

HAMMER & STEEL NEWSLETTER

JUNE 1963

HAMMER & STEEL, a Marxist-Leninist publication, believes that the following questions are decisive for Negro liberation. Our answers are based on the study of Marxist-Leninist theory and experience on the national question:

Question 1: What is the real nature of Negro oppression?

Answer: The Negro people both under feudal slavery and capitalism did most of the building and developing in the South. Negro population was and is concentrated mainly in the cotton, peanut tobacco belt and in the southern cities which are part of this section. But it is also true that the history of every city and section of the South, whether in the Black Belt or otherwise, is mainly the history of Negro labor, Negro culture and the struggle for freedom.

The Negro people would be the vast majority of population in the South if not for land stealing, starvation, terror and genocide practiced by the white ruling class.

The chief feature of the southern part of the U.S. is the common culture, economy, territory and language of the Negro people--in short, the South is a Negro nation--an oppressed nation.

Question 2: Who is the main oppressor of the Negro?

Answer: Before the Civil War the native big landowners were the main enemy. Today Metropolitan Life, DuPont, Morgan, etc., own or control the Bull Connors, Talmadges and Barnetts in order to gain super profits from the colonial oppression of the Negro nation. These billionaires have absolute control of the Democratic and Republican National Committees.

Question 3: Who is the chief spokesman and agent of the Wall St. oppressors?

Answer: President Kennedy. It is he who is head of the armed forces and federal government. Every city, county, state and federal armed attack on the Negro population can only take place with his approval or direction.

It is President Kennedy who talks and talks and talks in order to stall and mislead the struggles for Negro liberation. Kennedy warned the Negro people to stop demonstrations which leads to violence--thereby trying to place the blame for 300 years of violence on the Negro population.

Question 4: Who are the agents of the chief enemy?

Answer: Those who advocate support of Kennedy and spread lies and illusions about the Wall St. profiteers sacrificing their profits without being defeated in bitter struggle. Also harmful are those who say that the struggle should be delayed until Socialism wins in the U.S. or until a more favorable moment, thereby objectively supporting Kennedy's two-faced oppressing role.

Question 5: Why is the Negro liberation movement becoming stronger and waging harder struggle at this time?

Answer: Because this is a favorable moment for anti-colonial, national liberation movements. The main enemy of the Negro and all oppressed peoples, U.S. imperialism, is spread thin and being set back in Africa, Latin America and S.E. Asia. Divisions between U.S. imperialism and rival imperialist countries are sharpening. The rapidly increasing strength of Socialist China, a former semi-colonial nation, weakens the oppressors and inspires the oppressed nations.

Question 6: What about those who advocate non-violence as a tactic for struggles of the Negro people?

Answer: It is necessary for the Negro people and their allies to use many methods to win freedom. But whatever method they are using at any given time or place they must be prepared to answer violence with greater violence directed at Wall St. and their agents.

The South in 1963 is not India in 1940. U.S. imperialism developed later than Britain and other imperialist nations and is far more brutal using genocidal tactics toward the American Indians, Latin Americans, Vietnamese, Africans and the Negro people.

Question 7: Is integration possible without self-determination?

Answer: The struggle for civil rights legislation, jobs and freedom of movement can win certain concessions but will never end the oppression which is rooted in the South. Real equality between oppressed nations and the oppressor nations is impossible.

Equality and integration can only develop freely with the freedom of the Negro nation and the special rights granted the Negro national minority in the North and West. A free Negro nation will determine whether its best interest lie in separation or as an autonomous part of the U.S.

Question 8: Who are the allies of the Negro nation's struggle for freedom?

Answer: The Negro national minority in the North and West, the Puerto Rican and Mexican national minorities and sections of the white working class in the U.S. Not a few white students, small business men and professionals can be counted on for some aid. Internationally, those who are waging struggle against Wall St. oppression are allies. It is correct that the Negro people and their friends refuse to help oppress the Cubans, Vietnamese, Algerians and Congolese. They must support their efforts and learn from them.

Question 9: Will the Negro nation need a national liberation front as in Viet Nam and Algeria?

Answer: Yes. Since the Negro struggle is a national struggle all classes will be represented. The movement for self-determination today in all countries depends much more on the working class and Marxist-Leninist forces to succeed than it did 50 years ago. Therefore, Negro workers will have an increasing role to play in the Negro national liberation front.

The Negro people in the North and West will use many different organizations to advance the struggle including the possibility of their own candidates on the ballot. In the South, the main work will be illegal or semi-legal and requires an organization capable of working under such conditions.

Question 10: What should be the role of the white workers, especially the white Marxist-Leninists?

Answer: Only a united working class can effectively struggle against Kennedy's huge war budget and the danger he will commit further aggression leading to a world war.

A united working class could break from the political strangle hold of the Democrats and Republicans.

A divided working class is in constant danger of fascism in the U.S. A united working class can defeat fascism and advance toward Socialism.

Therefore the role of advanced white workers and white Marxist-Leninists is to win the white working class for self-determination and other demands of the Negro people.

Full assistance from the white Marxist-Leninists must be given a Marxist-Leninist Party in the South, a Party which will make its own decisions and not be dominated by Northerners.

Question 11: What slogans need to be popularized at this time?

Answer: UNITY OF THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD!

DEFEAT KENNEDY AND HIS TWO-FACED POLICY OF SWEET TALK AND ARMED OPPRESSION!

UNITY OF BLACK AND WHITE WORKERS!

DISARM THE WHITE OPPRESSORS IN THE SOUTH!

ARMS FOR THE NEGRO PEOPLE!

SELF-DETERMINATION, STATE POWER FOR THE NEGRO NATION!

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