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# William Du Bois Position on the Great Depression and His Adoption of Socialist Ide-as (1935-1929)

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#### Abstract

African Americans in the United States of America suffered from the effects of the economic crisis that negatively affected all groups of the American people, but William Du Bois saw that his people were the most affected, and discussed that issue from another angle that most of those interested in this matter did not pay attention to at the time. He linked the persecution of African Americans and suffering at all social and economic levels to the economic crisis that ravaged the country. On the basis of that, he found that socialism is the radical solution to that problem and demanded that African Americans adopt its ideas and promote them, taking the Soviet model as a good example that can be followed according to Marxist principles to save African Americans from the economic crisis.

Keywords: economic crisis, Soviet Union, United States of America, Marxism, Socialism

#### First: The Great Depression and Its Impact on American Society

The Great Depression (1929-1933) cast a dark shadow over the first decades of the twentieth century [CITATION huss21 \p 285 \l 1025], which began in the United States of America on the fourth of 1929 after the significant decline in stock prices on the Wall Street Stock Exchange. As a result [CITATION abd121 \p 282 \l 2049], the output of the American economy decreased by about 27% between 1929 and 1933. The average unemployment rate in the United States reached 14%, and the peak of unemployment in 1932 reached 23%, while rates elsewhere in the world were bad or worse than in the United States. The automotive, textile and other durable goods industries were severely affected in the early years of the economic depression. [CITATION 3abdat \p 125 \l 1025] [CITATION Sam12 \p 38 \l 1033] \l [CITATION Roy76 \p 169 \l 1033]

The Great Depression was considered one of the most severe and protracted economic crises in American history. Although there is no general agreement on its causes, there is a percentage of consensus on its consequences. However, the demise of the gold standard in international trade and the net flow of gold to the United States led to a real explosion in bank credit. Thus, the very unstable signals of the credit arrangement emerged in the 1920s. Once the collapse occurred, it was quickly followed by the collapse of the banking system. Thus, the severity of the contraction led to a sharp decline in the value of consumer wealth and the loss of credit confidence. The resulting decline in purchasing power left the economy burdened withan increase in production beyond the limits of demand, aswell as the wrong policies pursued by the

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US administration at the time[CITATION Mic01 \p 4 \l 1033 ].

The poor, unskilled workers and foreigners suffered greatly due to unemployment, and it was noted that the situation of white workers was much better than that [CITATION abd 221 \p 140-141 \l 2049 ] of their black peers. For example, one white unemployed worker was met with three black unemployed workers in New York City alone. However, a third of the American class was unemployed, contrary to what some expected that these unprecedented millions of unemployed people would adopt radical leftist ideas. Most of them accepted reality meekly and surrendered to this great crisis. At the same time, the phenomenon of theft of supermarkets and smuggling spread, and some unemployed people were organized into various groups under the leadership of many leftist organizations [CITATION Roy76 \p 169 \l 1033 ].

#### Second: Du Bois's Position on the Great Depression and the Capitalist System

In his first reaction, Du Bois, in a speech at Howard University in June 1930, questioned capitalist policy as the main cause of the devastating economic depression, and this led to the shaking of MotherYerKien's faith in the Mother Industrial Organization and in all private capitalist projects<sup>2</sup>. For this reason, the [CITATION Tho66 \p 468-469 \l 1033 ] Baltimore Afro-American Communist newspaper devoted twelve full columns to Du Bois's speech, and reprinted his remarks in full, which prompted some<sup>3</sup>[CITATION Hor10 \p 125-126 \l 1033 ] to accuse him of embracing communist principles. Du Bois pointed out in this speech that production for private profit is wrong and catastrophicand that MotherYerKien Africans in particular must undertake various forms of cooperative and collective efforts[CITATION obaid18 \p 128 \l 2049 ].

By 1930, Du Bois was convinced that the NAACP needed to adjust its program to meet the needs resulting from "economic turmoil." At the time[CITATION Ado97 \p 74 \l 1033 ], he himself described it as a world in which economic turmoil had become great, and that its primary task was to protect and improve the opportunities for educated and uneducated African Americans to earn a living, protect their income, and raise their employment level, adding: "We must seek to increase the strength and organization of African Americans, especially the economy, to face the new situation. This change in focus was what I suggested discussing and promoting through articles in the Journal of Crisis[CITATION WEB07 \p 147 \l 1033 ]."

Du Bois witnessed the tragedies suffered by black workers, especially since half of the 200,000 residents of the city of Harlem (the state of New York where Du Bois lived) relied on the aid organizations to help stop the devastating effects of the depression. This affected Du Bois[CITATION Obaid18 \p 128 \l 2049 ], who seemed radical and fanatical, as he filled the pages of the Crisis Magazine with proposals to combat the deteriorating economic situation through "cooperation and the formation of society of wealth." He warned that black Americans cannot expect white people to help in these difficult times, so it became necessary for black people to collect their resources and support their own projects[CITATION Mar89 \p 82 \l 1033 ].

On the other hand, Du Bois in 1930 led to the ill-treatment faced by black working women, especially those who worked in domestic service. These women were forced not only to accept "low wages" of less than thirty cents per hour, but also to subject themselves to humiliation by white housewives who often paid too little or deliberately did not pay it at all[CITATION Dwa19 \p 106 \l 2049 ], stressing the dangers of the Great Depression, which reduced job opportunities after they "He brought to the local labor market a new class of employers, the housewife of the lower middle class, who dreamed of the luxury of serving in her home, and found the opportunity to reduce the wages of Negro maids, who in turn agreed to the low

wages after being pressured by poverty, hunger and discrimination," describing this phenomenon as "the slave market" that made women vulnerable to sexual harassment by the fathers, brothers and husbands of this new class of housewives. For twenty years, Du Bois used the crisis magazine as a political platform in which he attacked racism on the basis of race and discrimination on gender, fiercely defending the social and economic rights of black women. [CITATION Cha19 \p 117 \l 1033 ] [ CITATION na111 \l 1025 ]

At a time when the consequences of the economic crisis on African Americans intensified, this prompted Du Bois in 1931 to think about creating an independent black political entity within the borders of the United States of America, an idea put forward by President Thomas Jefferson<sup>(4)</sup> [CITATION dwail19 \p 106 \l 2049 ] [CITATION oud06 \p 31-41 \l 2049 ] Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), decades ago. Du Bois proposed that that entity be in the state of Oklahom, and it was supported in this proposal by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People[CITATION Cha19 \p 117 \l 1033 ].

William Du Bois admitted - despite hedging and hesitation - that the idea of creating a special state for African Americans was "empowered" in 1932, and it seems clear that the ideological momentum created by Du Bois's urgent call for self-determination and self-reliance for colonial team states, in turn pushed him in a similar direction in his defense of black mothers to the need for their independence within the United States of America, Du Bois indirectly pointed out that "black America will have an influential voice in determining the fate of black Africa, and black Africa must do the same and will do it or die trying," indicating the permanent link between the two. [CITATION huss17 \p 437 \l 2049 ] [CITATION Obaid18 \p 128 \l 2049 ] [CITATION Cha19 \p 118 \l 1033 ]

In one of his journal articles in 1932, Du Bois demanded that the educated black elite move to do everything necessary to improve the bad situation of African Americans. He expanded the concept of black independence and black control to include the full spectrum of the black presence in the United States of America. He stated that "African Americans must develop strong black institutions and control them to their benefit." He called this "black power," adding that he dedicated himself to the full integration of African Americans into the mother society. Although he sought to achieve this, he was forced to admit a bitter fact: "We are separated, weare elusive, this is our reality unfortunately... that the situation is worse today than it was half a century ago and that we will not be able to change the reality in one day or for centuries to come[CITATION Har01 \p 2001 \l 1033 ]."

### Third: His Call for the Application of the Socialist Approach in the United States of America

Du Bois's position on the right to self-determination of mothers of African descent at the time was no different from that of Communist International (5) (Comintern) [CITATION Naz09 \p 103-104 \l 2049 ] when its black members developed the theory of the "black issue" as a national [CITATION Deg55 \p 1-4 \l 1033 ] issue (6). Their position was based on three central points: they considered African Americans an oppressed national minority in the United States, which possesses the ability to organize and liberate itself, and that their struggle in the United States is 7part of the [CITATION Alb20 \l 2049 ] global proletariat revolution, which Du Bois strongly supported[CITATION Cha19 \p 118 \l 1033 ].

In line with the views of Communists MotherYerKien, Du Bois saw Karl Marx (8) (1818-1883) [CITATION Alkh94 \p 128 \l 2049 ][CITATION abd221 \p 140-141 \l 2049 ], a stern critic of capitalism and defender of socialism, as "a tremendous genius of infinite sacrifice and of a

very intelligible and logical mind" () However, Du Bois added desperately, "It seems to me that Marxist philosophy is a real diagnosis of the situation in Europe in the middle of the nineteenth century", and does not necessarily apply to the United States, where the wave of racism divided the working class racially, and it is clear that at this juncture, Du Bois had a deep pessimism about the ability of Black Mother Yer Kien to overcome racism even if American society embraced white Marxism. <sup>9</sup> [CITATION And19 \p 55 \l 1033 ] [CITATION Hor10 \p 132 \l 1033 ]

Du Bois's interaction with Marx's views and his frank disappointment with the basic principles of liberal theory constituted his mature critique of competitive society[CITATION Law11 \p 182 \l 1033 ], despite the objection of some supporters of capitalism that Marxist theory was simply not equipped to explain or understand the distinctive features of the contemporary political and economic scene at the time, but Du Bois provided a critical perspective that distinguished it from the permanent racial policies that were clearly represented by capitalist principles, and Du Bois found himself in a moment of great intellectual and political turmoil in the United States, before a solution that built his skin from both economic and social tragedies, which is the application of the principles of socialism and the elimination of what he called the racist "superclass of Western political discourse[CITATION Alb20 \l 12049 ]."

It must be pointed out that Du Bois believed that the Soviet-style revolution or the economic centralization followed by the Soviets<sup>0</sup> [CITATION abd152 \p 10 \l 2049 ] would be harmful to African Americans, and therefore Du Bois wanted to develop socialist thought in line with the working conditions of African Americans in the United States. The fact that white workers largely abandoned the possibilities of class solidarity and trans-ethnic solidarity helped to shape Du Bois's understanding that race could not be reduced to a trans-class phenomenon , but rather was a semi-independent social group, according to the thesis (The Black Belt of the Comintern), which states that southern African Americans in the United States have composed a distinct nation whose political activity can be a starting point towards a socialist revolution [CITATION Eri10 \p 27 \l 1033 ].

Du Bois envisioned that the application of Soviet socialism in the United States could achieve a real democratic aristocracy, the overwhelming power of the working class as the real voice of the nation, so that this class could express their[CITATION Ani14 \p 517 \l 2049 ] ideas. On the fourteenth of April 1933, a conference on the "economic situation of the black people" in Washington[CITATION Ani14 \p 517 \l 2049 ], D.C., in which Du Bois criticized capitalism, saying: "It is unusual, how this false policy completely captured our imagination," and proposed how to get rid of it or replace it on the condition of abandoning the idea that the main goal of any citizen is to "be a millionaire," and it is enough that the income is little, but it preserves human dignity. [CITATION Deg55 \p 54 \l 1033 ]

## Fourth: His Position on Communism and Its Impact on His Relationship with the National Assembly

Du Bois's views of socialism and his stance on the communist movement troubled the president <sup>10</sup> [CITATION Sou06 \p 434 \l 1033 ] of the National Assembly, Walter Francis White (1893-1955), who took office in 1931, and did not agree with many of the socialist ideas of the editor of the magazine Crisis. White attacked Du Bois's position on the issue of apartheid. Moreover, he reprimanded her editor for publishing an opinion that the association did not support. Du Bois, on the other hand, described the president of theleague as acting like "awhite man from the south [CITATION obaid18 \p 128 \l 2049 ]."

The relationship between Du Bois and Walter White was strained on the twenty-first of May 1934 when the latter issued or ordered him to reduce the wages of the magazine's employees due to the economic crisis, which was largely reflected in the newspaper's financial return to its few readers, as well as the censorship of all published articles and that no newspaper article was published that violated the principles of the association [CITATION Alani14 \p 517 \l 2049 ], and the members of the Board of Directors of the Association voted in favor of the decision of White (11) [CITATION Alb20 \l 2049 ], after which Du Bois submitted his resignation immediately from his position as editor of the magazine [CITATION Eri10 \p 29 \l 1033 ], but the Board of Directors refused to accept the resignation but was forced to approve it after Du Bois insisted on his position finally in early July 1934 [CITATION mahd23 \p 443 \l 2049 ], to leave his work in it after twenty-four years [CITATION Ste13 \p 34 \l 1033 ].

In his announcement of his resignation, he wrote: "He created, what did not exist before, a Negro intellectual, many of whom did not read any of his writings dared to condemn Tahi, without whom the league could not have been what it was and what it is now." Du Bois was subjected to great pressure that forced him to leave the magazine in the hands of the leaders of the National Assembly (12) [CITATION huss21 \p 285 \l 1025], and, as he put it, "they do not have the ability or disposition to direct it in the right direction [CITATION huss21 \p 285 \l 1025]."

In a clear shift on the issue of apartheid, Du Bois began to argue in favor of what he called "racial effort," a type of strategic apartheid. Du Bois stated in his farewell speech when he left the League in 1934: "Separate black sections will increase racial hostility, but they will also increase economic cooperation, organized self-defense, and increased self-confidence." When all these things are taken into account, it becomes easier for planned economic organization, which ends the state of misery experienced by African Americans, due to the Great Depression[CITATION oud06 \p 31-41 \l 2049 ].

Du Bois's resignation as editor-in-chief of Al Azma magazine and his withdrawal from the National Assembly left black citizens shocked, as it was like the abandonment of the father in charge of his child, however, Du Bois justified his position that given the average age of black men, he was already living in wasted time[CITATION Maihd23 \p 443 \l 2049 ], and probably deserved more change in his life. He then realized that his presence in a densely populated city such as New York could be interpreted as having abandoned his national goals towards African Americans [CITATION ani 14 \p 517 \l 2049 ], especially after leaving the League. In order to avoid these forms, Du Bois traveled regularly throughout the United States. Thus, 1934 was not only a transitional period for him, but also a time to explore. He visited and lectured in a large part of the southern and western states. As always, he shared his impressions with a wider audience, a service that allowed others to share his experiences. Interestingly, at that time, he retracted his plan to establish a separate state for African Americans in a speech to a gathering of his supporters in Chicago in January 1935 [CITATION Ani14 \p 517 \l 2049 ], while insisting on the abolition of apartheid in schools and government institutions[CITATION ani14 \p 517 \l 2049 ].

As for his position on workers' organizations, Du Bois praised what the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) (13) did [CITATION Wei07 \p 158-160 \l 1033 ] in 1935 when it made concerted efforts to organize a large part of the black workers in some factories, in order to find suitable work for them to save them from the disadvantages of the depression and the economic crisis, and these industries include food processing, tobacco, steel and mining, unlike the American Federation of Labor (AFL) (14) [CITATION Nasr16 \p 152 \l 2049 ], which had

a long history of racism towards black workers, and this prompted Du Bois to attack him on more than one occasion, and to this end, Du Bois declared: "Theblack mother Yerk Yun should be asked for justice and fair treatment by workers' organizations."[CITATION huss21 \p 285 \l 1025] He pointed out that the policy of overt or covert discrimination against African Americans is widespread in most workers' organizations, and this double dealing makes real union among workers impossible, and forces the black worker to leave his work and starve, as he described, and also demanded the establishment of black organizations (15)[CITATION Abd121 \p 282 \l 2049], to ensure civil rights and voting rights and hold local meetings in black society institutions such as churches, and it can be said that Du Bois was one of the important reasons for the remarkable increase in black labor unions established in the 1930s, and he also demanded during his attendance at the National Negro Baptist Convention () held in the city of Bronx, New York in September 1935, which was attended by a huge crowd of 3000 people, black workers in white-dominated labor organizations to demand their rights and take the leadership positions that are appropriate for them in those organizations. <sup>16</sup> [CITATION Jon41 \p 152-153 \l 1033] [CITATION Cha19 \p 134 \l 1033]

Du Bois came to the conclusion that the so-called ethnic "integration" actually means an effort to make the African Americans part of the nation on the basis of exploitation and class division. Although he was often at odds with the communists, his point of view reflects their point[CITATION Alb20 \l 2049 \reflect] of view as much as he also talked about the black mother Yerk Yin as "a Negro nation within the nation of the white prince." Du Bois stressed that this feeling that the African Americans are a minority in another society is not true, pointing out that this does not mean that the African Americans are a minority in proportion to their numbers, but that the whites are the ones who stripped the African Americans economically, politically, so-ciallyand educationally[CITATION Alnsr16 \p 152 \l 2049 \right].

Du Bois found that the only way to empower African Americans was through (concentrating the powers of the internal African Americans ), establishing a collective movement among their ranks, especially on economic grounds, working to permanently get rid of apartheid, taking advantage of every point that would increase the group's loyalty, by establishing separate schools for African Americans , planning a separate economy in the spirit of survival[CITA-TION Ani14 \p 517 \l 2049 ], self-preservation, and sustainable struggle, and [CITATION Cha19 \p 132 \l 1033 ]he worked to develop the idea of "how to build permanent political institutions for black mothers" away from previous patterns that did not change the reality of African Americans in practice[CITATION Nic18 \p 26 \l 1033 ].

As soon as he returned to New York in 1935, he resumed the extensive studies he had left when he joined the League. In addition to these research projects, he wrote a number of [CITATION Sha07 \p 49 \l 1033 ] articles for several black newspapers. Among his greatest literary products was the publication of his book Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880, which included a historical account of the role and impact of African Americans in trying to rebuild democracy in Ammer Ka (1860-1880). This book was published in 1935, and was soon considered one of Du Bois's most important scholarly works, until Walter White went so far as to send a copy of it to First Lady [CITATION | barqawi20 \ 1 2049 ] Eleanor Roosevelt (1884-1963) in the hope that it would add to her understanding of racial problems in the South. [CITATION barqawi20 \ 1 2049 ] <sup>17</sup>

In The Black Reconstruction, Du Bois wrote a summary of the plight of Black MotherYerKien since the Civil War[CITATION Mar89 \p 85 \l 1033 ], criticizing the existence of slavery in a supposedly democratic society. In October 1935, Du Bois also published a article entitled "A

Negro Nation Within the Nation," which was one of his harshest articles, in which he stated: "The coloreds of the White MotherYer Kien are confronted with the fact that most white MotherYerKien do not love them, and do not plan for their survival nor for their specific future [CITATION Eri10 \p 29 \l 1033]."

In addition, Du Bois embarked on a more rigorous study of Marxist thought[CITATION Har01 \p 114 \l 1033 ], and attacked "racial capitalism." In his study, Du Bois asserted that "the development, organization and expansion of capitalist society followed fundamentally racist trends." He used the term "racist capitalism" to indicate that capital can only be capital when it accumulates[CITATION dw19 \p 106 \l 2049 ], and can only accumulate by producing and mobilizing relationships of extreme inequality between human groups, stressing that the principles of capitalism depend on the unequal inequality of human value, racism and inequality[CITATION And19 \p 20 \l 1033 ].

#### Conclusion

- The capitalist world has witnessed a number of economic crises that are almost inherent
  to the capitalist system due to productive relations of a contradictory nature, which in turn
  have led to chaos in production and a lack of consumption as a result of the exploitation
  of capital for labor.
- The crisis of 1929, or what is known as the Great Depression, differed from previous crises. Europe was the main focus of most previous economic crises, but it turned to the United States of America due to the great boom in its economy during the First World War 1914-1918. This crisis was caused by specific factors and laws with similar returns in their general concept as a result of the intense competition in obtaining profits, which eliminated economic planning and programming.
- From the beginning of the Great Depression, Du Bois questioned the entire capitalist system, and considered it the main cause of the devastating depression, whose negative effects were mainly reflected on African Americans and less on their white peers from his point of view.
- At that time, the Journal of Crisis became a platform for Du Bois' speeches and ideas on
  the economic problem. It filled the pages of the magazine with many proposals and solutions to be implemented on the black society, with renewal to convey the suffering of
  African Americans and encourage them to exploit those conditions and work to adopt new
  ideas that would rid them of the effects of the economic crisis and improve their miserable
  reality.
- Du Bois advocated the adoption of socialist principles as the only solution to rid the country of the economic crisis, and the application of Marxist ideas taking into account the difference in the social system in the United States and the Soviet Union, so he called for the development of socialist thought in line with the general conditions of African Americans.
- Du Bois's position on the capitalist system and his call for the adoption of socialist principles led to a cooling of the relationship between him and most of the leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, especially the President of the Association, Walter White, and in response to this Du Bois resigned from his position as editor of the magazine Crisis Spoken for the League in 1934, and his resignation was a condemnation of the policy of the League in general, which was contrary to his point of view.

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#### Footnotes:

<sup>10</sup> Global GDP fell by about 15%, the unemployment rate among industrial workers reached 21% in Britain, while the unemployment rate in Germany reached about 44% in 1932.

<sup>20</sup> Baltimore newspaper: A weekly black newspaper published in Baltimore, Maryland, founded in 1892, and was among the most widely circulated newspapers in the black prince's circles

<sup>30</sup> There were a number of indications that led some to accuse him of communism, including what he published in one of his newspaper articles in Al-Zama newspaper in November 1927, when he thanked the Soviet Union for its "liberal attitude towards the colored races and for the help it provided to them from time to time," and his repeated defense of socialist ideas, as well as his participation in the conference organized by the Mother Negro Labor Organization in 1930, a "communist organization," but Du Bois rejected these accusations, stressing his constant criticism of the internal policies of the Soviets, especially after his visit to Moscow in 1926.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Jefferson: The third president of the United States of America, a politician born in Shadwell County in the colony of Virginia, educated in private schools, became a lawyer in 1762, then an army officer in 1770, one of the founding fathers of the United States, and the main writer of the Declaration of Independence in 1776 and is considered the most prominent founder of the United States, elected governor of his state in the term (1779-1781), then appointed the first secretary of state between the years (1790-1793) under President George Washington, and became vice president (1797-1801) under President John Adams , and then became president of the United States for two consecutive terms (1801-1809). Jefferson is considered the architect of the expansion of the mother. The area of the United States doubled twice during his reign , and his second presidential term was full of many issues and internal problems, which were highlighted by the trial of his deputy, Aaron Burr.

<sup>50</sup> In 1920, Vladimir Lenin (1870-1924) demanded that communist parties support the revolutionary movements of disadvantaged nations, which included the African Americans, Prince YerKien. By 1928, the Comintern led by Harry Haywood (1898-1985), a black communist, had developed a complete position on black self-determination called the "Black Belt Thesis." The black belt of the United States included the "old cotton states" that stretched from Maryland to the Mississippi Delta, which were inhabited by nearly five million African Americans, or more than 60 percent of the black population.

60 International Communism: An international organization under Soviet control that was founded in 1919 and called for international communism. It was established according to Lenin's "theses" in April 1917, which were submitted to the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party. The following conference on April 29, 1917, decided to establish the Third International. After the formation of the German Communist Party in December 1918, a decision was taken to hold an international conference of socialist parties and groups "opposed to the Second International" with the aim of quickly establishing a new and revolutionary international. The aim was to unite forces in the anti-Bolshevik workers' movement. At its second conference, the Comintern decided "to struggle by all available means, including armed force, to overthrow the world bourgeoisie and establish an international Soviet republic as a transitional stage to the complete abolition of the state.

<sup>70</sup> Proletarian: A term used during the era of the Roman Empire to describe the low social class, i.e., the proletarian is the person who does not contribute to society with any share other than having children, and therefore has no rights towards society, and does not have other property, and then used this term to describe members of the poor classes in ancient feudal societies, and the socialist thinker Saint-Simon (1760-1825) used the term proletariat to describe those who do not have a share in the public wealth, while Karl Marx used this term to mean the industrial working class whose muscles work to get a bite, and this class, according to Marx, does not own the means of production at all, but rather has the human efforts that sell it at low wages to the working capitalist class.

<sup>80</sup> Karl Marx: A German revolutionary communist philosopher, economist, politician, and socialist. He was born on the fifth of August in 1818 in the city of Trier in the Rhine region of Almania. His father was a Jewish lawyer and then converted to Protestantism in 1824. After completing his high school studies in the city of Trier, he entered the University of Bonn and then the University of Berlin. He studied law and in particular history and philosophy. He began his career as a journalist, and was accepted to emigrate from Germany because of his political ideas to Paris, and there he was known as Engels. In 1945, the first book bearing the name of both Karl Marx and Engels appeared together entitled "The Holy Family". Marx ended up in London, where he settled until the end of his life in 1883.

90 Andrew J. Douglas argued Douglas, the author of W.E.B. Du Bois and The Critique of Competitive Society, argued that Du Bois's socialist theory lacked the "theoretical equipment" of Marxist analysis, that he was strong in sociology and history but rather weak in economics, and that, in the mid-1930s, when a series of articles were published in the newspaper The Crisis on Marxism

and Black Liberation Struggles, Dupuy's Marxism was only a "literary tool" that needed to be refined, and that his economic analyses were far from Karl Marx's aims and theories.

<sup>10</sup> Soviets: A Russian word meaning a council, and the soviets consisted of workers, peasants and soldiers, and the soviets practiced, as the communist theory confirms, the entire state power in the Soviet Union, whether in the center or in the peripheries, and the soviets are the body of state power elected by the people as a whole. In the soviets, they blend in harmony with the functions of the organs of power in the state, and the functions of the most mass social organizations, and also include all classes of the toiling population. At the same time, the soviets are organs of the national state organization of the various nationalities of the Soviet Union, and the people participate in this body in order to solve all state-building issues. And that all bodies, from the village Soviet to the active trans-Soviet Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, are links in the authority of one state.

<sup>100</sup> Walter Francis White: Born in Atlanta, Georgia on June 1, 1893 after graduating from the University of Atlanta in 1916, White worked for an insurance company in Atlanta, but in 1918 James Weldon Johnson convinced him to go to New York City to become the assistant secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1922. White was a journalist and civil rights activist in 1937 for his activism and worked as a leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1931. He was awarded the Spingarm Medal against extrajudicial execution. In 1942-1943, he helped settle the racial riots in Detroit and Harlem. He also investigated the alleged mistreatment of black forces in Europe during World War II. He died on March 21, 1955.

<sup>110</sup> Among the reasons that led to the division between White and Du Bois , Al-Khair demanded in 1931 the need to change the approach of the League and replace some leaders who refuse to follow the radical approach, by saying: "We have to inject into the veins of this organization some young radical blood." Unless this is done, the League will not continue its strength as he described, and when the term of the League's president James Weldon Johnson ended, Du Bois demanded that Abram Lincoln Harris, one of his most prominent supporters, be nominated to take over the presidency of the League, but he did not receive full support due to his Marxist tendencies, which White considered a personal target for him, especially since he did not have a strong competitor.

 $^{120}$  Since the beginning of its establishment, the magazine has achieved great success thanks to its editor, Dand Bois. In October 1910, the first issue of one thousand copies was sold in full, then distribution rose by 1912, as 22,500 copies were sold, and by the end of 1917 the number rose to 50,000 copies annually. At the end of the First World War, the number of copies sold became more than 100,000 copies annually, and the newspaper continued to spread among the black American circles significantly until 1929, as it witnessed a significant decline due to the economic crisis.

<sup>130</sup> Industrial organizations: An American labor organization that sought to organize black workers only in the United States and Canada, founded in 1935, was originally a branch of the American Federation of Labor, but soon separated under the leadership of John L. Lewis, John L. Lewis, the leader of the Union of Miners (UMW), due to the racial discrimination practiced by some leaders of the American Union against black workers and their marginalization, and it played a major role in leading labor strikes in the late 1930s against employers, and it should be noted that it is a leftist organization whose leaders and members were mostly communists.

<sup>140</sup> The American Federation of Labor: The most prominent representative of the American labor movement, founded in 1886, and Samuel Gompers became its president until his death in 1924, the federation included most of the national and international unions and federations in the United States of America, and achieved important gains for the labor movement such as reducing working hours, raising wages, and improving the cultural and social level of its members, and despite not believing in the political work of its members, it found a suitable opportunity to participate in working with the government in 1914 to overcome the conditions of war.

150 Du Bois called since 1933 for the establishment of black labor organizations because he saw a benefit in providing them with the skills that eluded them while they were in white labor organizations. Du Bois insisted in one of his newspaper articles published in the April 1933 newspaper Crisis: "We must have the power, we must learn the secret of economic organization." He found that organizing black workers in separate organizations is his preferred solution because it will allow black mothers to overcome the bonds of apartheid and "extend the hands of power and understanding to India, China and all Asia." Not to mention Africa and mother Yea Teti, as Du Bois stressed, we can "become free in fact if we work separately."

<sup>160</sup> The National Congress of Negro Baptists: It was founded on October 22, 1880, when 59 people from nine states met in Montgomery, Alabama, and organized the Baptist Mission Conference, and the Reverend W. H. McAlpine was elected Rev. W. H. McAlpine of Alabama as its first president, and six years later in 1886, 600 delegates from 17 states met at the First Baptist Church in St. Louis, Missouri and formed the National Baptist Convention of Amir Ka, and in 1893, the National Convention on Baptist Education was formed, whose goals were to fight racism and desegregation in schools, the Baptist Youth Federation, and a feminist organization were founded.

<sup>17Ell</sup> Noor Roosevelt: Born in New York City on October 11, 1884, to the parents of Eliot Roosevelt and Anna Hall Roosevelt, she married her cousin Franklin Delanore Roosevelt on March 17, 1905, an American political leader who was an active influence, as well as the First Lady from 1933 to 1945, and also took a prominent role as a civil rights advocate, died in November 1962.