GPO FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : [redacted]

DATE: November 17, 1961

FROM : [redacted]

SUBJECT: WILLIAM E. B. DU BOIS
SECURITY MATTER - C

SECRET

Subject is a 93-year-old Negro anthropologist, author and educator whose name is included in the Security Index. DuBois, who has had long history of association with communist front groups [redacted] (S)

BACKGROUND:

DuBois was born February 23, 1868, in Massachusetts, was educated at Fisk and Harvard Universities, receiving a Doctor of Philosophy degree from Harvard in 1895. He was co-founder in 1909 of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and was also founder of the Pan-African Congress. In 1934 he resigned his position as editor of the NAACP publication "Crisis" and ceased his activities with that organization. In his later years he associated with many communist front groups; he has testified that he has been associated with the Council on African Affairs, the American Peace Crusade, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, all of which have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450. He was awarded in 1959 an International Lenin Peace Prize for 1958 by the Soviet Union at which time he was quoted in an article in the May 4, 1959, issue of "The New York Times" as stating "I have never been a member of the Communist Party...but I think communism is the best system for all countries after this trip...." (U)

Enclosures (2)

[redacted] (10)

SECRET

REC-105 100-97929-191

Previous released submitted classification determination NOV 27 1961

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP-3 [redacted]

REASON FOR EXTENSION FOIM, II, 1-2.4.2

DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 11-17-81

DuBois 639

Memorandum for [redacted]
Re: WILLIAM E. B. DU BOIS

SECRET

DuBois is considered by many as the father of "Pan-Africanism" and is held in high regard by many Africans. He attended the inauguration of the new Government of Ghana in 1960 as an official guest of President Kwame Nkrumah. Also during 1960 he was invited to attend the inauguration of the first Government of Nigeria as a guest of the Nigerian Government. He is presently visiting Ghana having arrived October 11, 1961, where he is engaged in the preparation and publication of an Encyclopedia Africana, a study of Africa's peoples and history and culture, the plan of which was originally conceived by him in 1909.

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

SECRET

DUBOIS 640

[redacted]

November 20, 1961

DR. WILLIAM E. B. DU BOIS

Dr. DuBois, a well-known Negro anthropologist, author, and scholar, has for many years been wooed by the Communist Party (CP), USA, and now, it appears, he has been won.

It has been reliably learned that Dr. DuBois, who is now 93 years of age, has applied for membership in the CP. The CP has traded on DuBois' reputation as a scholar and the regard with which he is held, particularly in the African nations, for many years and has used him in connection with some of their front groups, such as the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, and the Council on African Affairs. So important have they considered DuBois to the communist cause, that the East German Government awarded him the East German Peace Medal in November, 1958, and the USSR conferred an International Lenin Peace Prize, for 1958 on him. The International Lenin Peace Prize, which at one time was known as the Stalin Peace Prize, had been previously awarded only to two Americans--Paul Robeson, the well-known Negro singer and communist apologist, and Howard Fast, former CPUSA member who publicly resigned from the Party in February, 1957. It is interesting to note that one of the corecipients with Dr. DuBois of the International Lenin Peace Prize for 1958 was Nikita Khrushchev.

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/28/81 BY SP

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Malone
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Ingram
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

100-191

191

OSI

DUBois
6-41

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO [redacted]

DATE: November 21, 1961

FROM [redacted]

SUBJECT: WILLIAM E. B. DU BOIS
SECURITY MATTER - C

Subject, who is in Security Index, is 93-year-old Negro anthropologist, author, and educator, who has had long history of association with communist front groups. [redacted] Attached is an article by Lester Abelman which appeared in the "New York Daily News" on Sunday, November 19, 1961, which reports that DuBois has finally formally applied for CP membership at the age of 93 after years of association with them and their front groups. It also emphasized the fact that the communists have been using DuBois for their own ends, both here and abroad.

OBSERVATIONS:

In view of the esteem in which DuBois is held in the African nations, it is believed that the announcement of his proposed CP membership will have a far greater impact in the African countries than it will in the United States where his close CP association is well known. [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/28/80 BY SM

100-99729-193

NOV 27 1961

DUBois 642

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

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

__1__ Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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

Section 552		Section 552a
☐ (b)(1)	☐ (b)(7)(A)	☐ (d)(5)
☐ (b)(2)	☐ (b)(7)(B)	☐ (j)(2)
☐ (b)(3)	☐ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(D)	☐ (k)(2)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(E)	☐ (k)(3)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(F)	☐ (k)(4)
☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☐ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☒ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

_____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): _____

_____

☐ For your information: _____

_____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-99729 - 192

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

FBI/DOJ

DuBois, Long Red Pal, Goes Whole Hog at 93

By LESTER ABELMAN

At the age of 93, William E. B. DuBois, author, educator and anthropologist who has publicly waved the Red flag during a large part of his long life, has finally applied formally for membership in the American Communist Party, THE NEWS learned exclusively yesterday.

The aged but still spry DuBois, a prime mover in Communist-front causes in this country for many years, forwarded his application from Ghana, a choice African target in the ideological war between the Soviet bloc and the free nations of the West.

This disclosure will doubtless be a bitter disappointment to American Reds, whose officials expected to make a potent propaganda bash sometime next week at a press conference announcing the application and, without doubt, its acceptance. In his declining years, DuBois will finally have his card.

Often Honored by Reds

A frequent recipient of honors and awards from world Reds, DuBois has been in Ghana, with a side trip to Nigeria, since Oct. 11. He has been studying and solidifying his thoughts on African culture for his projected Encyclopedia Africana. He is considered the father of Pan Africanism.

DuBois, who openly admitted to Congressional probers his allegiance to various Red-front groups, attended Fisk University, received his PhD. from Harvard in 1895 and studied at the University of Berlin.

He was one of the founders, in 1910, of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People and edited its organ, "The Crisis," for 24 years. He fell out with the organization in 1934 but subsequently served as its director of special research. In 1948 the NAACP booted him out of that post.

An Active Participant

DuBois has been an active participant in any number of outfits pinpointed as Communist and subversive by the Attorney General, including the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship and the American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born.

W. E. B. DuBois
Finally gets his card

In 1949, he served as co-chairman of the American delegation to the Communist-backed World Peace Congress in Paris. He received the 1958 International Lenin Peace Prize of $35,000 in Moscow. A co-recipient was Premier Khrushchev.

When DuBois returned home in 1959 with his new honor, he said: "I have never been a member of the Communist Party but I think Communism is the best system for all countries after this trip."

Honored in China, Too

In 1959, too, he visited Red China and on his birthday, Feb. 23, was tendered a lavish party which Premier Chou En-lai attended.

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Evans	
Mr. Malone	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Ingram	
Miss Gandy	

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/28/80 BY SP-1

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS
Page 8
November 19, 1961

100 99787-193

ENCLOSURE

DUBOIS 643

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

FBI

Date: 11/22/61

Transmit the following in PLAIN
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-99729)
ATT: [redacted]
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK
SUBJECT: WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT DU BOIS
~~SM-C~~
(00:NY)

ReNYairtel to Bu, 11/20/61.

There are transmitted herewith four copies of article concerning Dr. W. E. B. DU BOIS published in "NY DAILY NEWS", 11/23/61.

[redacted]

3 - Bureau (100-99729) (Encl. 4) (RM)
1 - NY [redacted]

3 ENCLOSURE

100-99729-194

17 NOV 29 1961

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/28/80 BY SP1 [redacted]

F. W. W. [redacted]
ERROR LETTER SENT 11/29/61

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

57 DEC 4 - 1961

DUBOIS 644

CLIPPING FROM THE

N.Y. Daily News

EDITION Final

DATED 11/23/61

PAGE 34

FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION

Editor: Richard W. Clark

re: Dr. W.E.B. DuBois

Reds Confirm DuBois Story

The Communist Party confirmed here yesterday an exclusive NEWS report of Sunday that Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, 93, Negro writer and anthropologist, had applied for and recieved membership in the party. DuBois currently is in Ghana working on an "Encyclopedia of the Negro." Long associated with Red causes, DuBois consistently denied membership.

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/28/80 BY SP-1 [redacted]

100-[illegible]-144

ENCLOSURE

DUBOIS 645

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

FBI

Date: 11/24/61

Transmit the following in PLAIN
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-99729)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK [redacted]

SUBJECT: WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT DU BOIS
SM-C
(OO:NY)

[redacted]

ReNYairtel to the Bureau, 11/21/61.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of a letterhead memo concerning Dr. W. E. B. DU BOIS. The information contained in this letterhead memo was obtained from "The Worker", Sunday edition, 11/26/61.

It is noted that the subject has applied for, and has been accepted into membership in the CP, USA. [redacted]

[redacted] DU BOIS application for membership which appeared in "The News", 11/19/61.

[redacted]

3 - Bureau (100-99729) (RM) (ENCL. 8)

[redacted]

100-99729-196

NOV 25 1961

4 ENCLOSURE

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1/29/80 BY SP-1

Sent M P

[redacted]

DuBois 646

NEW YORK 20789 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Bufile 100-99729 New York, New York
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

November 24, 1961

Re: William Edward Burghardt Du Bois
Security Matter - C

An article concerning Dr. W. E. B. DuBois' application for membership and acceptance into the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA), was featured in "The Worker", Sunday edition, November 26, 1961, on Pages 1, 6 and 7. The article included among others, a photo of Dr. DuBois shaking hands with Gus Hall, General Secretary, CP, USA.

The text of Dr. Du Bois' letter applying for membership in the CP, USA, is quoted below:

"To GUS HALL,
Communist Party of the U. S. A.
New York, New York

"On this first day of October, 1961, I am applying for admission to membership in the Communist Party of the United States. I have been long and slow in coming to this conclusion, but at last my mind is settled.

"In college I heard the name of Karl Marx, but read none of his works, nor heard them explained. At the University of Berlin, I heard much of those thinkers who had definitively answered the theories of Marx, but again we did not study what Marx himself had said. Nevertheless, I attended meetings of the Socialist Party and considered myself a Socialist.

"On my return to America, I taught and studied for sixteen years. I explored the theory of Socialism and studied the organized social life of American Negroes; but still I neither read or heard much of Marxism. Then I came to New York as an official of the new NAACP and editor of the Crisis Magazine. The NAACP was capitalist orientated and expected support from rich philanthropists.

[redacted]

This document contains neither recommenddations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1/28/81 BY SP

ENCLOSURE
100-99729-176

62-6 DuBois 647

Re: William Edward Burghardt Du Bois
Security Matter - C

"But it had a strong Socialist element in its leadership in persons like Mary Ovington, William English Walling and Charles Edward Russell. Following their advice, I joined the Socialist Party in 1911. I knew then nothing of practical socialist politics and in the campaign of 1912, I found myself unwilling to vote the Socialist ticket, but advised Negroes to vote for Wilson. This was contrary to Socialist Party rules and consequently I resigned from the Socialist Party.

"For the next twenty years I tried to develop a political way of life for myself and my people. I attacked the Democrats and Republicans for monoply and disfranchisement of Negroes; I attacked the Socialists for trying to segregate Southern Negro members; I praised the racial attitudes of the Communists, but opposed their tactics in the case of the Scottsboro boys and their advocacy of a Negro state. At the same time I began to study Karl Marx and the Communists; I read Das Kapital and other Communist literature; I hailed the Russian Revolution of 1917, but was puzzled at the contradictory news from Russia.

"Finally in 1926, I began a new effort: I visited Communist lands. I went to the Soviet Union in 1926, 1936, 1949 and 1959; I saw the nation develop. I visited East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland. I spent ten weeks in China, traveling all over the land. Then, this summer, I rested a month in Rumania.

"I was early convinced that Socialism was an excellent way of life, but I thought it might be reached by various methods. For Russia I was convinced she had chosen the only way open to her at the time. I saw Scandinavia choosing a different method, half-way between Socialism and Capitalism. In the United States I saw Consumers Cooperation as a path from Capitalism to Socialism, while England, France and Germany developed in the same direction in their own way. After the depression and the Second World War, I was disillusioned. The Progressive movement in the United States failed. The Cold War started. Capitalism called Communism a crime.

"Today I have reached a firm conclusion:

DUBOIS 648

"Capitalism cannot reform itself; it is doomed to self-destruction. No universal selfishness can bring social good to all.

"Communism--the effort to give all men what they need and to ask of each the best they can contribute--this is the only way of human life. It is a difficult and hard end to reach--it has and will make mistakes, but today it marches triumphantly on in education and science, in home and food, with increased freedom of thought and deliverance from dogma. In the end Communism will triumph. I want to help to bring that day.

"The path of the American Communist Party is clear: It will provide the United States with a real Third Party and thus restore democracy to this land. It will call for:

"1. Public ownership of natural resources and of all capital.
2. Public control of transportation and communications.
3. Abolition of poverty and limitation of personal income.
4. No exploitation of labor.
5. Social medicine, with hospitalization and care of the old.
6. Free education for all.
7. Training for jobs and jobs for all.
8. Discipline for growth and reform.
9. Freedom under law.
10. No dogmatic religion.

"These aims are not crimes. they are practiced increasingly over the world. No nation can call itself free which does not allow its citizens to work for these ends.

"W. E. B. DuBois"

The original of the above letter from DuBois to Gus Hall, was made on letterhead captioned as follows:

"ENCYCLOPEDIA AFRICANA
W. E. B. DUBOIS, PH.D, LLD, HIST. SCI.D
DIRECTOR PRELIMINARY PLANNING
31 GRACE COURT, BROOKLYN 1, NEW YORK, U. S. A."

Set forth alongside the DuBois letter was the reply of Gus Hall Welcoming Dr. DuBois into membership in the CP, USA.

DUBOIS 649

Re: William Edward Burghardt Du Bois
Security Matter - C

James Jackson, Member of the National Committee, CP, USA, Editor of "The Worker" and writer of this article commented as follows:

"Dubois' principled act is a blow against the McCarran Act and the mounting attacks on the Communists and their Party.

"Dr. DuBois, at 93, standing upon the summit of great works performed in the cause of humanity's advancement, raises aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and points to mankind's golden tomorrow, communism."

A biographical sketch included the following data concerning Dr. DuBois:

"W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Ph.D., LLD, Hist. Sc.D, was born in Great Barrington, Mass., February 23, 1868, of Negro, Dutch, and Huguenot descent. He was educated in the public schools of Massachusetts, at Fisk University, Harvard University, and the University of Berlin.

Dr. Du Bois has received honorary degrees from Atlanta, Fisk, Howard and Wilberforce Universities; from Charles University of Prague, University of Moscow, and other institutions".

Among the posts held by Du Bois were listed the following:

Vice-Chairman of the Council of African Affairs, 1949-1954

Chairman of Peace Information Center, 1950-1951

Recipient of Lenin International Peace Prize, 1959.

The Council on African Affairs and the Peace Information Center have been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

DUBOIS 650

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 11-17-61

Du Bois, 93—year-old Negro anthropologist, author and educator, is on Security Index with long history of association communist front groups. He recently wrote Gus Hall, General Secretary, CPUSA, applying for membership in CPUSA. CPUSA indicated it plans to give widest possible publicity to Du Bois' application by end of November. Du Bois in Ghana since 10-11-61, engaged in study of Africa's peoples, their history and culture. [redacted] the attached publicity was released thus beating the communists to the punch.

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/28/80 BY SP-[redacted]

Pre-previous release

100-99729-196A

DUBOIS 651

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

FBI

Date: 11/21/61

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL CONFIDENTIAL REGISTERED (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-99729)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

SUBJECT: WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT DU BOIS
SM - C SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST
(OO: NY)

There are transmitted herewith eight copies of a letterhead memorandum reflecting the contents of a letter from GUS HALL, General Secretary, CPUSA, to W. E. B. DU BOIS.

[redacted]

3 - BUREAU

[redacted]

100-99729-97

ENCLOSURE

CLASSIFIED BY [redacted]
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY [redacted]
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE
APPROPRIATE SECTION IND. [redacted]
8 NOV 22 1961
CLASS. & EXT. BY [redacted]
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 11-21-81

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

DATE

DUBOIS 652

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Bufile 100-99729
New York [redacted]

New York, New York
November 21, 1961

Re: William Edward Burghardt Du Bois
Security Matter - C

[redacted] b4

"November 15, 1961

"Dear Dr. Du Bois

"In reply to your letter of October 1st in which you made application for membership in the Communist Party of the United States allow me to relate the following:

"I read it before our National Board on October 13th, where it was greeted with the highest enthusiasm and responded to with many heartfelt testimonials to the titanic labors which you have performed over a glorious span of 60 years of dedicated services and leadership in the cause of human progress, peace, science and culture.

"Already in 1906 in your historic Address to the Country of the Niagara Movement, you had perceived the main line of development of our century, and wrote these prophetic words:

"'The morning breaks over the hills. Courage, brothers! The battle for humanity is not lost or losing. The Slav is rising in his might, the yellow minions are testing liberty,

[redacted]

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP1 [redacted]
ON 7-24-80

100-99729-197

ENCLOSURE

CONFIDENTIAL

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND [illegible]
ADV[illegible]
SL[illegible]
DATE [illegible]

DUBOIS 653

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois
Security Matter - C

"'the black Africans are writhing toward the light, and everywhere the laborer is opening the gates of Opportunity and Peace.'

"And so it has come and is coming to pass. And knowledgeable people everywhere are mindful of the fact that your selfless labors and mighty works have been a powerful contribution to the dawn of our new epoch, the epoch of the final triumph of man over all manner of oppression, discrimination and exploitation.

"You (the first Negro to receive the Doctor of Philosophy degree from Harvard University, in 1895) are the acknowledged Dean of American letters and most eminent living American scholar.

"As editor, sociologist, historian, novelist, poet, publicist, lecturer, and organizer, you have made enduring contributions. Your life is a monumental example of achievement for all Americans.

"For 50 years you have been a tireless champion of the national liberation of the African peoples and new Africas' wise counselor and 'elder statesman.'

"For more than 60 years you have been the foremost philosopher, theoretician and practical organizer of the glorious Negro people's freedom struggle.

"You have authored numerous books, each of which is a weapon against colonialism, racism, and imperialism, and for the victory of the cause of peace, freedom and the brotherhood of peoples.

"You have raised your voice powerfully and incessantly

62-DUBOIS 654

CONFIDENTIAL

"against war machinations, for world peace and disarmament, for friendship with the socialist countries and co-existence between the two world social systems.

"Your act of joining the Communist Party at this time not only expresses that recognition of the new world reality, of the great turn of the peoples of the world toward socialism for the solution of mankind's need for peace, brotherhood and well-being, but it constitutes an invitation and a challenge to men and women of science and culture, to creative thinkers of all countries, to the Negro masses and their outstanding leaders both here and abroad, to avail themselves of the social science of Marxism-Leninism and the fraternity of the Communist Parties to give new wings to their cause and their works.

"You have chosen to join our Party precisely at the time when with brazen effrontery to the trends of the times, the most backward ultra-reactionary forces in our country's national life have temporarily dragooned the Supreme Court's majority into upholding the most flagrantly un-Constitutional thought-control laws -- the McCarran Act and Smith Act, designed to muzzle free speech, ban freedom of association, persecute Communists and suppress our Party.

"This is symbolic of the personal courage and heroic exercise of social responsibility which have characterized your service and leadership to the people's cause throughout your long life.

"In joining the Communist Party, you have made that association which was clearly indicated by the very logic of your life.

CONFIDENTIAL

DUBOIS 655

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois
Security Matter - C

"Dear Dr. Du Bois, welcome into the membership of our Party! The title of Party Member is an honorable and worthy title worn with pride by the most dedicated and farseeing, the best sons and daughters of the working class and peoples of all lands in the first ranks of struggle for mankind's happy future.

"With Comradely Greetings,

"/s/ Gus Hall"

W.E.B. Du Bois
Plus (Cont.!)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DUBOIS 656

file description for bureau file

subject: William E.B. Du Bois

file number: 100- 99729

section number: 7

serial(s): 198-

DU BOIS 657

...IONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : [redacted] DATE: 12-15-61

FROM : [redacted]

SUBJECT: W.E.B. DU BOIS
APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CPUSA)
10-1-61

There are attached for record purposes a copy of the letter which DuBois sent to Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party (CP) dated 10-1-61, applying for membership in the CP, and a reply to DuBois dated 11-15-61 by Gus Hall and signed "With Comradely Greetings." Background of DuBois is attached. Also attached is a press release on stationery of "The Worker" recounting the joining of the Party by DuBois which appeared in the 11-26-61 issue of "The Worker" and is again being released as background for the press.

[redacted]

Enclosures

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/28/82 BY SP[redacted]
pre-previous release

100-99729-199

22 DEC 19 1961

4 ENCLOSURES [redacted]

[redacted]

DUBOIS 6-58

The Worker

CABLE ADDRESS DAIWORK NEW YORK • ORegon 9-9450
23 WEST 26 ST. • NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

PRESS INFORMATION

Pre-Release Material from the November 26 issue of THE WORKER

- - -

DR. W.E.B. DU BOIS JOINS THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

By James E. Jackson, Editor

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, outstanding figure in American letters, father of the modern Negro freedom movement, and long-time crusader for the national independence of African peoples, has joined the Communist Party of the United States of America.

In a letter to the Communist Party, Dr. Du Bois declared that he had arrived at the "firm conclusion" that "Capitalism cannot reform itself" ... that "No universal selfishness can bring social good to all."

Then, Dr. Du Bois expressed his conviction that,

"Communism -- the effort to give all men what they need and to ask of each the best they can contribute -- this is the only way of human life." And that, "In the end Communism will triumph."

After listing the ten characteristic programmatic aims of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., Dr. Du Bois wrote that, "These aims are not crimes. They are practised increasingly over the world. No nation can call itself free which does not allow its citizens to work for these ends."

-- MORE

DUBOIS659

In reply to the letter of W.E.B. Du Bois, Gus Hall hailed the venerable and valiant fighter for freedom, peace, and democracy. He took note of the fact that Dr. Du Bois' "act of joining the Party at this time" when reactionary influences in the national life are seeking to "persecute Communists and suppress our Party" through the enforcement of "the most flagrantly un-Constitutional thought-control laws--the McCarran Act and Smith Act, which are designed to muzzle free speech and ban freedom of association."

"This is symbolic," wrote Hall, "of the personal courage and heroic exercise of social responsibility which have characterized your service and leadership to the people's cause throughout your long life."

Welcoming Dr. Du Bois into the Party, Gus Hall wrote, "In joining the Communist Party, you (Dr. Du Bois) have made that association which was clearly indicated by the very logic of your life."

(For more on the Du Bois story, see enclosures).

DUBOIS660

COPY OF LETTER OF W.E.B. DUBOIS APPLYING FOR MEMBERSHIP
IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U.S.A.

October 1, 1961

To Gus Hall, General Secretary
Communist Party of the U.S.A.
New York, New York:

On this First day of October, 1961, I am applying for admission to membership in the Communist Party of the United States. I have been long and slow in coming to this conclusion, but at last my mind is settled.

In college I heard the name of Karl Marx, but read none of his works, nor heard them explained. At the University of Berlin, I heard much of those thinkers who had definitively answered the theories of Marx, but again we did not study what Marx himself had said. Nevertheless, I attended meetings of the Socialist Party and considered myself a Socialist.

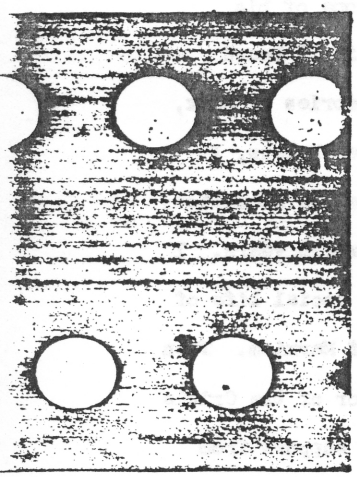
On my return to America, I taught and studied for sixteen years. I explained the theory of Socialism and studied the organized social life of American Negroes; but still I neither read nor heard much of Marxism. Then I came to New York as an official of the new NAACP and editor of the Crisis Magazine. The NAACP was capitalist orientated and expected support from rich philanthropists. But it had a strong Socialist element in its leadership in persons like Mary Ovington, William English Walling and Charles Edward Russell. Following their advice, I joined the Socialist Party in 1911. I knew then nothing of practical socialist politics and in the campaign of 1912, I found myself unwilling to vote the Socialist ticket, but advised Negroes to vote for Wilson. This was contrary to Socialist Party rules and consequently I resigned from the Socialist Party.

For the next twenty years I tried to develop a political way of life for myself and my people. I attacked the Democrats and Republicans for monopoly and disfranchisement of Negroes; I attacked the Socialists for trying to segregate Southern Negro members; I praised the racial attitudes of the Communists, but opposed their tactics in the case of the Scottsboro boys and their advocacy of a Negro state. At the same time I began to study Karl Marx and the Communists; I read Das Kapital and other Communist literature; I hailed the Russian Revolution of 1917, but was puzzled at the contradictory news from Russia.

Finally in 1926, I began a new effort: I visited Communist lands. I went to the Soviet Union in 1926, 1936, 1949 and 1959; I saw the nation develop. I visited East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland. I spent ten weeks in China, traveling all over the land. Then, this summer, I rested

DUBOIS 661

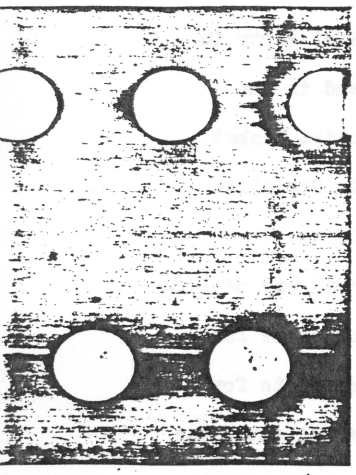
a month in Rumania. I was early convinced that Socialism was an excellent way of life, but I thought it might be reached by various methods. For Russia I was convinced she had chosen the only way open to her at the time. I saw Scandinavia choosing a different method, half-way between Socialism and Capitalism. In the United States I saw Consumers Cooperation as a path from Capitalism to Socialism, while England, France and Germany developed in the same direction in their own way. After the depression and the Second World War, I was disillusioned. The Progressive movement in the United States failed. The Cold War started. Capitalism called Communism a crime.



Today I have reached a firm conclusion:

Capitalism cannot reform itself; it is doomed to self-destruction. No universal selfishness can bring social good to all.

Communism - - the effort to give all men what they need and to ask of each the best they can contribute -- this is the only way of human life. It is a difficult and hard end to reach -- it has and will make mistakes, but today it marches triumphantly on in education and science, in home and food, with increased freedom of thought and deliverance from dogma. In the end Communism will triumph. I want to help to bring that day.



The path of the American Communist Party is clear: It will provide the United States with a real Third Party and thus restore democracy to this land. It will call for:

1. Public ownership of natural resources and of all capital
2. Public control of transportation and communications
3. Abolition of poverty and limitation of personal income.
4. No exploitation of labor
5. Social medicine, with hospitalization and care of the old.
6. Free education for all
7. Training for jobs and jobs for all.
8. Discipline for growth and reform
9. Freedom under law
10. No dogmatic religion.

These aims are not crimes. They are practised increasingly over the world. No nation can call itself free which does not allow its citizens to work for these ends.

/signed/ W.E.B. Du Bois

DUBOIS662

BIOGRAPHY OF W.E.B. DU BOIS, PH.D., LL.D., HIST.SCI.D.

W.E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS, born Great Barrington, February 23, 1868, of Negro, Dutch and Hugenot descent; educated in the public schools of Massachusetts, at Fisk University, Harvard and the University of Berlin.

Has received honorary degrees from Atlanta, Fisk, Howard, Wilberforce, Charles University of Prague, University of Moscow, University of Sophia, and other institutions.

Married: Nina Gomer 1896, deceased 1950. Children: Burghardt Gomer, Nina Yolande, both deceased. Married 1951: Shirley Graham.

Professor of Greek and Latin, Wilberforce University, 1894-1896

Assistant Instructor of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania, 1896-1897

Professor of Ecoocmics and History, Atlanta University, 1897-1910

Director of Publications of N.A.A.C.P. and Editor of Crisis, 1910-1933

Head of Dept. of Sociology, Atlanta University, 1933-1944

Head of Dept. of Special Research N.A.A.C.P., 1944-1948

Vice-Chairman of Council of African Affairs, 1949-1954

Chairman of Peace Information Bureau, 1950-1951

Editor of Atlanta University Studies, 1897-1911

Founder and Editor of Phylon, 1940-1944

Recipient of International Peace Prize, 1952

Recipient of Lenin International Peace Prize, 1959

Fellow of American Association of the Advancement of Science

Founder of Pan-African Congresses

Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters

Knight Commander of the Liberian Order of African Redemption

Editor-in-Chief of the Encyclopedia of the Negro, 1933-1945

Head of the Ghana Secretariat for planning the Encyclopedia of Negro, 1961

Author of the "Suppression of the Slave Trade", 1896

"The Philadelphia Negro", 1899

"The Souls of Black Folk", 1903

"John Brown", 1909

"Quest of the Silver Fleece", 1911

"The Negro", 1915

"Darkwater", 1920

"Gift of Black Folk, 1924

"Dark Princess", 1926

"Black Reconstruction", 1936

"Black Folk Then and Now", 1939

"Dust of Dawn", 1940

"Color and Democracy", 1945

"The World and Africa", 1947

"Battle for Peace", 1952

"The Black Flame" - a trilogy

"The Ordeal of Mansart", 1957

"Mansart Builds a School", 1959

"Worlds of Color", 1961.

DUBOIS 663

COPY OF LETTER OF GUS HALL TO DR. W.E.B. DU BOIS

November 15, 1961

Dear Dr. Du Bois

In reply to your letter of October 1st in which you made application for membership in the Communist Party of the United States allow me to relate the following:

I read it before our National Board on October 13th, where it was greeted with the highest enthusiasm and responded to with many heartfelt testimonials to the titanic labors which you have performed over a glorious span of 60 years of dedicated services and leadership in the cause of human progress, peace, science and culture.

Already in 1906 in your historic Address to the Country of the Niagara Movement, you had perceived the main line of development of our century, and wrote these prophetic words:

"The morning breaks over the hills. Courage, brothers! The battle for humanity is not lost or losing. The Slav is rising in his might, the yellow minions are testing liberty, the black Africans are writhing toward the light, and everywhere the laborer is opening the gates of Opportunity and Peace."

And so it has come and is coming to pass. And knowledgeable people everywhere are mindful of the fact that your selfless labors and mighty works have been a powerful contribution to the dawn of our new epoch, the epoch of the final triumph of man over all manner of oppression, discrimination and exploitation.

You (the first Negro to receive the Doctor of Philosophy degree from Harvard University, in 1895) are the acknowledged Dean of American letters and most eminent living American scholar.

As editor, sociologist, historian, novelist, poet, publicist, lecturer, and organizer, you have made enduring contributions. Your life is a monumental example of achievement for all Americans.

For 50 years you have been a tireless champion of the national liberation of the African peoples and new Africas' wise counselor and "elder statesman."

For more than 60 years you have been the foremost philosopher, theoretician and practical organizer of the glorious Negro people's freedom struggle.

You have authored numerous books, each of which is a weapon against colonialism, racism, and imperialism, and for the victory of the cause of peace, freedom and the brotherhood of peoples.

-- MORE

DUBOIS 664

You have raised your voice powerfully and incessantly against war machinations, for world peace and disarmament, for friendship with the socialist countries and co-existence between the two world social systems.

Your act of joining the Communist Party at this time not only expresses that recognition of the new world reality, of the great turn of the peoples of the world toward socialism for the solution of mankind's need for peace, brotherhood and well-being, but it constitutes an invitation and a challenge to men and women of science and culture, to creative thinkers of all countries, to the Negro masses and their outstanding leaders both here and abroad, to avail themselves of the social science of Marxism-Leninism and the fraternity of the Communist Parties to give new wings to their cause and their works.

You have chosen to join our Party precisely at the time when with brazen effrontery to the trends of the times, the most backward ultra-reactionary forces in our country's national life have temporarily dragooned the Supreme Court's majority into upholding the most flagrantly un-Constitutional thought-control laws -- the McCarran Act and Smith Act, designed to muzzle free speech, ban freedom of association, persecute Communists and suppress our Party.

This is symbolic of the personal courage and heroic exercise of social responsibility which have characterized your service and leadership to the people's cause throughout your long life.

In joining the Communist Party, you have made that association which was clearly indicated by the very logic of your life.

Dear Dr. Du Bois, welcome into the membership of our Party! The title of Party Member is an honorable and worthy title worn with pride by the most dedicated and farseeing, the best sons and daughters of the working class and peoples of all lands in the first ranks of struggle for mankind's happy future.

With Comradely Greetings,

/s/ Gus Hall

DUBOIS665

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

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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

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

Section 552		Section 552a
☐ (b)(1)	☐ (b)(7)(A)	☐ (d)(5)
☐ (b)(2)	☐ (b)(7)(B)	☐ (j)(2)
☐ (b)(3)	☐ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(D)	☐ (k)(2)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(E)	☐ (k)(3)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(F)	☐ (k)(4)
☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☐ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☒ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

_____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): _____

_____

☐ For your information: _____

_____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-99729-201

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

FBI/DOJ

FD-122 (Rev. 1-4-60)
OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-99729) DATE: 1/16/62

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-20789)

SUBJECT: WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT DU BOIS, aka
SM-C

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

☒ The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows *(specify change only)*:

Name		
Aliases		
☐ Native Born	☐ Naturalized	☐ Alien
☐ Communist	☐ Socialist Workers Party	☐ Independent Socialist League
☐ Miscellaneous *(specify)* _____		
☐ Tab for Detcom	Race	Sex ☐ Male ☐ Female
Date of Birth	Place of Birth	
Business Address *(show name of employing concern and address)*		
Key Facility Data Geographical Reference Number _____ Responsibility _____ Interested Agencies _____		
Residence Address P. O. Box 1627, Accra, Ghana, Africa		

100-99729-201A

2-Bureau (100-99729)
1-D

[redacted]

REGISTERED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/25/80 BY SP1 [redacted]

DUBOIS.666

Report Form
FD-263 (5-12-55)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

SECRET 019363

Reporting Office	Office of Origin	Date	Investigative Period
NEW YORK	NEW YORK	1/16/62	11/17/61-1/11/62

TITLE OF CASE

WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT DU BOIS aka

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Report made by [redacted] Typed By: [redacted]

CHARACTER OF CASE

SECURITY MATTER - C

REFERENCE:

Report of [redacted] dated 1/16/61, at NY.

- C -

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND [redacted] AT [redacted] SELF[redacted]

DATE 4/20/78

[redacted]

CLASSIFIED BY 9417
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 1
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE
SECRET

Approved	Special Agent in Charge	Do not write in spaces below
Copies made:		100-99729-202

(5)-Bureau (100-99729) (RM)

[redacted]

RECEIVED JAN 17 1962

[redacted]

7/28/80

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP[redacted]
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 [redacted]
DATE OF REVIEW 1-16-82

F26

This report is loaned to you by the FBI, and neither it nor its contents are to be distributed outside the agency to which loaned.

☆ U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1956 O—385319

DUBOIS 667

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

SECRET

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Copy to:

Report of: [redacted] Office: NEW YORK
Date: 1/16/62

Field Office File No.: [redacted] Bureau File No.: 100-99029

Title: WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT DU BOIS

Character: SECURITY MATTER-C

Synopsis: W. E. B. DU BOIS and wife SHIRLEY GRAHAM visited Lagos, Nigeria, Africa, November, 1960. During summer, 1961, W. E. B. DU BOIS was in Rumania for rest. Subject and wife presently reside Accra, Ghana, Africa. DU BOIS is presently engaged in preparation "Encyclopedia Africana" in Ghana. Subject applied for membership CP, USA, 10/1/61; was accepted into membership by CP. [redacted] Subject listed as sponsor of ACPFB as of December, 1960; was honorary member of FPCC as of February, 1961. Subject's affiliation with and support of organizations and publications within the Communist movement set forth. [redacted]

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES
DATE

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-1 [redacted]
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 1,2,3
DATE OF REVIEW Oadr - 1-16-80

- C -

SECRET

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

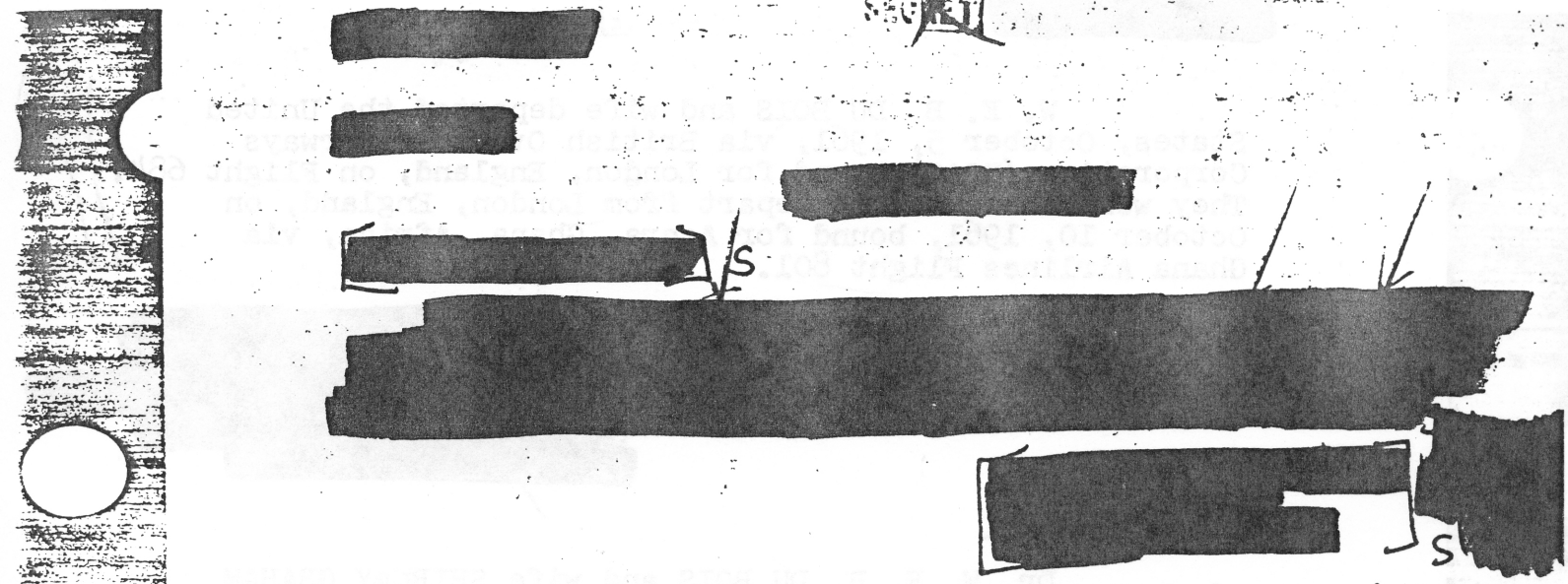
DUBOIS 668

TABLE OF CONTENTS

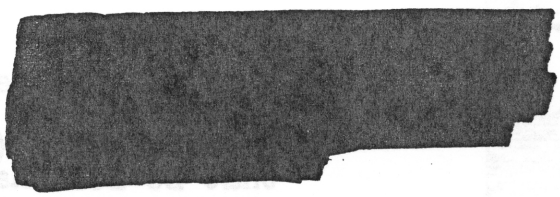
		Pagination
I.	BACKGROUND	
	A. Foreign Travel	2
	B. Residence	3
	C. Employment	3
	D. Status of Health	4
II.	AFFILIATION WITH THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT	5
	A. Communist Party Membership	5
	B. Evidence of Pro-Communist Sympathy (Writings)	6
	C. National and International Communist Patronage	11
	D. Affiliation With or Support of Organizations and Publications Within the Communist Movement	12
	1. American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born	12
	2. Fair Play for Cuba Committee	13
	3. "Freedomways"	13
	4. Mainstream	14
	5. National Assembly for Democratic Rights	14
	6. National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee	15
	7. National Council of American-Soviet Friendship	15
	8. "National Guardian"	17
	9. "New Horizons for Youth"	17
	10. New York School for Marxist Studies	18
	11. Progressive Youth Organizing Committee	19
	E. Miscellaneous	20
III.	MISCELLANEOUS	23
	APPENDIX	24

SECRET

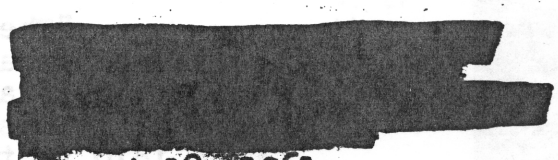
DUBois 669



W. E. B. DU BOIS departed New York for Copenhagen, Denmark, via Scandinavian Airlines System (SAS) Flight 912 which departed June 15, 1961. Subject had a connecting reservation for Flight 2102 on the Rumanian Airlines scheduled to depart from Copenhagen for Bucharest, Rumania, on June 16, 1961 u



DU BOIS returned to the United States on Air France Flight 011 at 9:50 p.m. on August 18, 1961. He was destined to 31 Grace Court, Brooklyn, New York, and was traveling on United States passport number 2285216. u



August 18, 1961

DUBOIS 670

[redacted]

W. E. B. DU BOIS and wife departed the United States, October 5, 1961, via British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC) bound for London, England, on Flight 684. They were scheduled to depart ffom London, England, on October 10, 1961, bound for Accra, Ghana, Africa, via Ghana Airlines Flight 801.

[redacted]

B. Residence

Dr. W. E. B. DU BOIS and wife SHIRLEY GRAHAM had the following address as of December, 1961.

P. O. Box 1627
Accra, Ghana, Africa

[redacted] S

By means of a suitable pretext interview conducted by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on October 5, 1961, it was determined that DU BOIS had sold his property at 31 Grace Court, Brooklyn, New York, and the new owner was expected to move into the premises on October 6, 1961.

C. Employment

"The Worker" May 28, 1961, page 8, column 4, contained an announcement concerning the "The Black Flame", described as a trilogy by W. E. B. DU BOIS. "A monumental study of what it has meant to be a Negro in the United States from 1870 to the present." "The Black Flame" consists of three volumes as follows:

DUBOIS 671

Book One: The Ordeal of Mansart
Book Two: Mansart Builds a School
Book Three: Worlds of Color

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper.

"The Worker", November 26, 1961, page 7, printed a fragment of an original letter from W. E. B. DU BOIS to GUS HALL, Communist Party (CP), USA, New York, New York. This letter was dated October 1, 1961, and bore the following caption:

"Encyclopedia Africana

W.E.B. DU BOIS, PH.D., LL.D., HIST. SCI.D.
Director Preliminary Planning

31 Grace Court, Brooklyn 1, N.Y., U.S.A."

"The Worker", October 23, 1960, page 3, identified GUS HALL as the CP General Secretary.

An article concerning subject appeared in the New York Sunday "News" November 19, 1961, page 8. The article stated that DU BOIS "has been in Ghana, with a side trip to Nigeria, since October 11 (1961). He has been studying and solidifying his thoughts of African culture for his projected Encyclopedia Africana. He is considered the father of Pan-Africanism."

[redacted]

DUBOIS 672

[redacted]

[redacted]

II. AFFILIATION WITH THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

A. CP Membership

An article concerning Dr. W. E. B. DU BOIS' application for membership and acceptance into the CP, USA, was featured in "The Worker", Sunday edition, November 26, 1961, on pages 1, 6 and 7. The article included among others, a photo of Dr. DU BOIS shaking hands with GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA.

The article set forth a letter from DU BOIS addressed to GUS HALL, CP, USA, New York, New York, dated October 1, 1961, in which DU BOIS applied for membership in the CP, USA.

Set forth alongside the DU BOIS letter was the reply of GUS HALL welcoming Dr. DU BOIS into membership in the CP, USA.

JAMES JACKSON, Member of the National Committee, CP, USA, Editor of "The Worker" and Writer of this article commented as follows:

"DuBois' principled act is a blow against the McCarran Act and the mounting attacks on the Communists and their Party.

DUBOIS 673

[redacted]

"Dr. DuBois, at 93, standing upon the summit of great works performed in the cause of humanity's advancement, raises aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and points to mankind's golden tomorrow, communism."

"The Worker", December 20, 1959, reported that JAMES JACKSON at a meeting of the National Committee, CP, USA, was elected National Secretary for the South and a member of a five-man secretariat to conduct the current work of the CP. "The Worker", January 31, 1960, announced that JAMES JACKSON had been appointed by the publishers as Editor of "The Worker".

B. Evidence of Pro-Communist Sympathy (Writings)

"The Worker", November 26, 1961, on page 6, quoted the text of DU BOIS' letter of application for membership in the CP, USA. This letter is quoted as follows:

"To GUS HALL,
Communist Party of the U. S. A.
New York, New York

"On this first day of October, 1961, I am applying for admission to membership in the Communist Party of the United States. I have been long and slow in coming to this conclusion, but at last my mind is settled.

"In college I heard the name of Karl Marx, but read none of his works, nor heard them explained. At the University of Berlin, I heard much of those thinkers who had definitively answered the theories of Marx, but again we did not study what Marx himself had said. Nevertheless, I attended meetings of the Socialist Party and considered myself a Socialist.

DUBOIS 674

[redacted] SECRET

"On my return to America, I taught and studied for sixteen years. I explored the theory of Socialism and studied the organized social life of American Negroes; but still I neither read or heard much of Marxism. Then I came to New York as an official of the new NAACP and editor of the Crisis Magazine. The NAACP was capitalist orientated and expected support from rich philanthropists.

"But it had a strong Socialist element in its leadership in persons like Mary Ovington, William English Walling and Charles Edward Russell. Following their advice, I joined the Socialist Party in 1911. I knew then nothing of practical socialist politics and in the campaign of 1912, I found myself unwilling to vote the Socialist ticket, but advised Negroes to vote for Wilson. This was contrary to Socialist Party rules and consequently I resigned from the Socialist Party.

"For the next twenty years I tried to develop a political way of life for myself and my people. I attacked the Democrats and Republicans for monoply and disfranchisement of Negroes; I attacked the Socialists for trying to segregate Southern Negro members; I praised the racial attitudes of the Communists, but opposed their tactics in the case of the Scottsboro boys and their advocacy of a Negro state. At the same time I began to study Karl Marx and the Communists; I read Das Kapital and other Communist literature; I hailed the Russian Revolution of 1917, but was puzzled at the contradictory news from Russia.

"Finally in 1926, I began a new effort: I visited Communist lands. I went to the Soviet Union in 1926, 1936, 1949 and 1959; I saw the nation develop. I visited East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland. I spent ten weeks in China, traveling all over the land. Then, this summer, I rested a month in Rumania.

DUBOIS675

[redacted]

"I was early convinced that Socialism was an excellent way of life, but I thought it might be reached by various methods. For Russia I was convinced she had chosen the only way open to her at the time. I saw Scandinavia choosing a different method, half-way between Socialism and Capitalism. In the United States I saw Consumers Cooperation as a path from Capitalism to Socialism, while England, France and Germany developed in the same direction in their own way. After the depression and the Second World War, I was disillusioned. The Progressive movement in the United States failed. The Cold War started. Capitalism called Communism a crime.

"Today I have reached a firm conclusion:

"Capitalism cannot reform itself; it is doomed to self-destruction. No universal selfishness can bring social good to all.

"Communism--the effort to give all men what they need and to ask of each the best they can contribute--this is the only way of human life. It is a difficult and hard end to reach--it has and will make mistakes, but today it marches triumphantly on in education and science, in home and food, with increased freedom of thought and deliverance from dogma. In the end Communism will triumph. I want to help to bring that day.

"The path of the American Communist Party is clear: It will provide the United States with a real Third Party and thus restore democracy to this land. It will call for:

"1. Public ownership of natural resources and of all capital.
2. Public control of transportation and communicatic
3. Abolition of poverty and limitation of personal income.
4. No exploitation of labor.

DUBOIS 676

5. Social medicine, with hospitalization and care of the old.
6. Free education for all.
7. Training for jobs and jobs for all.
8. Discipline for growth and reform.
9. Freedom under law.
10. No dogmatic religion.

"These aims are not crimes. they are practiced increasingly over the world. No nation can call itself free which does not allow its citizens to work for these ends.

"W. E. B. DuBois"

The "Evening News", October 11, 1961, at Accra, Ghana, Africa, carried an article by W. E. B. DU BOIS entitled "Ghanaians Need Discipline and Faith in Their Future". The following is excerpted from this article:

"Science is a stern unyielding master. It brooks no rival neither in church nor state, neither in wish nor dream. It seeks eternal and immutable truth attained slowly and painfully with infinite toil and endless sacrifice. Either it guides civilization or civilization dies. You must master science. You must obey its laws. You and the world must admit that in exact science today, the Soviet Union leads mankind: not in war but in search for truth.

"Year before last, in 1958, I took a marvelous journey. Already before that I had travelled widely. Beginning as a young man I had traversed the United States, North, East, West and South. I had seen Canada and Mexico. Then I made in the next sixty-six years fifteen trips to Europe.

"I also saw something of China and Japan and a bit of Africa. In these years I saw mostly what I already knew by reading and listening. I was European-cultured. I believed in the unfortunate necessity of wealth and poverty, in the inevitability of disease, in the natural

DUBOIS 677

[redacted]

SECRET

backwardness of Asia and Africa. Of course, this belief was not complete. My faith in Europe was not absolute. But on the whole I thought I was living in a world about as good as was humanly possible.

"Then I spent a sudden year abroad mostly in a new world of Socialism: in the Soviet Union, in China, in Czechoslovakia and East Germany, in Sweden. And then back to a new view of France, Holland and England. I returned to America a man renewed in faith and spirit reborn in vision, revived in strength.

"What struck me in these socialist and Communist countries was the discipline under which the people were working. It was not slavery. It was discipline born out of the conception of right and wrong, of respect for the manners of former days of obedience to law, willingness to sacrifice and a belief in justice for all.

"There is a widely held belief that citizens of socialist and communist lands are prisoners and that prisoners of the state are slaves. On the contrary, I have nowhere in the world seen such satisfied workers as in the Soviet Union or such happy workers and healthy children as in China. While the prisons of the United States are filled with discontent and despair, the prisons of Russia are schools which lead criminals to citizenship and train them in trades with happiness in family life.

"I do not say that all the world will follow Russia or China, Czechoslovakia and East Germany, Hungary Rumania, and Bulgaria; but I am absolutely certain that the overwhelming trend of humanity today, is towards socialism. India is a socialist country. In Scandinavia are socialist states; Britain resists socialism in vain. West Germany has intended socialist institutions. Italy and France are owning and controlling capital. Even the United States is continually taking steps towards state control of capital and ownership of natural resources; and all socialist countries are gradually envisioning a complete communism of

DUBOIS 678

[redacted]

equal men, each doing what he can do best, and receiving what he needs for health and comfort and as free as the welfare of all men allows men to be free. To this great end I want Africa to march."

The article concludes with the sentence "In peace and plenty let Ghana join the Soviet Union and China and usher in the new world."

[redacted]

S

S

S

DUBOIS 679

[redacted]

S

[redacted]

S

The "Evening News", October 16, 1961, carried a news item to the effect that Dr. DU BOIS and his wife had arrived in Ghana, Africa, and over the weekend of October 14, 15, 1961, they were visited by the Chinese Communist Ambassador to Ghana namely HUANG HUA and his wife.

[redacted]

S

[redacted]

S

D. Affiliation With or Support of Organizations and Publications Within the Communist Movement

1. American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (ACPFB)

DUBOIS 680

[redacted]

Dr. W. E. B. DU BOIS was listed as a sponsor of the ACPFB in an undated letterhead of this organization which was made available in December, 1960.

[redacted] S

December 16, 1960

The ACPFB has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

2. Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC)

[redacted] S

[redacted] S

February 20, 1961

The FPCC is characterized in the Appendix attached hereto.

On February 23, 1961, the FPCC sponsored a public meeting entitled "Report from Cuba" at 4859 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. The honorary membership in FPC of W. E. B. DU BOIS was announced at the conclusion of the meeting.

[redacted] S

March 1, 1961

3. "Freedomways"

The Spring, 1961, issue of "Freedomways", pages 11 to 19, sets forth an article by W. E. B. DU BOIS entitled "The United States and the Negro".

DUBOIS 681

[redacted] SECRET

"Freedomways", Summer, 1961, pages 136 to 151, printed an article by subject entitled "Africa and the French Revolution".

The Fall, 1961, issue of "Freedomways" pages 340 to 344, contained a book review by W. E. B. DU BOIS on a book written by KWAME NKRUMAH entitled "I Speak of Freedom: A Statement of African Ideology".

"Freedomways" is characterized in the Appendix attached hereto.

4. "Mainstream"

The February, 1961, issue of "Mainstream", page 44, carried an article entitled "The Color of England" by W. E. B. DU BOIS. A note by the Editor preceding the article read as follows:

"This selection is from 'Worlds of Color', the 3rd volume bf Dr. DuBois' trilogy 'The Black Flame'".

"Mainstream" is characterized in the Appendix attached hereto.

5. National Assembly for Democratic Rights (NADR)

W. E. B. DUBOIS was listed as a sponsor of the NADR in a 4 page leaflet entitled "A Call to Action in Defense of the Communists of the United States for the Preservation of the Bill of Rights". The article reflected that the "National Assembly For Democratic Rights" would be held Saturday and Sunday, September 23, 24, 1961 at St. Nicholas arena, 69 West 66th Street, New York City.

[redacted] S
August 14, 1961

SECRET

DUBOIS 682

[redacted]

The NADR is characterized in the Appendix attached hereto.

6. National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee (NCAUAC)

[redacted]

7. National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (NCASF)

The NCASF sponsored a dinner honoring ROCKWELL KENT which was held at the Belmont Plaza Hotel, New York City, on January 6, 1961. Dr. BU BOIS attended this affair and spoke in praise of ROCKWELL KENT.

[redacted]
January 19, 1961

The NCASF has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

DUBOIS 683

"The New York Herald Tribune", November 17, 1960, page 12, contained an article entitled "Rockwell Kent Gives His Art Work to the Soviet Union". The following is excerpted from the article:

"American illustrator-artist Rockwell Kent, a sympathizer of Communist and Soviet causes, today presented to the U.S.S.R. as a 'peace prize' an extensive collection of his own drawings, paintings and manuscripts.

"The seventy-eight-year-old Mr. Kent, who lives in Ausable Falls, N. Y., indicated he was handing over some 800 of his drawings, eighty paintings and several manuscripts to the Soviet Union because he preferred this Communist country's 'peace' policies to those of his own government.

"Has Taken Fifth

"A man who has taken the Fifth Amendment when questioned officially on his political beliefs, who has attended various Kremlin - sponsored 'peace congresses,' who headed an organization listed as subversive by the American Attorney General, Mr. Kent called his gift to this Communist country 'a peace prize for perhaps the greatest peace act of all history - your call before the United Nations for complete and lasting disarmament.'

He was referring to Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev's proposal for world disarma-ment-Soviet style."

DUBOIS 684

[redacted]

8. "National Guardian"

The "National Guardian", November 21, 1960, page 2, column 4, carried an article entitled "Report to Readers". The article announced that the 12th Anniversary Dinner of the "National Guardian" was held on the evening of November 11, 1960, in New York City, and that W. E. B. DU BOIS and his wife SHIRLEY GRAHAM, were honored guests seated at the dais on this occasion.

The "National Guardian" is characterized in the Appendix attached hereto.

9. "New Horizons for Youth"

[redacted]

SECRET

DUBOIS 685

[redacted]

"New Horizons for Youth", February, 1961, page 4, column 2, carried an article entitled "DuBois' Speech to Southern Negro Youth in 1946 Still Timely". The article stated that Dr. W. E. B. DU BOIS addressed a gathering of southern youth sponsored by the Southern Negro Youth Congress (SNYC), October 20, 1946, in Columbia, South Carolina. The article reprinted DU BOIS' address in Columbia, South Carolina, " nearly in its entirety".

The SNYC is characterized in the Appendix attached hereto.

10. New York School for Marxist Studies (NYSMS)

At a symposium on the topic "Moral and Ethical Values in the United States" held, December 16, 1960, conducted by the NYSMS, 853 Broadway, New York City, a statement was read to the group present from Dr. DU BOIS praising the NYSMS and noting the need for this school.

[redacted] S
December 20, 1960

The NYSMS is characterized in the Appendix attached hereto.

At a lecture sponsored by the NYSMS held February 10, 1961, at the Sheraton-Atlantic Hotel, Broadway and 34th Street, the announcement was made that the NYSMS had been organized at the home of W. E. B. DU BOIS about a year previously. A letter from W. E. B. DU BOIS congratulating the school on its success was read to the assembly.

[redacted] S
February 16, 1961

DUBOIS 686