depths of Japanese aggression and repression in China. According to Sidney Rittenberg (a U.S. Marxist, former China expatriate, and CCP insider), when Du Bois visited China in 1959, at a small gathering hosted by Premier Zhou Enlai, Du Bois began the event by apologizing for his decades-earlier support for Japan. “The last time I was in China I supported the Japanese, because I mistakenly thought the Japanese were going to rally the Asian peoples against imperialism,” Du Bois remarked. “I was wrong.” Rittenberg recounted, “The Chinese there really appreciated that.” Author phone interview with Sidney Rittenberg, August 15, 2013.

95. This ultimately takes shape within Mansart’s lineage, through the love affair and romantic relationship between his grandson Adelbert Mansart and the Vietnamese revolutionary Dao Thu. Dao represents Du Bois’s attempt to rework what Edward Said describes as Orientalism’s patriarchal “sexual promise”—she embodies the defender of the East, a figure of Asian revolutionary freedom fighting that counters Du Bois’s frequent masculinist depiction of Chinese Communism but that also conveys his continued reliance on a male-female, heterosexual framework of internationalism. Adelbert and Dao’s lives become intertwined when he helps her evade French authorities after she murders a Vietnamese official who is working in cahoots with the French government to repeal Vietnam’s independence. Falling in love with Dao, Adelbert accepts when Dao’s comrades beseech him to take an unusual assignment. Like Sun Wukong the Monkey King, Adelbert is charged with the mission of accompanying Dao Thu on her return journey to Vietnam. However, to do so Adelbert has to surrender his U.S. citizenship and be commissioned as a French colonial official so that he and Dao can travel through Africa under the auspices of French diplomacy. In Adelbert and Dao’s marriage, future offspring, and impending residence in Ghana—the country in which the Du Boises also went into exile—Du Bois again charts a path toward the dream and hope of socialism, anti-imperialism and racial equality. Together, Adelbert and Dao embody “the rising east,” Du Bois’ proposal of Asian-African kinship and alliance. Moreover, this time it is Africa that supplies the possibility of traveling east. Dao’s comrades advise the newly engaged couple: “Perhaps the shortest way to Vietnam and to Indonesia and China is through Africa.” Du Bois, *Worlds of Color*, 205.

96. “Peking Meeting Commemorates Centennial of Birth of Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois,” *Peking Review*, March 1, 1968, 26–27. Graham Du Bois would go on to establish an ongoing relationship with the Chinese government, periodically visiting and taking residence there until her own death in 1976. For more on her relationship with China after Du Bois’s death, see Horne, *Race Woman*, 223–38, 258–62.

97. “Peking Meeting Commemorates Centennial of Birth of Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois.” Also see Graham Du Bois, *His Day Is Marching On*, 286; and Young and Green, “Harbinger to Nixon,” 125–28.

2. A PASSPORT AIN’T WORTH A CENT

1. §6, 65 Stat. 993, codified at 50 USC. § 785 and Passports Miscellaneous Amendments, 21 Fed. Reg. 336 (Jan. 17, 1956) (amending 22 C.F.R. § 51.136).

2. See Jaffe, “The Right to Travel,” 17–28; and Kahn, “International Travel and the U.S. Constitution.”

3. Worthy’s activism has not received comprehensive analysis in academic scholarship. The works that devote some attention to him include Broussard, *African American Foreign Correspondents*, 156–83; Broussard and Cooley, “William Worthy, Jr.”; P. Joseph, *Waiting ‘til the Midnight Hour*, 45–51; and Phillips, “‘Did the Battlefield Kill Jim Crow?’” 154, 163–65, 197.

4. William Worthy, “Dr. Du Bois Back,” *Baltimore Afro-American*, July 7, 1959, 10.

5. William Worthy, “Racial Arrogance Gave Birth to Red China: Worthy Looks at ‘Color’ in China,” *Washington Afro-American*, January 29, 1957, 6 (also published in *Baltimore Afro-American*, February 2, 1957, 1, 2).

6. See “Bill Worthy’s Mother Dies,” *Baltimore Afro-American*, September 15, 1956, 5; “Dr. William Worthy, Sr. Obituary,” *Journal of the National Medical Association* 46, no. 5 (September 1954): 370; Fox, *The Guardian of Boston*, 266; Worthy Sr., “Retirement of Dr. William Augustus Hinton”; and Worthy Sr., *The Story of the Two First Colored Nurses to Train in the Boston City Hospital*.

7. See Alfred Friendly Jr., “Chips on His Shoulders,” *Harvard Crimson*, April 19, 1957, <http://www.thecrimson.com>, accessed March 11, 2011; Jensen, “William Worthy, ‘42’”; and Jonathan J. Ledecy, “A Man Worth Heeding,” *Harvard Crimson*, April 28, 1977, <http://www.thecrimson.com>, accessed March 11, 2011.

8. The historian Chen Jian has challenged the dominant historical assessment of China’s reasons for entering the Korean crisis. Previous historians, most notably Allen S. Whiting’s *China Crosses the Yalu* (1960), argued that China’s primary purpose in entering the fray was to ensure the safety of the Chinese-Korean border from the imminent threat of U.S. incursion and influence. Chen, on the other hand, employing Chinese documents and archives unavailable to Whiting and other scholars, supplies a counter-narrative. He explains that China’s entry into the Korean War was determined by more-complicated factors than just protecting China’s security interests. Of vital importance to China’s leadership was their belief that securing the war’s outcome in favor of North