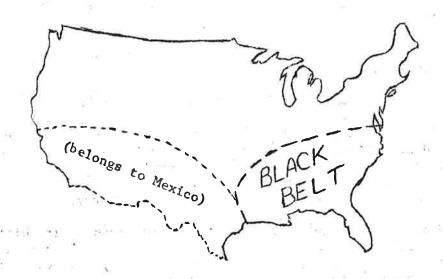
IN BLACK AND WHITE



The problem of the relationship between white and Black in this country began when the first slave arrived in 1619. Ever since, the rulers of this land have tried to solve this problem. They are still failing because they can't afford the only real solution, which we present with comparisons below:

RULERS' SOLUTION

HAMMER & STEEL'S SOLUTION

- must integrate.
- * Blacks are a minority which * Afro-Americans are a nation with the right to separation in the Black Belt (South).
- the South is bad -- slows down integration.
- * Concentration of Blacks in * The forced emigration from the Black Belt due to repression and poverty makes it harder for Blacks to regain their homeland.
- * Birth control, abortion and sterilization will cut down welfare and unemployment in the cities.
- * A rapid increase in Black births is needed to fight medical genocide and to man a future Black Belt liberation army.
- * Mao and Breshnev help by avoiding the Black issue except to bolster the idea of integration.
- * Mao and Breshnev are bitter enemies of the Afro-American People -- they deny the existence of the Black nation and will help the US billionaires keep the Black Belt.
- * US whites are the best-off * Whites must reject white in the world and should be glad to help the billionaires preserve this way of life.
 - and great-power supremacy or suffer future defeat with the billionaires.

THE BLACK BELT

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The 1963 March on Washington raised the full spectrum of demands for integration. Even if the US government could have met all the demands the Afro-American nation would still be oppressed today. The oppression is based on the land in the South which should have come under control of the former slaves after the Civil War. The march did not call for return of this land to the Black nation.

Joseph Stalin, a Marxist-Leninist and a great contributor to the struggle of oppressed nations, defined a nation as: "A historically constituted stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture." (J. V. Stalin, Marxism and the National Question.)

This definition applies to the Afro-American nation. It evolved during nearly two and one-half centuries of slavery in which diverse Africans developed a common lan- no guage and Afro-American psychological make-up on common land. A small number of free Blacks developed into small classes of free urban labor, businessmen and professionals.

Emancipation in 1863 laid the basis for rapid growth of these classes and provided a large free farming population. The potential for "community of economic life" will be fully realized only when the Black Belt is freed from Wall Street's control.

The northern capitalists did not fight the Civil War for humanitarian reasons, but to take economic control of

the South from the planters. Once this was accomplished, the northern capitalists took on the defeated planters as junior partners in ending Reconstruction, to make sure Wall Street, not the Black nation, dominated the South.

After the Hayes-Tilden compromise in the 1876 election they unleashed a reign of terror against Afro-Americans in the Black Belt that continues today, side by side with their big investments in the "New South".

In control of its land, a nation can defend itself, govern itself, develop its economy and culture. Without it Afro-Americans have been subject to a brutal occupation government in the Black Belt, to exile in the north and west, unemployment, courts geared to preserve oppression, white supremacist attacks and penetration of the worst in the white culture.

The solution is Black state power in the Black Belt including the possibility of complete separation from the white nation.

FALSE HOPE OF INTEGRATION

Even a brief discussion of land shows the fallacy of integration. Equality cannot be created while one nation oppresses the other. It is absurd to suggest that the US and Vietnam or the US and Chile could be equal while the US dominates the economies of those nations, or that England and Ireland could integrate.

The Afro-American nation is often compared to the masses of immigrants who entered the US around the turn of the century. These people have assimilated themselves and become part of the USA, the argument goes, so why can't Blacks integrate?

The immigrants' homelands were elsewhere, but the Black Belt is here and under US occupation. That is the main answer. Assimilation did not deny the existence of the immigrants' homelands. Integration tells Blacks to welcome the profiteering occupiers of their homeland instead of seizing the land.

US imperialism cannot drive Blacks off their own land in the South and then grant equality to the national minority in the north. On the contrary, it takes every economic and political advantage it can from the Black exiles' plight. The best protection of the rights of the Blacks outside the Black Belt will be an armed, independent Black Belt state.

All those who support the rights of the Black nation would support the demands advanced by Rev. King in 1963 for housing, job opportunity, education justice in courts, etc. However, to depend on integration to achieve these goals is hopeless and misleading.

When masses of Afro-Americans were aroused in the 1950's and early 1960's to demonstrate for integration, the US government was able to endorse it, to pass laws, and even to allow more voter registration in the Black Belt without losing its basic control in the Black Belt. Now

when political mass pressure from Blacks is slight, the US government is using integration fo force more Black youths out of Black Belt schools and to fire many Black teachers.

Because it is the opposite of the struggle for state power in the Black Belt, the <u>idea</u> of integration is a tool the US billionaires even when they are forced to grant some practical concessions to integration. Integration habeen the main idea used to bolster the concrete presence of US troops and investments in the Black Belt.

SUCH A STRANGE IDEA

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Very few Blacks or whites would agree that a Black nation with the right to break the Black Belt away from the US exists. Not many have heard of the idea. Who is mainly responsible for hiding the truth?

Obviously, the billionaires of the white nation have the most to gain. They achieved a position of domination of the world's resources by first capturing the Black Belt, as well as part of Mexico. The Black Belt is a key to their present economy for its oil, fertile land, timber, waterways and ports. A struggle to liberate the Black Belt would limit the US Army's effectiveness all over the world. It would crumble our rulers' ability to masquerade as champions of democracy.

This is why our rulers have made great use of the idea of integration on one hand while carrying on armed terror

in the Black Belt with the other. But why haven't an influential number of Blacks or a few enlightened whites called for true freedom of the Afro-American nation?

The main obstacle for the last two decades has been the USA's friends in Peking and Moscow. The Pentagon Papers clearly showed that by the mid-fifties the US did not fear that either Russia or China would support Vietnam to the point of victory over the US. We have seen how these supposed revolutionaries "supported" Vietnam into an agreement which leaves the US in a position to drill for oil in the south and to continue bomb threats to the north.

Mao and Brezhnev "support" the Afro-American nation by denying that it exists. Their line that class struggle is the main conflict within US borders is just a "left"-sounding version of our rulers' integration line.

They claim to carry on revolutionary traditions. The USSR under Stalin developed those traditions in part by leading an international conference in 1929 which declared its support for the right of self-determination of the Black nation in the southern USA. Mao and Brezhnev have "forgotten" that tradition, and so have the US Communist Party and the other participants.

They have "forgotten" under pressure from US imperialism. It needs new oil and raw materials from "underdeveloped" countries and offers the "Socialist giants" economic bribes and nuclear threats to betray the rightful owners.

In the Arab countries or Vietnam, Mao and Brezhnev keep up pretenses with token aid and empty words. The Black Belt is too important, too close to home for that. No token guns or even pretended support to a Black nation are allowed.

Mao and Brezhnev and their followers influence those who are struggling against our billionaires all over the world. They have kept the leaders from arousing a great potential ally by demanding the Black nation's freedom.

With virtually no support outside US-claimed borders, the Black Belt's advantage of lying in the body of US imperialism has become its disadvantage. Our rulers have enjoyed a free hand in preventing the development of Black leadership on the Black Belt.

When the integrationist, pacifist Rev. King called national attention to a Black strike in Black Belt Memphis, he was gunned down--with FBI "protection". When an organization called the Republic of New Africa moved to land it had purchased in Mississippi the state and Federal governments combined had little trouble framing the leaders and tying them up in the courts and jails.

The unpopularity of the idea of a liberated Black nation in the Black Belt is not a test of its validity, but a measure of the strength of its enemies. Mao and Brezhnev, in the service of our billionaires, have proved a deadly combination for millions in Asia, Africa,

South and Central America and the Black Belt. The future of the Afro-American nation rests on the smashing of Mao's and Brezhnev's influence in order to smash US control of the Black Belt.

DESPERATE SITUATION

The US became the strongest imperialist country at the end of World War II. It has become stronger since, thanks to its "Marxist" allies.

Also since World War II the pattern of investment in the oppressed nations has changed. Now the oil and raw materials of the oppressed peoples are the main targets. Exploitation of labor at low wages is in second place.

This means: 1) The people of oppressed nations are expendable to imperialism, and dangerous since their struggles can prevent exploitation of their resources; and 2) There is no government or influential leadership to oppose imperialist destruction of oppressed peoples.

The Afro-American nation is extremely vulnerable to genocide. US billionaires' government has direct control over it.

Land-stealing, terror and poverty have forced a majority of Blacks out of the Black Belt. Big farms financed directly from Wall Street have displaced the sharecropper.

Blacks who have been forced off the land end up in cities in the Black Belt or in the north and west. Concentrated in the cities, Blacks can be attacked en masse by the police or by mobs, surrounded by the National Guard, and manipulated by social workers.

To our billionaire rulers, the Blacks forced out of their homeland and jobless in the cities are an economic liability. They would rather use the small tax funds that support welfare to support their profits by subsidizing railroads or jumbo jets. So they use welfare as an opportunity for the government to force birth control, sterilization and abortion on the recipients.

The Rockefeller family designed its propaganda about energy crises and population bombs to justify the genocide already going on against the "economic burdens" of the world and to prepare Black and white alike for more.

The Rockefeller "solution" is underway in Africa. The fabulously mineral-rich sub-Saharan region is starving--world food shortage, we are told--while the US ships grain to China and Russia. Is not the over-population argument being cynically used to justify deliberate depopulation so that US companies can exploit the Africans' wealth?

The Afro-Americans' situation is similar. Our billionaires' profits from the Black Belt are many times the present tax expenditures of welfare and other government "poverty" programs. The wealth of the Black Belt, in

possession of the Afro-American nation, could provide all Blacks with a decent and dignified life. The energy consumed by Afro-Americans is a fraction of that produced by the Black Belt's oil, natural gas, coal and hydroelectric projects.

Yet, the billionaires' way to supply more energy for their industries and military would be to cut off natural gas, fuel oil, gasoline and electricity to Blacks in the cities. Their population theories demand forced reduction of the Black population as a solution to poverty.

These "solutions" are not far-fetched. They correspond to the tactic in Africa of first impoverishing the people, then blaming their poverty on over-population, and finally killing off large numbers in order to control the Africans' resources more profitably and securely.

As long as the billionaires control the Black Belt, Blacks surviving genocide will be as poor as ever. What the world really needs is more Black babies to form a future Black Belt liberation army and to build a new economy in the liberated Black Belt.

Our rulers will recruit whites to carry out new armed attacks designed to eliminate Blacks. They will cultivate more white intellectuals to spread their population theories. They will train more social workers and medical experts to carry out forced family planning and abortion. They

will build the mountain of white-supremacist thought among our people still higher to stamp out any questions about their genocidal policies.

WHAT WILL WHITES DO?

Will whites go along with our billionaires and their government? All indications are that the majority of whites will support and contribute to genocidal attacks on Afro-Americans until major changes take place.

Whites have been used against Blacks by our ruling class since the introduction of slavery. White intellectuals have developed hundreds of theories to justify oppression of Blacks. White workers have collaborated with the capitalists to deny employment to Afro-Americans. White farmers in the Black Belt helped demolish Reconstruction and formed the backbone of the Ku Klux Klan.

At Attica Prison, Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, representative of one of the US's ruling families, ordered Black and Puerto Rican prisoners shot down. He sacrificed several white guards in the process. Yet, even the dead guards' families support his action. No US labor organization denounced it. Right now, the typical US white considers Rockefeller his friend and Afro-Americans his enemies.

MATERIAL BENEFITS

What is it that turns the average US white into a murderer or sympathizer with murder where Afro-Americans are concerned?

Millions of jobs in every industry in the Black Belt, held by whites while US imperialism controls the Black Belt, rightfully belong to Afro-Americans. The Black Belt's oil and gas benefit imperialist profits and white consumers, but should fuel Black industries and farm machinery. Huge quantities of beef, dairy products, chicken and eggs are produced on land stolen from Afro-Americans. This food should be available to US whites only as expensive imports.

Similarly, whites benefit from the huge gap in employment, housing and education in the north and west. The fewer Blacks in good jobs, decent housing or college, the more places available for whites.

These material advantages of our white oppressor nation are the basis for the white supremacist, great-power chauvinist thinking which permeates our people.

US imperialism is riding high today and white supremacy is riding high also. This is dangerous for our people. It places us in opposition to the needs of the majority of the people in the world.

Our support for and participation in genocidal attacks will not, in the long run, enable us to continue to live

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well at the expense of oppressed people. Instead, we are building up a debt to these peoples which will be paid by a future smaller, humbler, more moral white nation.

THE LONG RUN

In the long run, our rulers will be defeated. They will be driven out of oil-rich western Asia, out of "their" cheap copper supply in Chile, out of refineries and cane fields in Puerto Rico. Of all the blows awaiting our rulers, the biggest will be the loss of the Black Belt.

Many things must happen before the world situation can be reversed. Mao and Breshnev and their followers must be stripped of all authority as revolutionaries and exposed as the chief allies of the US in its drive for superprofits. Oppressed nations must replace Breshnev's token aid and Mao's theories of self-reliance with international organizations for mutual support against the number one enemy, "our" imperialists. Only then can armed struggles led by Marxist-Leninists begin to win.

The Afro-American nation has a long way to go.
Unlike most nations, it is not yet convinced of its nation-hood or of its right to seize its land, the Black Belt.
Even after a Marxist-Leninist party in the Black Belt has resurrected Stalin's teachings and is influencing millions of Blacks, international support will still be essential for a victory.

Afro-American leaders will appeal to whites in and out of the Black Belt for support in the armed struggle to liberate the Black Belt.

This will be one of many long bloody wars in which our rulers will pit us against oppressed nations. There will be great civilian unemployment, since much fuel and raw material from oppressed nations will have been cut off. Our luxuries and then some of our necessities will become scarce. Protest and questioning of imperialist policy will be dealt with as our rulers have always dealt with oppressed rebels--blacklisting, beating, jail, assassination.

In short, many of the bribes which are the basis for white supremacy will end. More far-sighted thinking will become possible by some of our people.

It will be clear that high living on the backs of the oppressed is no longer an alternative. The choices will be reduced to two: either take the side of the oppressed or remain with the billionaires until their defeat.

For whites to struggle effectively against their own imperialists, a Marxist-Leninist party outside the Black Belt is needed. One of its key tasks will be the struggle against white supremacy and for support to the Black Belt nation's right to separate. This has always been a blind spot for progressive US whites.

A Marxist-Leninist party in the white nation will call not only for defeat of US billionaires abroad and liberation of the Black Belt. It will also demand the return of the "Southwest" to Mexico, independence for Puerto Rico, large autonomous areas for the Indians, and the return of their land to the Eskimos and Polynesians--break-up of the unjust US borders.

A US Marxist-Leninist party will seek white support for the armed overthrow of the US rulers, to establish a country that can live decently within new, just borders and can develop mutually beneficial relations with the newly liberated peoples of the world, especially the Black nation to the south.

Our nation will pay the billions it owes in reparations for imperialist crimes. The formerly oppressed, especially the Afro-American nation, will aid us in fighting the white and great-power chauvinism ingrained in our culture.

CURRENT EFFORTS

Hammer & Steel is the only organization in the US which can tie current problems between Blacks and whites to the nesessity of the liberation of the Black Belt.

Recently a white Boston woman was killed in brutal fashion, allegedly by several Blacks. Whether or not any

Blacks are guilty in the case, Hammer & Steel is the only organization to ask these questions:

When US imperialism occupies the Black Belt, creates millions of Black exiles living dead-end lives, destroys Black anti-imperialist leadership and fosters white supremacy, isn't it mainly responsible if a Black commits such a crime? Isn't this type of crime one result of "integration" on US imperialism's terms? Isn't the liberation of the Black Belt the only long-term solution?

Hammer & Steel is the only white organization trying to prepare our people for the future. The leaders in Moscow and Peking try to intensify the white supremacy of our people, pushing further away the day when a section will campaign against their rulers for the Blacks nation's freedom and their own political rehabilitation.

Mao claims that only the top rulers in the US benefit from national oppression, and that the masses are not infected with chauvinism. The Boston Globe and New York Times occasionally report white atrocities against Blacks, but the papers of the phony US revolutionaries like the US Communist Party, Progressive Labor and various Trotskyite groups never do.

Mao, Breshnev and their US followers praise the most highly the most reactionary white movements, such as "women's lib.", which paved the way for the widespread use of abortion against Black women.

The anti-abortion organizations are practically the only white movement doing anything which would benefit Afro-Americans. And they refuse to see abortion as a genocidal threat to Blacks.

Hammer & Steel is the only organization which has tried to win some anti-abortion forces to struggle against abortion as a threat mainly to the oppressed.

Hammer & Steel deserves the attention of any white who is concerned with the role our people play in the world now and with our future role. We deserve the attention of any Afro-American who seeks a realistic evaluation of the present obstacles and the future possibilities of the Afro-American national liberation struggle.

We are a tiny minority engaged in a long, bitter battle. But our ideas--Marxist-Leninist ideas--will be represented in the liberation victory of the Black Belt and the transformation of our white nation into an ally of the world's oppressed and newly liberated.

ISSUED BY: Hammer & Steel, Box 101, Mattapan, Mass., USA 02126.
SUBSCRIPTIONS: \$2.00 per year (no checks, please).