

Sociologists commonly trace the concept of racial capitalism to Cedric Robinson (1983). However, this lineage is problematic because it strips the theoretical framing of its radical origins. Recent scholarship argues the term racial capitalism originates earlier in the Marxist tradition in South Africa (Levenson & Paret, 2022: 2). Furthermore, the broader problematic of racism as integral to the maintenance and promotion of capitalism, originates even earlier than the term itself (Clarno, 2017; Levenson & Paret, 2002). In epistemological accounts of racial capitalism that focus on Cedric Robinson the structural mechanisms that link racism and capitalism are often obscured (Levenson & Paret, 2002). I argue, the problematic of racial capitalism, in which ideologies of human differentiation are used to maintain and promote dispossession and coerced labor within capitalism (Clarno, 2017), is integral to W.E.B. Du Bois' scholarship on U.S. imperialism during the Cold War. Furthermore, Du Bois articulated a critique of racial capitalism that also functioned as a critique of the American sociology of race. However, the Phelps Stokes Fund used American sociology's "race relations" paradigm to marginalize this critique.

Critiques of racial capitalism developed historically within three dialectics: the spatial dialectic between periphery and centre; the epistemological dialectic between activism and academia and the political dialectic between the term "racial capitalism" itself and the broader problematic of the relationship between capitalism and racism (Levenson & Paret, 2022: 1). However, these dialectics are often treated as bifurcations in sociological understandings of theories on racial capitalism, which center Cedric Robinson. In these understandings, the origins of the concept of racial capitalism are in in the United States and England, the academy, and the term "racial capitalism" itself. This obscures the ways in which theories on racial capitalism developed in relations between the United States and colonized countries, between the academy

and the broader Pan-African movement, and between the term itself and the broader problematic (Levenson & Paret 2022).

The bifurcations between centre and periphery, scholarship and activism are also integral to sociology's "race relations" paradigm. During the Cold War, corporate philanthropies, like the Phelps Stokes Fund, promoted the "race relations" paradigm within American sociology, which bifurcated the study of "race relations" in the United States from the global political economy.ⁱ The Phelps Stokes Fund acted as an intermediary institution between the U.S. government and academic institutions promoting the "race relations" paradigm. More specifically, the second educational director of the Phelps Stokes Fund, Channing Tobias, served as a U.N. ambassador for the U.S. government and on the executive committees on the American Council on Race Relations and Southern Regional Council on Race Relations (American Council on Race Relations, 1945; Phelps Stokes Fund, 1948, 1952).ⁱⁱ

In a 1931 edition of "The Crisis", Du Bois critiqued corporate philanthropy's influence over the American sociology of race; arguing it limited analysis of the political economy of race in sociology. Months after, the Phelps Stokes and Carnegie Fund asserted Du Bois could not be the editor of "The Encyclopedia Africana" unless he stepped down as editor from "The Crisis." He also brought this critique of racial capitalism to the United Nations in the introduction of a petition the NAACP submitted entitled "An Appeal to the World" to the United Nations (1947). The educational director of the Phelps Stokes Fund, Channing Tobias, supported the NAACP's removal of Du Bois from the NAACP when he refused to commit to not leaking similar critiques to the press. Finally, in 1951, Du Bois endorsed the "We Charge Genocide" (1951) petition presented to the U.N. by The Civil Rights Congress, which linked the U.S.'s global support of capitalism to genocide. The State Department then appointed Channing Tobias as a U.N.

representative who refuted these critiques using prominent themes in the “race relations” paradigm (DuBois, n.d; National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples, 1948; Stokes, 1931; Ross, 1951).ⁱⁱⁱ

This paper first outlines key tenants of the “race relations” paradigm and the Phelps Stokes Fund’s institutional support of it. Second, it outlines how the problematic of racial capitalism was addressed in Du Bois scholarship in relation to the broader Pan African movement’s critique of U.S. imperialism. Lastly, it concludes with an analysis of how the educational director of the Phelps Stokes Fund discursively employed sociology’s “race-relations” paradigm to marginalize critiques of racial capitalism at the U.N.

The Global Formation of W.E.B. Du Bois’ Critique of Racial Capitalism

Recent scholarship, critiques the lack of sociological analysis of Du Bois in relation to broader activist struggles, which were constitutive of it (Collins, 2016). Burawoy notes sociological accounts, such as Aldon Morris’ “A Scholar Denied” focus on Du Bois earlier empiricist work, with little analysis of his later writings, which were far more radical and globally engaged (Burawoy, 2021). Du Bois’ critique of racial capitalism was articulated and constituted through the global Pan-African movement. More specifically, it was developed in relation to the Pan-African movement’s work on the 1945 Pan-African Congress and their attempts to influence the formation of the United Nations.

From April 25 to June 26th 1945 delegates met in San Francisco met to discuss the formation of the United Nations. Global anti-colonial activists did not have the right of entry into the San Francisco Conference. As a result, they had to work through the lobbying efforts of W.E.B. Du Bois through the NAACP, or to those delegations presumed to be sympathetic to their interests such as the Arab Nations, Haiti, Liberia, Ethiopia and Egypt (Sherwood, 2012:

83). The African Student Association submitted a memorandum to the Conference, in which they argued the colonial problem was a threat to international security (87). Likewise, Ojike of the African Student Association got into the U.N. discussions under the guise of representing “Americans Sons and Daughters of African descent” and critiqued the domestic jurisdiction clause for preventing the U.N. from receiving demands for freedom from colonized peoples (88). By the end of the Conference, W.E.B. Du Bois lamented the anti-colonial activists’ concerns were not addressed, nor did the proposed U.N. bill of rights mention colonized peoples at all. He asked the U.N. to create a colonial commission (Ibid)

Soon after, in October 1945, Du Bois decided to work with George Padmore and CLR James on a Pan-African Conference. Du Bois was the only African American to attend the Pan-African Conference in Manchester, which was primarily led by Caribbean and African trade unionists, radical students, and African nationalists like Kwame Nkrumah, Ja Ja Wachuku and O. Awolowo (Ratcliff, 2013). At this Conference, anti-colonial activists linked critiques of imperialism and capitalism. The resolutions passed addressed racial discrimination and forced labor in global imperial capitalism and called for the U.N. to secure global trade union rights and universal enfranchisement to counter these practices (Sherwood, 2012).

Scholarship outlines the radical contributions of Du Bois to American sociology and how they were repressed by the American academy. Morris demonstrates how Du Bois empirical approach to the study of race in the United States was largely side lined by Booker T. Washington as a ghost writer for Robert Park at the University of Chicago. Likewise, recent research highlights the postcolonial contributions of Du Bois to the American sociology of race (Weiner 2016; Itzigsohn & Brown 2020; Go 2022; Burawoy 2021) and how his marginalization

from the academy led him to develop more radical critiques of the sociological discipline itself (Steinberg 2007; Collins 2016).

Likewise, the emergence of more nuanced global analysis of the epistemological history of critiques of racial capitalism opens lines of inquiry into how Du Bois' critique developed through relations with the global periphery. Levenson and Paret argue critiques of racial capitalism must be understood in the context of the political history of decolonization. More specifically, that the critique was developed in relation to a political strategy that opposed the decoupling of the fight for self-determination for colonized peoples and revolt against capitalism in South Africa (2023). This research shows that prior to this Du Bois developed a critique of racial capitalism in his relations with the PanAfrican movement and the United Nations. More specifically, imperial powers sought to decouple national self-determination and critiques of capitalism within the United Nations. In response, Du Bois developed a critique of racial capitalism that he also leveraged as a critique of corporate influence over epistemologies of race in American sociology.

The “Race Relations” Paradigm and Du Bois’ Critiques of Racial Capitalism

In the 1930s, Robert Park pioneered the race relations epistemology at the University of Chicago. However, the development of this paradigm occurred in a broader national and global institutional context, in which corporate philanthropy was intimately involved. The Phelps Stokes Fund both epistemologically and economically backed sociology's “race relations” paradigm.

In 1934, sociologist and first educational director of the Phelps Stokes Fund, Thomas Jesse Jones directed the Virginia Institute on Race Relations to model its “race relations”

paradigm on the Phelps Stokes Fund's Institute for Race Relations in South Africa (Reynolds, 1934).^{iv} This South African institute encouraged gradualism in African independence from imperial powers. In the 1950s, it argued against enfranchisement of Native Africans until they reached adequate assimilation into Western civilization (The Institute for South African Race Relations, 1950).^v

In 1944, the Virginia Institute on Race Relations became the Southern Regional Council on Race Relations and the University of Chicago founded the American Council on Race Relations. The director of the Southern Regional Council and sociologist, Guy Johnson, was a close colleague of Thomas Jesse Jones. He dispersed Thomas Jesse Jones works through the Southern Regional Council. More specifically, he distributed Jones' "Essentials of Civilization", which argued races evolutionarily develop through a process of contact with Western civilization. Furthermore, the Southern Regional Council received funding from the Phelps Stokes Fund to distribute sources, like the "Essentials of Civilization" to University sociology departments across the United States (Johnson, 1944, 1945).^{vi}

The next educational director of the Phelps Stokes Fund, Channing Tobias served on the executive committee of the American Council on Race Relations at University of Chicago and as a U.S. State Department representative to the U.N. In 1948, the Phelps Stokes Fund produced grants for research at the American Council that used the "race relations" paradigm to advance President Truman's "To Secure These Rights." (Wirth, 1948).^{vii} Likewise, Robert Park's advisee, Charles Johnson, who Channing Tobias endorsed to do work with the Institute of Race Relations in South Africa, also headed the American Council on Race Relations (Tobias, 1947).^{viii} He increasingly influenced the direction of the Rosenwald's funds towards projects at the NAACP that promoted the "race relations" paradigm (Gasman, 2002: 503).

Like Thomas Jesse Jones “Essentials of Civilization”, the “race relations” paradigm promoted at the University of Chicago framed problems in “race relations” as a problem of assimilation. It fueled an educational, political and philanthropic industry around addressing and ameliorating prejudice towards the “race” of African Americans through assimilation (Steinberg, 2007: 82). Robert Park posited that “race relations” moved through four distinct phases: contact, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation. According to Park, contact occurred when two populations that were already deemed “racially distinct” met. This began the “race relations” cycle.

In time, these two groups came into conflict over competition for resources. Ultimately, one group dominated the resources and the other group was subordinated and enslaved. Eventually this stage was followed by assimilation, in which the two distinct “races” culturally merged into one national culture. Park argued that although inequality was inevitably found in any structure that involved two different races, interpersonal intimacy between individuals of different races, eventually lessened racial inequality at a structural level (McKee, 1993: 110)

Critics of the “race relations” cycle point out theoretical problems with the paradigm. First, this paradigm reifies race. It starts with the premise that racially distinct groups naturally exist. This paradigm treats “race” as a noun, and obscures the verbs, or the racist mechanisms within national and global structures, which give “race” its thing like appearance (Steinberg, 2007 and Bates, 2018). Second, this paradigm implies that these naturally existing races naturally conflict with one another. This removes an analysis of the ways in which structures, such as capitalism produce social differentiation and conflict.

In the development of this theoretical paradigm, Robert Park also uncritically posits that there is a “white” American culture and that it is a superior culture other races should assimilate

into. In this way, Robert Park echoes the sentiments of imperialists of his time, which uncritically promoted white supremacy (Morris, 2015:115). The discourse of the “race relations” paradigm masks and obscures the logic of imperialism under a psychological guise. In the “race relations” paradigm, instead of colonial conquest there is a process of “contact.” Rather than describing the processes of genocide, enslavement and the political economy of global imperialism, there is a process of interpersonal “conflict” between individuals of different races (Steinberg, 2007: 53).

Unlike the “race relations” paradigm, W.E.B. Du Bois work emphasized the colonial and racial character of contemporary capitalism (Itzigsohn & Brown, 2020: 64). More specifically, he articulated a critique of capitalism and its contributions to racial inequality along the global color line. Like other critics of racial capitalism, Du Bois emphasized how race and class are mutually constituted within capitalism (Robinson, 1983). This Black radical tradition, which included W.E.B. Du Bois, Oliver Cox, CLR James, Claudia Jones, Eric Williams, George Padmore, Richard Wright and Walter Rodney amongst others, not only theorized about racial conflicts within classes, *but also* class-based conflicts within racial groups. In doing so, they highlighted how the civil rights movement within the United States, was not in fact a homogenous, unified front, but in fact fractured along class lines (Edwards, 2020).

These class fractures were particularly prominent during the Cold War. On the one hand, the educational director of the Phelps Stokes Fund and civil rights leader, Channing Tobias, pushed for an alliance between the civil rights movement and the U.S. government, through academic institutions like the American Council on Race Relations. Conversely, Du Bois and the Civil Rights Congress advocated for an alliance between the U.S. civil rights movement and global anti-colonial movements.

Like the bourgeois in many nationalist anti-colonial movements, many prominent sociologists and civil rights leaders leveraged their class privilege to make alliances with government and corporate elites in attempts to achieve racial equality (Anderson, 2003, 2018; Bates, 1997; Gasman, 2002). In doing so, they emphasized bourgeois-liberal institutions, like the nation, to address racial inequality; however, this placed severe limitations in what they could achieve through their efforts (Anderson, 2003; Edwards, 2020; Sing 2004; Von Eschen 1997). Their framing of racism as a problem of “race relations”, and the nation as the legitimate mediator of “race relations”, disguised the role capitalism played in promoting and maintaining racism (Fields, 2014: 111). In doing so they impoverished American sociology’s ability to critique U.S. imperialism’s promotion of racism through the global spread of capitalism.

Du Bois’ Critiques of Racial Capitalism in the Press, Academy and United Nations

In the 1930s, Du Bois published critiques of corporate influence over research in the American sociology of race in *The Crisis*. He also wrote critiques of corporate philanthropies support of colonialism and imperialism in Africa. In the immediate aftermath of the War, his critique of racial capitalism developed in and through the work of the Pan-African movement. The Phelps Stokes Fund’s response to this global critique illuminates how it also challenged corporate influence over epistemologies of race in the American academy.

In 1931, Du Bois published a critique of T.J. Woofter’s sociological research on Negro education in *The Crisis*. In this piece, he noted the Phelps Stokes Fund backed this research and that it was part of a broader project to expand the number of young white Southerners studying the race problem. Du Bois noted the idea for this project “had some justification”; however, it

resulted in sociological research that lacked scientific validity because it refused to engage with the economic realities of racism (80).

T.J. Woofter argued the industrial schools the Phelps Stokes Fund backed failed to increase the economic status of Southern Negroes. He asserted the Phelps Stokes Fund needed to do more with agricultural training to improve Negro intelligence. Du Bois critiqued T.J. Woofter's argument for not engaging with the economic realities Southern Negroes faced:

This is astonishing. Hampton, Tuskegee and a dozen well-endowed schools have been teaching agriculture for a generation. Have they failed in their teaching? No, but their graduates...had too much sense to return to the country districts of the South to fight a failing battle...Consequently...land owning is beginning to wane; and all Woofter can ask is more teaching of agriculture and more intelligence from people without schools, and more "land buying" by peons! (81)

In his critique of Woofter, Du Bois noted Southern Negroes are still enslaved through a system of debt in the United States. He argued the industrial schools tried to increase the training of Southern Negroes, but were unwilling to challenge this system of economic peonage, which effectively maintained slave labor within capitalism. Furthermore, he critiqued the Phelps Stokes Foundation's funding of sociological research that was unwilling to engage with these economic realities and would rather blame the "racial" characteristics of the Southern Negroes themselves for their failure (ibid).

In the same edition of *The Crisis*, Du Bois noted this system of peonage also operated globally within U.S. imperialism. More specifically, he highlighted a system of predatory loans Britain instituted that were perpetuated by U.S. imperial interests in Liberia. Liberia never received full loans from Britain, yet paid interest rates on full loans. This incentivized the Liberian government to promote slave labor to cut costs. He noted these loans were given for the development of the rubber industry that was further developed by the United States' Firestone

Company. The Phelps Stokes Foundation supported the Firestone Company through its own educational programs in Liberia (Berman, 1972; Du Bois, 1931: 102)

Whilst not using the term “racial capitalism” in *The Crisis* piece, Du Bois spoke to the broader problematic of racial capitalism (Levenson & Paret, 2022). He argued racism continues to be an integral part of capitalism through systems of debt. Profits are secured within global capitalism through lines of debt that produce and reinforce the global color line.

In 1947, Du Bois brought this critique of racial capitalism to the newly formed United Nations. He wrote the introduction to the National Association of Colored People’s petition entitled “An Appeal to the World.” In it he stated slavery was fundamentally “a matter of economics”:

Slavery in America is a strange and contradictory story. It cannot be regarded mainly either a theoretical problem or a scientific problem of race....Looking at the facts frankly, slavery evidently was a matter of economics, a question of income and labor...Once slavery began to be a source of vast income for men and nations, there followed frantic search for moral and racial justifications (2)

Du Bois noted the fundamental impetus for the construction of racial categories came from the economic system itself.

He then connected U.S. imperialism’s promotion and maintenance of the “Global color line” to its promotion of capitalism. He stated,

The moral protest of abolitionists must be appeased but profitable industry was determined to control wages and government. The federal government has for these reasons continually cast its influence with imperial aggression throughout the world and withdrawn its sympathy from the colored peoples and the small nations. It has become through private investment a part of the imperialistic bloc which is controlling the colonies of the world (11).

Whilst not using the term “racial capitalism”, Du Bois spoke to the connection between racism and capitalism in U.S. imperialism. He stated the United States government supports ideologies of racial differentiation because it is profitable and helps to secure the United States global

economic dominance. The United States is part of the “imperialistic bloc” through private investment.

In his book entitled “The World and Africa and Color and Democracy”, he connected his critique of racial capitalism to academic institutions’ inability to address the economic foundations of racism.

Science is increasingly becoming not the work of free universities but the property of organizations for private profit and directed to their objects. Education both in school and out is encouraging economic illiteracy which keeps the mass of American people from knowing and inquiring just how work is done (1948: 254)

He suggested corporations through educational institutions encourage economic illiteracy in people’s understanding of social issues; severing the connection between racism and capitalism.

In this piece, he argued the sin of capitalism is not mass production, but mass concealment. Capitalism ultimately obscures the integral role racism plays in maintaining it. He asserted,

The iron curtain was not invented by Russia; it hung between Europe and Africa half a thousand years. When the producer is so separated from the consumer in time and space that a mutual knowledge and understanding is impossible, then to regard the industrial process as ‘individual enterprise’ or the result of ‘private initiative’ is stupid. It is a social process...Such was the African slave trade, and such is the capitalistic system it brought to full flower (1948: 258).

Du Bois highlighted the role racial ideologies play in obscuring the economic inequities produced by the capitalist system. The global capitalist system not only serves to put geographic distance between the consumer and producer in global supply chains, but also symbolic “racial” distance between the supposed humanity of the consumer in the centre and lack of humanity of the producer in the periphery. He argued capitalist ideology individualizes the successes of the system with terms like “individual enterprise”, but in reality these successes are secured through processes of human differentiation built on the social construction of race.

Du Bois also endorsed and promoted the “We Charge Genocide” petition, which was presented to the United Nations by *The Civil Rights Congress* on December 17, 1951 (Horne, 2013) and published his own critique of racial capitalism in “Peace is Dangerous” in the same year. In the “We Charge Genocide” petition (1951), the Civil Rights Congress used NAACP data to document 153 killings, 344 other crimes of violence against African Americans, and other human rights abuses committed in the United States between January 1, 1945 and June 1951. Many of the arguments in the “We Charge Genocide” petition elaborated on points made by Du Bois in the introduction of “An Appeal to the World”, and *The World and Africa*. In the petition, *The Civil Rights Congress* claimed the cause of the U.S. government’s complicity in genocide was the maintenance of U.S. imperialism through the protection of monopoly corporations’ profits (132). In particular, the petition claimed the U.S. government allowed monopoly capital to use the threat of racial violence, from police, local authorities, and civilian groups, to prevent black Americans from politically protesting their economic exploitation. According to the petition, global monopoly capital, such as the Rockefellers, DuPonts, Morgans and Carnegies relied on the use of legal and extra-legal terror to exploit black labor for profit (23). They both incited and were complicit in the use of violence and terror to depress wages, increase profits and retain power over the U.S. government (47). The petition concluded, monopoly capital’s exploitation of black labor in the United States, alongside their exploitation of colonized labor in the European and American colonies secured them billions of dollars in super profits (132)

In its analysis of the production of racial violence within capitalism, this petition also refuted the idea that racial prejudice is what structurally caused racial violence against black Americans. Rather, the petition asserted that “race” as a category of social exclusion was produced and maintained through U.S. imperialism’s promotion of capitalism and therefore,

mechanisms within capitalism cause racial violence against black Americans. The “We Charge Genocide” petition concluded U.S. imperialism maintained and reproduced the social construction of “race” to expand profits and this systematically promotes genocide along the global color line.

The Phelps Stokes Promotion of “Race Relations” to Marginalize Critiques of Racial Capitalism

The alliance between sociologists and large-scale corporate philanthropies ultimately marginalized this critique made by W.E.B. Du Bois and other anti-colonial activists. There are three specific instances where the Phelps Stokes Fund marginalized Du Bois’ through the promotion of the “race relations” paradigm. The first was the Fund’s marginalization of Du Bois “Encyclopedia Africana” and promotion of “An American Dilemma” in its place. The second was their educational director’s support of the removal of Du Bois from the NAACP for refusing to not leak critiques of U.S. imperialism to the press. Lastly, was their educational director’s response to critiques of racial capitalism at the United Nations.

In 1944, the Carnegie Foundation funded a study entitled “An American Dilemma”, which applied prominent themes in the “race relations” paradigm to the development of policies to address U.S. racial inequality (McKee, 1993 and Steinberg, 2007). This study was researched and written by Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish sociologist and economist. Gunnar Myrdal argued the “racial prejudice” outlined in Park’s theoretical framework, was antithetical to the national values of the United States. According to Myrdal American culture promoted universality, particularly universal political rights. On some level, Americans realized racial inequality directly contradicted their national values. Therefore, to rationalize this contradiction, they distorted their own beliefs and created ideological exceptions to political universality. However, according to Myrdal, American culture also fundamentally valued rationality. Therefore,

Americans could be swayed to banish their own irrational racism if they were educated on how it was antithetical to their national identity (McKee, 1993). Every American's assimilation into the "true" universal American culture was the solution to racism. Fundamentally, for Myrdal, the "race" problem was a moral one. "Race" was not a product of economic exploitation, rather it was a result of individual Americans not living up to their own national ideals (Morris, 2015: 210).

In 1930s, prior to "An American Dilemma" Du Bois began working with the Phelps Stokes Fund on "An Encyclopedia Africana." Du Bois secured half of the funding for the project from the Phelps Stokes Fund. However, the Carnegie Foundation barred Du Bois from the initial meeting on the Encyclopedia. Several months after Du Bois published his critique of social science research backed by corporate philanthropy in *The Crisis*, he was invited to the second meeting; however, the Board members insisted Du Bois stop writing political editorials for *The Crisis*.^{ix} Despite this insistence, Du Bois continued writing editorials critiquing colonial policies in the Union of South Africa and expressing these critiques to the Carnegie and Phelps Stokes Funds.^x They then argued he needed to work with other sociologists, such as Robert Park, and later, Guy Johnson of the Southern Regional Council, to bring more objectivity to the Encyclopedia.^{xi} Finally, while encouraging Du Bois to take on smaller research projects, the Carnegie Fund promoted and published Gunnar Myrdal's "An American Dilemma", while the "Encyclopedia of the Negro" remained a largely unfinished project (Morris, 2015: 207).

Despite the circumstances, W.E.B. Du Bois and Gunnar Myrdal had a collegial relationship. Myrdal secured Du Bois access to the U.N. General Assembly where Du Bois presented "An Appeal to the World."^{xii} Myrdal also privately asked for Du Bois' assistance on

“An American Dilemma”^{xiii} Du Bois advised Myrdal on where to find data, how to interpret the data and how to select experts for the piece.^{xiv}

Du Bois provided specific edits to “An American Dilemma.” In these edits, he warned Myrdal on the difficulties of interpreting the data on race in the United States. He stated that the high arrest rates of African Americans in the South were not indicative of high crime rates because many were arrested without committing a crime. Furthermore, he noted it was difficult to interpret the actual educational capacity of African Americans in the United States because the funding for African American education was controlled by corporate philanthropies who limited funding to vocational schools that didn’t provide academic training.^{xv}

Lastly, he critiqued the lack of historical scope to the piece. He stated,

The emphasis as you say should be on the actual situation and the present tendencies. But perhaps even more than in social problems the historical causes loom large today. They will perhaps call for more attention than you now think.^{xvi}

Du Bois argued there was not enough time to collect new data to cover the scope of the historical and structural causes of racism in the United States and that this was one of the limitations of the Carnegie Foundation’s project.^{xvii}

Despite Myrdal and Du Bois’ cordial relationship, Du Bois was not asked to be an official contributor or editor to “An American Dilemma”.^{xviii} He privately gave edits to Myrdal and suggested he reference some of his own works. When he was asked to review the final manuscript of “An American Dilemma”, he stated, “I think the Myrdal work is of very great value, but I would not like to undertake its evaluation as the author has based his work very widely on my writings...”^{xix}

Critics highlight issues with Myrdal’s framework in “American Dilemma”, and the ways it influenced American sociology’s study of race. First, Myrdal conceptualized American culture

as one homogenous thing and in doing so reified it (McKee, 1993: 228). In his framework, he also presented any deviation from this homogenized white culture in black American communities as a pathological response to racism; rather, than as a form of black agency (McKee, 1993: 232). Myrdal also advanced the “principle of cumulation”, which argued racism was not caused by one structure, or factor, but rather an interdependence of factors. Critics argue this contributed to an assumption in American sociology that the influence of the global economic structure on the production of racial inequality could be downplayed, and that *any* factor when studied and addressed could ameliorate racial inequality (McKee, 1993: 229).

Yet, few American sociologists disagreed with Myrdal’s emphasis on the exceptional universality of American culture as the solution to racism in the United States. In the 1940s, through corporate philanthropic funding, prominent sociologists documented racial progress through national assimilation. In 1947, the same year “An Appeal to the World” was given to the U.N., three publications revealed sociologists attempts to prove U.S. “racial progress” through behavioral/psychological changes- Arnold Rose’s memorandum summarizing attitudes on minority groups; Robin Williams’ analysis on the reduction of intergroup tensions; and Robert MacIver’s book on how to control intergroup discrimination. All three publications presented racism as a psychological issue that could be overcome through national assimilation and desegregation (McKee 1993: 261). In their perspective publications, Williams and MacIver came to two broad conclusions. First, they defined a sociological research program dedicated to the advancement of national desegregation as a means to overcome the psychology of racism. Second they advocated for the program through a nationalist narrative that argued reduction in racism was in the United States’ national interest. Echoing Myrdal, both Williams and MacIver argued the United States’ national moral values were the panacea to racism (McKee, 1993: 273).

In addition to greatly influencing American sociology's study of race, Gunnar Myrdal also greatly influenced the NAACP. He facilitated relationships between the NAACP and prominent corporate philanthropies, such as the Carnegie Foundation (McKee, 1993: 241). Under his guidance, the NAACP increasingly received its funding from large contributors, like the Carnegie Foundation, rather than rank and file members (Bates, 1997: 358). Likewise, Robert Park's student, Charles S Johnson, who headed the American Council on Race Relations at University of Chicago increasingly influenced the direction of the Rosenwald's funds towards projects at the NAACP that promoted the "race relations" paradigm (Gasman, 2002: 503).

The Phelps Stokes Fund also marginalized Du Bois critique of racial capitalism through his dismissal from the NAACP, and in it, his role representing the U.S. civil rights movement at the United Nations. In 1947, Du Bois advanced "An Appeal to the World" to the United Nations. In the introduction to this petition, Du Bois leveraged a critique of racial capitalism to advocate for U.N. intervention to address U.S. racial inequality. When the NAACP attempted to bring the "An Appeal to the World" to the human rights commission, U.S. representative, Eleanor Roosevelt denied the request. She argued it would harm the global image of the United States and threatened to resign from the NAACP if they continued to push the petition. She also threatened to resign from the United Nations delegation if any other nation-state tried to present the petition at the General Assembly.^{xx}

In September 1948, the executive director of the NAACP and committee member of the American Council on Race Relations, Walter White, accepted an invitation from the U.S. State Department as a consultant of the U.S. to the U.N. Du Bois criticized White's acceptance of the position, stating that it made the NAACP complicit in U.S. imperialism:

The Secretary now announces now that in the name of the NAACP he has accepted at the hands of the Truman administration, appointment as consultant to the United States

delegation to the United Nations, for the Paris meeting of the General Assembly. The United States delegation...has refused to bring the curtailment of our civil rights to the attention of the General Assembly of the United States... If we accept a consultancy in this delegation without a clear, open, public declaration by the Board of our position on the 'Truman foreign policy', our very acceptance ties us in with the reactionary, war-mongering colonial imperialism of the present administration...I thoroughly agree that no official of this organization, salaried or unsalaried should commit the organization as such to any one political party. But I insist that this rule should apply to all officials and not to a few...^{xxi}

Du Bois critiqued Walter White's alliance with the Truman administration. He also highlighted Walter White's hypocrisy in critiquing his involvement with the American socialist party, while he himself supported the Truman presidency. For refusing to not leak critiques to the press, the board of directors, including Channing Tobias, decided to dismiss Du Bois from the NAACP.^{xxii}

Channing Tobias then went on to promote prominent themes in the "race relations" paradigm at the United Nations. The State Department appointed him to the U.N. committees on Freedom of Information and Non-Self governing people even though he had little expertise in either topic.^{xxiii} Nonetheless, following the presentation of the "We Charge Genocide" petition, Tobias made a statement to the committee on freedom of information (Anderson, 2003). He asserted that despite the "racial issues" described in these pieces, black Americans would rather live in a national democracy than live in a communist world where they can't protest those issues:

We prefer to take our chances with democracy...If there had been such an incident in Mr. Vishinsky's country, there would be no free news channel through which the incident could be made public...the United States had made no attempt to cover up. We do not deny the seriousness of the offense.^{xxiv}

Channing Tobias suggested the U.S. was innocent of the charges in the petition because it did not hide the abuses. He reasoned because the U.S. promoted freedom of speech and press, unlike the Soviet Union, it could not be claimed the U.S. was systematically complicit in promoting

genocide. According to Tobias, if the U.S. was complicit in genocide it would try to hide the abuses to perpetuate it.

In this statement, like in the “race relations” paradigm there is a homogenization of American culture (McKee, 1993: 228). Tobias presents American culture as though it is experienced as one thing by all Americans. When he discusses freedom of speech and press, he implies African Americans can exercise it, and experience it the same way white Americans do. Furthermore, his statement also reinforces the “principle of cumulation” promoted in Gunnar Myrdal’s “American Dilemma” (McKee, 1993: 229). He argues that if this one factor is promoted, i.e. freedom of speech, then systematic racial inequality as a whole will also be ameliorated.

This framing obscures the ways in which power dynamics within the capitalist system prevent the practice of freedom of speech. In “The World and Africa”, Du Bois stated,

We curb thought and discussion because we are afraid that those who are powerful and comfortable under present conditions may be disturbed in their present control of the world. Our news is distorted and our newspapers prostituted by those who own and use them for profit and propaganda (1948: 253)

Furthermore, in “Peace is Dangerous” he observed the control of the media by corporate elites prevents critiques of U.S. imperialism from surfacing:

It was at this point that world-wide propaganda, led by the United States, on a scale which put Hitler to shame, was started to make people believe that socialism led by a new Russian imperialism was starting a third world war...As a matter of fact what was really beginning was the desperate American attempt to revive colonial imperialism with the United States in the saddle instead of Britain (1951: 12)

Channing Tobias’ emphasis on freedom of speech marginalizes the ways capitalism, and more specifically corporate philanthropy in the social sciences, limits speech that reveals the ways in which capitalism contributes to racism.

In his speeches to the committee on non self-governing territories Channing Tobias also used themes in the “race relations” paradigm to counter the claim that the U.S. was an Empire. Channing Tobias argued the U.S. wasn’t an Empire because it promoted the assimilation of all people’s into its civil rights framework. He stated,

In the case of territories for which my Government is responsible, the records of the Special Committee will show that very great strides have been taken in the direction of self-government. One of the most populous of these territories is Puerto Rico, whose people are not engaged in drawing up their own constitution under a Governor who was elected by the people...^{xxv}

He highlighted how the U.S. government promoted democracy in Puerto Rico by allowing them to create a Constitution and elect their own leaders. In this national focus, he also obscured the ways the U.S.’s supposed promotion of democracy was actualized through the United States’ military occupation and annexation of Puerto Rico.

Channing Tobias defense of U.S. Empire draws parallels to Park’s promotion of a national solution to U.S. racial inequality. In his defense of U.S. Empire, Tobias argues the U.S. encourages self-government. However, he defines self-government as the assimilation of colonized peoples into the political framework dictated by the United States. Likewise, Park frames the solution to U.S. racial inequality as black Americans assimilation into white American culture and its political norms. Their assimilation into white American culture is proof enough of U.S. racial progress. In both cases, assimilation into an imperial state is the solution and resistance to it is presented as pathological (McKee, 1993: 110).

In “The World and Africa”, Du Bois critiques equating the rhetorical promotion of democracy within a national framework to a structural attack on racism. He stated,

We Americans have invented an apt phrase to enrich the English language – ‘so what!’...It expresses a singular complex...We see in standing before the United Nations at San Francisco a prime minister elected by two million whites asking for recognition of – ‘humanity’-and in the same voice tells the world that anyone who regards the eight

million natives of South Africa as human in the same sense as white folks is 'mad, quite mad.' We have a Secretary of State who arraigns Russia for lack of democracy while he represents South Carolina, where the majority of the people have never had a chance to vote. So what? (1948: 255)

Du Bois noted General Smutts rhetorically promotes democracy for whites in South Africa whilst still denying it to natives. Furthermore, the United States promotes democratic rhetoric against Russia, whilst denying enfranchisement to most African Americans. However, within Channing Tobias framing and the "race relations" paradigm, democracy is conceptualized as antithetical to racism, and the ways that racism can be maintained within a democratic government in a capitalist economic system are obscured.

Tobias also advanced the U.S.'s commitment to freedom of choice to deny the U.S. supported imperialism. He argued that if some countries were still not independent, this was because they had decided they wanted to remain a part of empire. In doing so they were exercising their right to freedom of choice:

And when I say that these peoples should be free to choose, I mean that they should be able freely to decide the nature of the relationship, which they wish to maintain with any other country. History has shown that this relationship has sometimes taken the form of independence. In other cases it has taken the form of some kind of association with the mother country...^{xxvi}

In this framing, the U.S. support of imperialism is depicted as support for self-determination. Self-determination is equated with the right to freedom of choice within the nation-state, not as freedom from an imperial system. Within this line of reasoning, encouragement of national independence from Empires is deemed an imperial act because it challenges those countries right to self-determination, which includes incorporation into an imperial system.

In his defense of U.S. Empire, Channing Tobias severed the national act of self-determination from the imperial context. He implied the act of self determination occurred in national vacuum outside of the country's relationship to an Empire, or the unequal power

dynamics inherent to it. Countries simply decide to be independent outside of the power dynamics of imperialism.

His discussion, occluded the fact that countries can not be fully sovereign within a global imperial system, nor can they freely choose within this structural arrangement. Du Bois highlights this point in “Peace is Dangerous”, he states

Vast colonial regions began to break from European domination. Britain had to emancipate India, but before leaving she encouraged a resurgence of religious hate and made fast alliance with native capitalists, who continued to exploit the poor. The United States entered China as a welcomed friend but we were more interested in tea, silk, fibres, tungsten, oils and cotton than in people. So the wretched Chinese for ten awful years writhed in poverty, war and misery...until in one night surge they wrenched American guns right out of the hands of the scoundrel Chiang-Kai-Shek and drove his filthy outfit onto Formosa where our taxes still support it (1951: 12)

He notes that freedom of choice, and national sovereignty, is simply symbolic, unless it exists in a larger global political economy that upholds democracy.

He also questioned the myth of America's original democratic universality. He argued U.S. democracy was a part of the genealogy of domination and resistance unleashed by global colonialism and imperialism. As Du Bois highlighted in his critiques of racial capitalism, U.S. democratic discourse emerged in and through racial capitalism. Two orders coexist within it—a community of fellow citizens governed in principle by a law of equality and a category of nonfellows who constitute democratic discourse in defining its boundaries (Du Bois, 1935). He noted in “The World and Africa”, that capitalism contributes to and maintains this racial divide even as it conceals it through discourses of democratic universality. He then suggests that a different economic order might be necessary to advance racial democracy:

This is the theory of Communism. There are many who dislike the idea; there are some who fear and hate it for obvious reasons. But to these there is one clear answer: accomplish the end which every honest human being must desire by means other than Communism, and Communism need not be feared. On the other hand, if a world of ultimate democracy, reaching across the global color line and abolishing race

discrimination, can only be accomplished by the method laid down by Karl Marx, then the method deserves to be triumphant no matter what we think or do (1948: 258)

Du Bois suggests communism is not the actual threat to democracy and in fact may be the only way to actualize racial democracy on a global scale.

In response to the “We Charge Genocide” petition, Channing Tobias stated genocide was a “race relations” problem. In a speech he gave to the Urban League, following the presentation of the petition, he stated,

I have no sympathy with those forces that take advantage of basic American rights and privileges to undermine our national security...It is in America that we must solve this problem of human relationships that we have inherited, and it is by American means that we shall achieve our goal.^{xxvii}

He presented racial genocide as a problem of “human relationships” the U.S. inherited from its past. People were taught to hate black Americans for their race and therefore, needed to be educated to overcome this aversion. According to Tobias, the best way to accomplish this is through “American means”, in which the global spread of capitalism within U.S. imperialism will promote racial democracy. Similar to “An American Dilemma, Tobias suggests the United States’ national political values are antithetical to racism (McKee, 1993). Therefore, if Americans are educated on how racism is antithetical to their national identity, they will rationally decide to become less racist.

Channing Tobias evokes a temporal disjunction that is used in other imperial discourses to defend imperialism. Like other imperial discourses, in the “race relations” paradigm, racism is represented as ‘ahistorical’, or outside the progressive myth of American modernity. Within this framing, the solution becomes inclusion of othered races into the progressive myth of modernity. Within modernity, the nation is envisioned as the agent that can finally deprive minorities of their “race” and pull them out of marginal spaces into a space where “they can intervene in

unifying and totalizing myths of national culture” (Bhaba, 2006: 222). Likewise, in Tobias’ response to the petition, he frames racism as outside the progressive myth of U.S. modernity and national inclusion through civil rights as the solution. He depicts racism as an aberration from U.S. democracy. Therefore, his solution is to purge the United States of this aberration and return it to its original democratic universality.

Again this emphasis on civil rights, obscures the economic mechanisms within capitalism that maintain racism. In “An Appeal to the World”, Du Bois notes that racism is not a problem of “race”, it is a matter of economics and “race” was the ideological justification:

Victory however brought dilemma; if victory meant full economic freedom for labor in the South, white and black; if it meant land and education, and eventually votes, then the slave empire was doomed, and the profits of Northern industry built on the Southern slave foundation would also be seriously curtailed. Northern industry had a stake in the Cotton kingdom and in the cheap slave labor that supported it... Therefore, what the North wanted was not freedom and higher wage for black labor, but its control under such forms of law as would keep it cheap; and also stop its open competition with Northern labor (1948: 5)

Du Bois asserts U.S. corporations and their associated philanthropies were not interested in abolishing “race” as a category of social differentiation. Rather they were interested in abolishing a formal slave system that threatened Northern industry’s profits, whilst still maintaining a national and global system of racial peonage. Therefore, resorting to the ideological justification of racism, i.e. “race” or “race relations”, to try to address racism, simply reinforces the economic system, which maintains it.

Du Bois Critique of Racial Capitalism as Critique of the American Sociology of Race

The Phelps Stokes Fund supported academic institutions that promoted the “race-relations” paradigm in the social sciences and encouraged them to distribute their publications. Furthermore, they encouraged these institutions to model themselves on their own institute of

race relations, which supported imperialism in South Africa. Their educational director encouraged the removal of W.E.B. Du Bois from the NAACP after refusing to not leak critiques of U.S. imperialism to the press. Lastly, the same educational director, was appointed by the U.S. State Department to the United Nations, in which he used prominent themes in the “race relations” paradigm to conceal the role U.S. imperialism’s promotion of capitalism played in producing and maintaining racism globally.

Corporate philanthropies continue to play a large role in limiting epistemologies on racial inequities in the American social sciences (Arnové, 2007). Post Cold-War politics of knowledge induce researchers to use theoretical framings that obscure the structural role capitalism plays in maintaining the social construct of race (Gordan, 2015). Yet, the role of the “race-relations” paradigm in stifling critiques of racial capitalism is rarely discussed in sociology. Furthermore, the inherent critique of racial capitalism in Du Bois scholarship is not fully grappled with.

This is in large part because the bifurcations in the “race relations” paradigm are still present in sociological understandings of critiques of racial capitalism that center Cedric Robinson. In its use to marginalize Du Bois, the “race-relations” paradigm bifurcated the centre from the periphery. Similarly, as stated by Levenson and Paret, in accounts of critiques of racial capitalism that focus on Cedric Robinson the origins of the concept of racial capitalism are in the centre (2022). This limits sociological understanding of how Du Bois’ critique was developed multi-directionally through his relations with anti-colonial activists in the periphery.

Du Bois critiques of racial capitalism were developed through his work with the Pan-African movement to secure agency for colonized peoples in the formation of the United Nations. Furthermore, Du Bois’ scholarship demonstrates that the term “racial capitalism” itself is not needed to engage in a broader critique of the problematic of racial capitalism. Some

scholarship that uses the term “racial capitalism” is not entirely clear on what the structural relationship is between racism and capitalism. In Cedric Robinson’s work he sometimes suggests racism preceded capitalism, and at other points he implies it is produced through capitalism (Levenson & Paret, 2022). Du Bois critique of racial capitalism centers colonialism and the rise of U.S. imperialism as the structural link between racism and capitalism. More specifically, that systems of debt which maintain the social construct of race, provide the “central extractive technology” for U.S. imperialism (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2020).

The historical context, in which his critique emerged, gives support to the argument that critiques of racial capitalism emerged at the intersection of Marxism and decoloniality (Clarno, 2017; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2021). His critique developed in relation to the emergence of the United Nations during the Cold War. The United Nations was a central site of political leverage for the Pan-African movement as well as other anti-colonial activism. It was also a central site of Cold War politics.

Partially, critiques of racial capitalism were shut down through red-baiting. However, another key component of shutting down these critiques was the promotion of epistemologies in sociology that obscured U.S. imperialism, and its structural role in connecting racism and capitalism. These epistemologies centered the supposed universality of U.S. democracy, and civil rights as the global solution to racism.

Du Bois advanced his critique of racial capitalism against the U.S. government and colonial powers; however, perhaps, more significantly, he leveraged this critique of racial capitalism against the American sociology of race. In 1948, he wrote a piece entitled “Race Relations in the United States 1917-1948” where he commented on “race relations” scholarship in the United States. While he acknowledged many of its strengths in addressing individual

prejudice, he argued it didn't grapple with the most "serious aspect" of racism, which was that the American Negro existed in a "quasi-colonial status" as "part of a world situation" (246).

At the end of his life he reflected on his naivety in the beginning of his sociological career, in believing sociological scholarship on "race", which centered prejudice and obscured political economy could address racism. He stated,

My faith in its success was based on the firm belief that race prejudice was based on widespread ignorance. My long term remedy was Truth: carefully, gathered scientific proof that neither color nor race determined the limits of a man's capacity or desert. I was not at the time sufficiently Freudian to understand how little human action is based on reason; nor did I know Karl Marx well enough to appreciate the economic foundations of human history (1960: 15)

Du Bois challenged the notion that increasing academic knowledge rooted in epistemologies that reify race as a social category could ultimately address racism.

When American sociological understandings of Du Bois' scholarship are limited to the United States and the academy, and necessitate the use of the term "racial capitalism", Du Bois radical structural critique of racial capitalism is obscured. In examining, some of the epistemological origins of these bifurcations within sociology, it is clear the Phelps Stokes Fund, and other corporate philanthropies promoted them in the social sciences in a defense of U.S. imperialism against anti-colonial movements. Du Bois critique of racial capitalism must be understood in the context of the history of the formation of the United Nations and the global anti-colonial movement during the Cold War. In the early formation of the United Nations, Du Bois developed a critique of racial capitalism within the Pan-African movement that also illuminated how the American sociology of race is complicit in the maintenance of racial capitalism.

Notes

ⁱ The Phelps Stokes Fund was founded in 1911 to address the educational and housing needs peoples of Negro descent living in the United States and Africa (Berman 1971; Yellin 2002).

ⁱⁱ American Council on Race Relations. (1945) [Statement of Board of Directors] Phelps Stokes Fund Records (Box 24, Folder 12) Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Harlem, NY; Phelps Stokes Fund (1952, April 8). [Letter to State Department International Broadcasting Service] Phelps Stokes Fund Records (Box 53, Folder 1). Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Harlem, NY; Phelps Stokes Fund (1948, January 9). [Letter to State Department on Phelps Stokes Fund approach to African work] Phelps Stokes Fund Records (Box 53, Folder 3). Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Harlem, NY.

ⁱⁱⁱ DuBois, W.E.B. n.d. MS Fight for Racial Justice and the Civil Rights Congress. New York Public Library. Archives Unbound, link.gale.com/apps/doc/SC5105412527/GDSC?u=nyp&sid=bookmark-GDSC&pg=3. Accessed 21 Dec. 2023; National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples. (1948, September 13) [Hearing minutes of the NAACP board of directors]. NAACP Records (Box A-12). Library of Congress, Washington D.C.; Anson Phelps Stokes (1931, March 1). [Letter from Phelps Stokes Fund to Director of the General Education Board, Jackson Davis]. Phelps Stokes Fund (MS162). Schomburg Center for Research on Black Culture; Anson Phelps Stokes [Letter from Phelps Stokes Fund to Director of the General Education Board, Jackson Davis]. Phelps Stokes Fund Records (MS 162). Schomburg Center for Research on Black Culture. ⁱⁱⁱ Ross, Emory (1951, September 20). [Letter from the State Department to the Phelps Stokes Fund]. Phelps Stokes Fund Records (Box 6 Folder 614). Schomburg Center for Research on Black Culture, New York Public Library, Harlem, NY.

^{iv} Reynolds, L.R. (1934, April 9) [Letter to Dr. Stokes] Phelps Stokes Fund Records (Box 34, Folder 7). Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Harlem, NY.

^v The Institute for South African Race Relations (1950) [Draft Programme of Political Rights and Duties for Africans] Phelps Stokes Fund Records] (Box 52, Folder 4). Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Harlem, NY.

^{vi} Johnson, Guy. (1944, September 11) [Letter to Thomas Jesse Jones]. Phelps Stokes Fund Records (Box 34, Folder 7). Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Harlem, NY; Johnson, Guy. (1945, November 21) [Letter to Dr. Stokes and Dr. Jones]. Phelps Stokes Fund Records (Box 34, Folder 7). Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Harlem, NY.

^{vii} Louis Wirth (1948, July 21) [Memorandum of American Council on Race Relations Progress Report, April-June 1948] Phelps Stokes Fund Records (Box 49, Folder 25). Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Harlem, NY.

^{viii} Tobias, Channing (1947, March 11) [Letter to Dr. J.D. Rheinalt Jones of the South African Institute of Race Relations] Phelps Stokes Fund Records (Box 52, Folder 4). Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Harlem, NY.

^{ix} Brawley, Benjamin (1932, January 9th) [Minutes of the Second Conference on 'Encyclopedia of the Negro.'] Phelps Stokes Fund Records (MS162). Schomburg Center for Research on Black Culture.

^x W.E.B. Du Bois. (1934, October 22). [Letter from W.E.B. Du Bois to Carnegie official]. Phelps Stokes Fund (MS 162). Schomburg Center for Research on Black Culture; Anson Phelps Stokes. (1936, March 16th) [Letter from Anson Phelps Stokes to W.E.B. Du Bois]. Phelps Stokes Fund Records (MS 162). Schomburg Center for Research on Black Culture.

^{xi} Anson Phelps Stokes (1931, March 1). [Letter from Phelps Stokes Fund to Director of the General Education Board, Jackson Davis]. Phelps Stokes Fund (MS162). Schomburg Center for Research on Black Culture; Anson Phelps Stokes [Letter from Phelps Stokes Fund to Director of the General Education Board, Jackson Davis]. Phelps Stokes Fund Records (MS 162). Schomburg Center for Research on Black Culture.

^{xii} Myrdal, Gunnar. (1946, September 3). [Letter from Gunnar Myrdal to W.E.B. Du Bois]. W.E.B. Du Bois Papers (MS312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries.

^{xiii} Myrdal, Gunnar (1939, April 1939). [Letter from Gunnar Myrdal to W.E.B. Du Bois]. W.E.B. Du Bois Papers (MS312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries.

^{xiv} Du Bois, W.E.B. (1939, April 13). [Memo to Myrdal on his proposal of January 28, 1939 for a 'Comprehensive Study of the American Negro as a Social Phenomenon']. (MS312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries.

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- ^{xv} Du Bois, W.E.B. (1939, April 13). [Memo to Myrdal on his proposal of January 28, 1939 for a 'Comprehensive Study of the American Negro as a Social Phenomenon']. (MS312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries.
- ^{xvi} Du Bois, W.E.B. (1939, April 13). [Memo to Myrdal on his proposal of January 28, 1939 for a 'Comprehensive Study of the American Negro as a Social Phenomenon']. (MS312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries.
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- ^{xx} Du Bois, W.E.B. (1948, September 7). [Memorandum to the Secretary and Board of Directors of the N.A.A.C.P.]. NAACP Papers (ID No. MSS34140, Box II A637). Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
- ^{xxi} Du Bois, W.E.B. (1948, September 7). [Memorandum to the Secretary and Board of Directors of the N.A.A.C.P.]. NAACP Papers (ID No. MSS34140, Box II A637). Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
- ^{xxii} National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples. (1948, September 13) [Hearing minutes of the NAACP board of directors]. NAACP Records (Box A-12). Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
- ^{xxiii} ^{xxiii} Ross, Emory (1951, September 20). [Letter from the State Department to the Phelps Stokes Fund]. Phelps Stokes Fund Records (Box 6 Folder 614). Schomburg Center for Research on Black Culture, New York Public Library, Harlem, NY.
- ^{xxiv} Tobias, Channing (1952, January 30) [Statement delivered to the U.N. Committee on Freedom of Information] Channing Tobias Papers Papers (Box 5, Folder 42). YMCA Archives at the Elmer Anderson Library, Minneapolis, MN.
- ^{xxv} Tobias, Channing (1951, November 21) [Statement delivered to the U.N. Committee on Non-self governing territories] Channing Tobias Papers Papers (Box 5, Folder 42). YMCA Archives at the Elmer Anderson Library, Minneapolis, MN.
- ^{xxvi} Tobias, Channing (1951, November 21) [Statement delivered to the U.N. Committee on Non-self governing territories] Channing Tobias Papers Papers (Box 5, Folder 42). YMCA Archives at the Elmer Anderson Library, Minneapolis, MN.
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