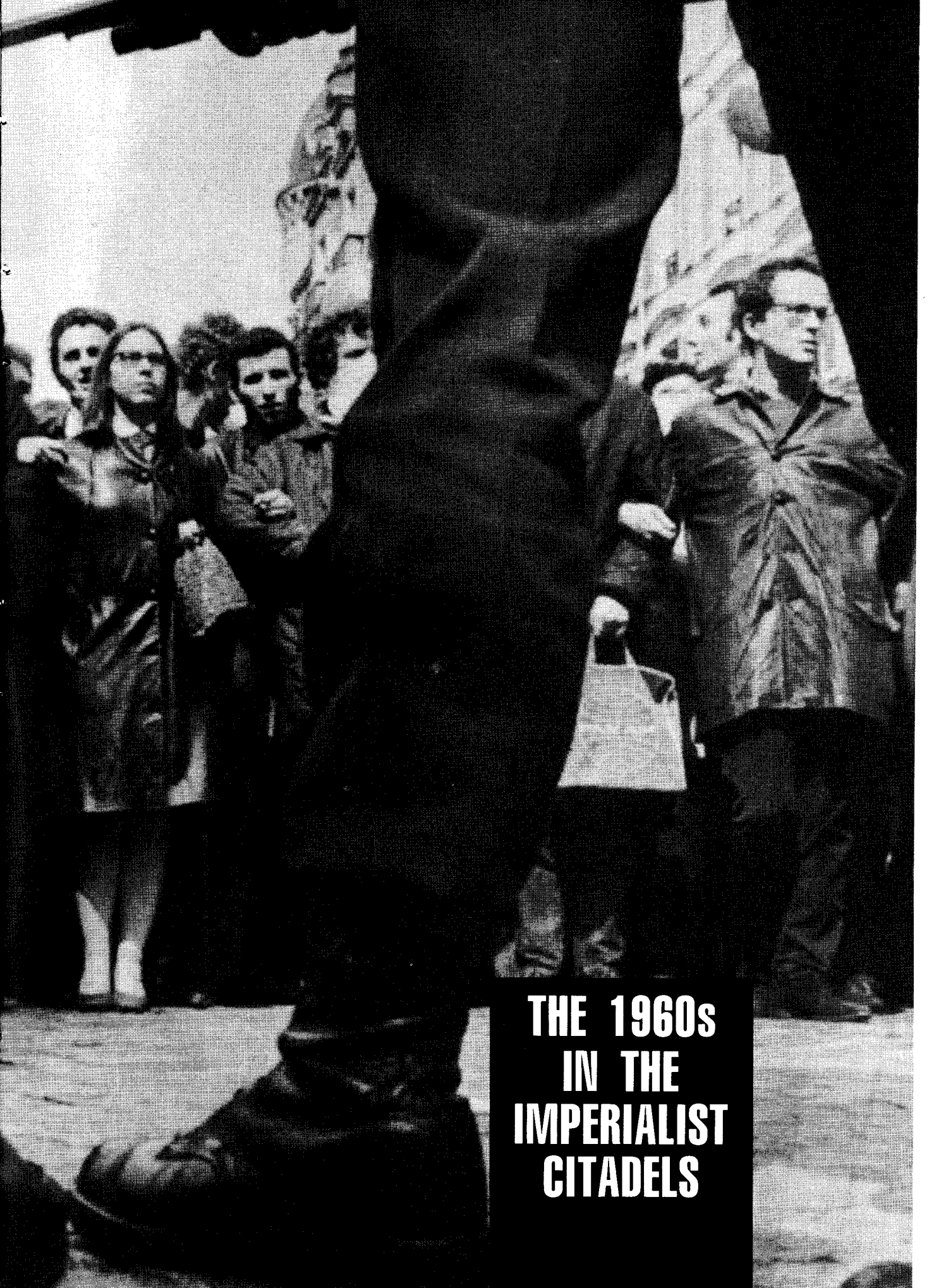


**ONLY THE
BEGINNING!**



**THE 1960s
IN THE
IMPERIALIST
CITADELS**

**Statement by
Comrade Mao Tsetung,
Chairman of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of China,
In Support of the
Afro-American Struggle
Against Violent Repression**
(April 16, 1968)

Some days ago, Martin Luther King, the Afro-American clergyman, was suddenly assassinated by the U.S. imperialists. Martin Luther King was an exponent of non-violence. Nevertheless, the U.S. imperialists did not on that account show any tolerance towards him, but used counter-revolutionary violence and killed him in cold blood. This has taught the broad masses of the black people in the United States a profound lesson. It has touched off a new storm in their struggle against violent repression sweeping well over a hundred cities in the United States, a storm such as has never taken place before in the history of that country. It shows that an extremely powerful revolutionary force is latent in the more than 20 million black Americans.

The storm of the Afro-American struggle taking place within the United States is a striking manifestation of the comprehensive political and economic crisis now gripping U.S. imperialism. It is dealing a telling blow to U.S. imperialism, which is beset with difficulties at home and abroad.

The Afro-American struggle is not only a struggle waged by the exploited and oppressed black people for freedom and emancipation, it is also a new clarion call to all the exploited and oppressed people of the United States to fight against the barbarous rule of the monopoly capitalist class. It is a tremendous support and inspiration to the struggle of the people throughout the world against U.S. imperialism and to the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism. On behalf of the Chinese people, I hereby express resolute support for the just struggle of the black people in the United States.

Racial discrimination in the United States is a product of the colonialist and imperialist system. The contradiction between the black masses in the United States and the U.S. ruling circles is a class contradiction. Only by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and destroying the colonialist and imperialist system can the black people in the United States win complete emancipation. The black masses and the masses of white working people in the United States share common interests and have common objectives to struggle for. Therefore, the Afro-American struggle is winning sym-

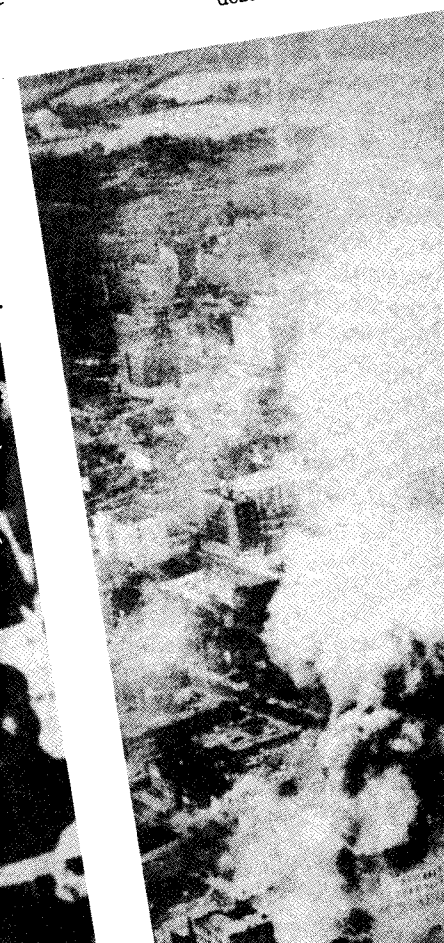
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Shan, Shensi Province, China. Demonstration in support of U.S. Black Liberation struggle. One of many demonstrations under the leadership of Mao's line in support of the people of the world during the Cultural Revolution.





Newark, U.S.A. A series of Black ghetto uprisings shook the U.S. during what the U.S. ruling class called the "long hot summer" of 1967. Here Black people face off against National Guardsmen who, along with police, killed several dozen people and wounded thousands more in that city.



Washington D.C., April, 1968. Troops ringed the White House and Capitol and they in turn were surrounded by the flame and fury of the Black masses who rose up there and in 110 other cities across the country that week.



Cartoon from the newspaper of the Black Panther Party, a revolutionary U.S. Black political party.

Oakland, California, U.S.A. Black Panther Party demonstration, December, 1969. The Black Panther Party put armed struggle back on the agenda in the U.S., at a time when the revisionists had ruled it out of order.





Demonstrators in the U.S. brandish thick poles bearing the red flag and the banner of the National Liberation Front of Vietnam — their government's wartime enemy.



West Berlin, Germany, 1968. Students carrying portraits of Ho Chi Minh as well as Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, resurrecting the spectre of the 1919 German communist uprising, as they march against the war in Vietnam and the German capitalists and government.



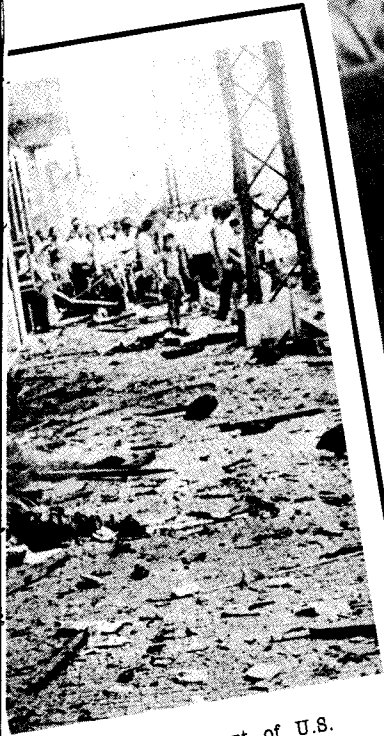
Milan, Italy, early 1970s.

(Continued from page 34).
 Pathy and support from increasing numbers of white working people and progressives in the United States. The struggle of the black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class.

In 1963, in my "Statement Supporting the Afro-Americans in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism" I said that "the evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and throve with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the black people." I still maintain this view.

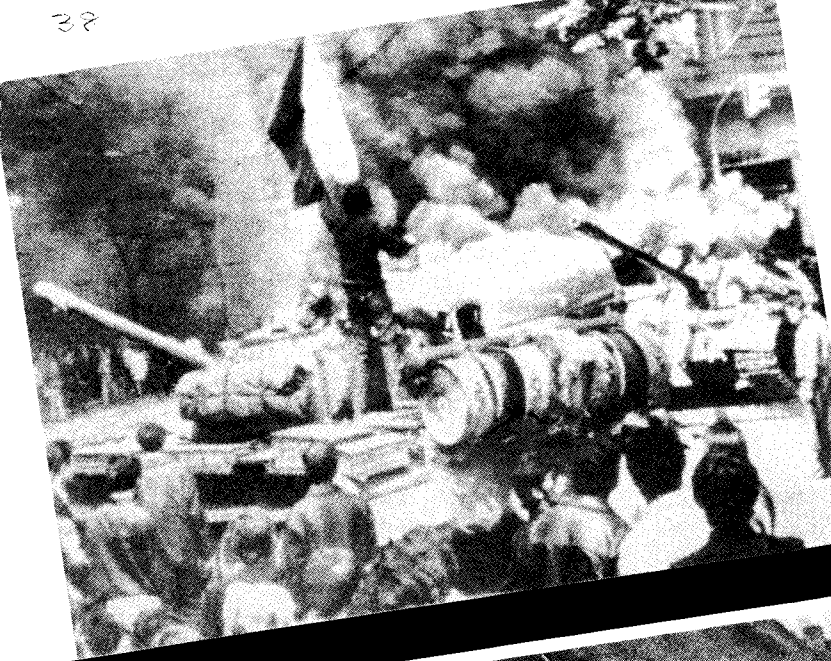
At present, the world revolution has entered a great new era. The struggle of the black people in the United States for emancipation is a component part of the general struggle of all the people of the world against U.S. imperialism, a component part of the contemporary world revolution. I call on the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals of every country and all who are willing to fight against U.S. imperialism to take action and extend strong support to the struggle of the black people in the United States! People of the whole world, unite still more closely and launch a sustained and vigorous offensive against our common enemy, U.S. imperialism, and against its accomplices! It can be said with certainty that the complete collapse of colonialism, imperialism, and all systems of exploitation, and the complete emancipation of all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world are not far off.

— Mao Tsetung



Wreckage of part of U.S. embassy in Saigon. The military defeats inflicted by the Vietnamese people vividly showed the truth of Lenin's statement that imperialism is a "colossus with feet of clay."

The war in Vietnam against U.S. imperialism was the sharpest of the struggles of oppressed peoples and nations, the storm centre of the world revolutionary struggle. They formed the context that conditioned the upsurge in the imperialist countries during the 1960s.



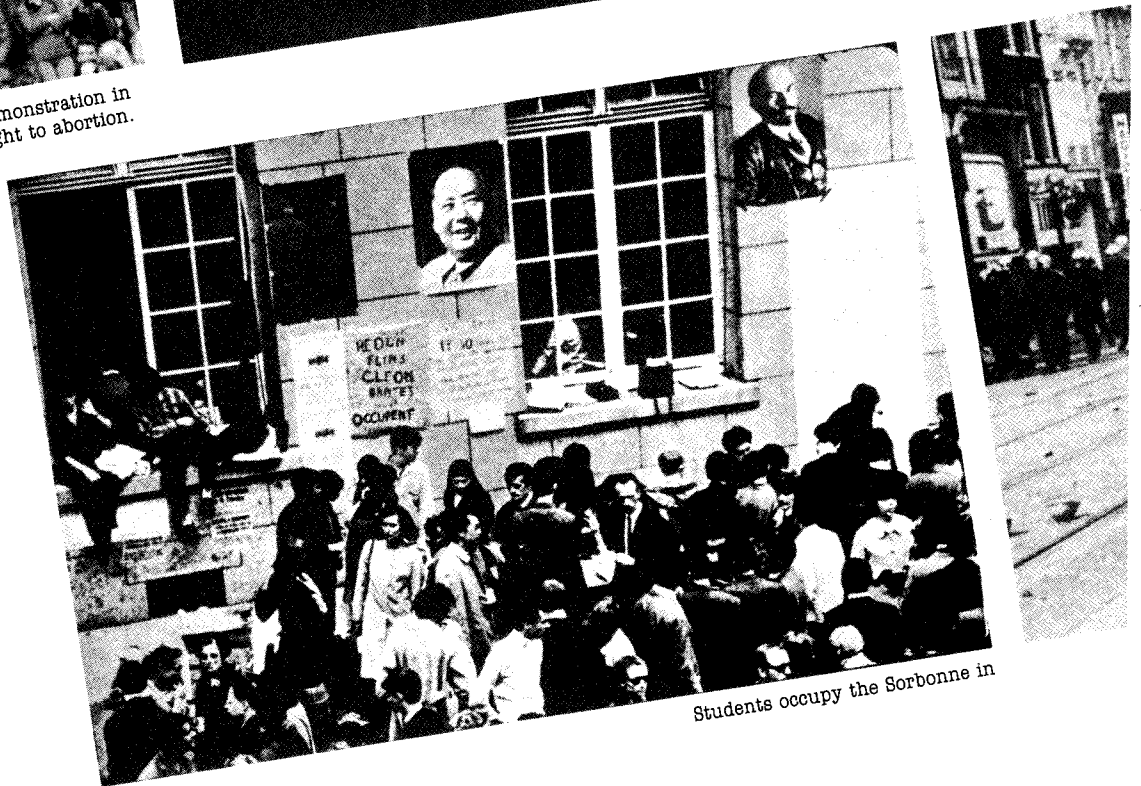
Prague, Czechoslovakia, August 1968. Revolutionaries condemned the Soviet invasion, which underlined Mao's analysis that with the rise to power of a revisionist bourgeoisie within the Soviet party the former socialist bastion had turned imperialist.



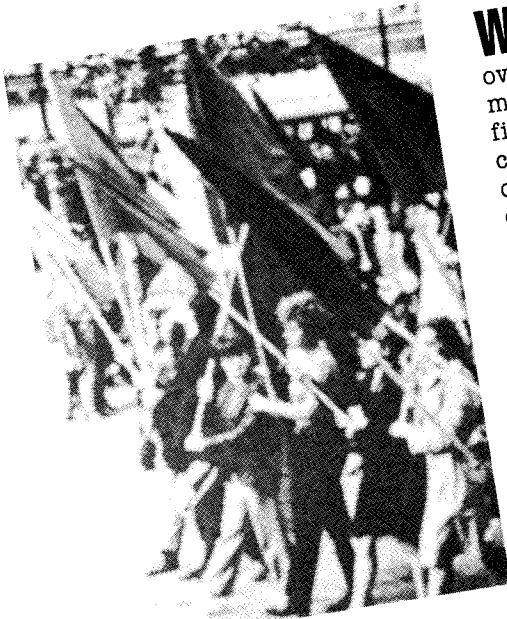
Naples, Italy, 1970. Demonstration in demand of the right to abortion.



West German feminists.



Students occupy the Sorbonne in



When the students took over the Sorbonne in Paris, men wanted women to confine themselves to typing, coffee-making and child care. Women insisted on debating and fighting. This struggle within the struggle raged in every country. The outrage against the oppression of women was to become an extremely important aspect of the overall revolt against all the social relations enforced by imperialism and reaction.



Amsterdam. Demonstration against the coronation of Queen Beatrice, a symbol of Dutch imperialism.



Berlin student conference.

Japanese students and workers attack police water cannons.



Night of the Barricades

It was at that moment, about 6:30 pm, that word reached the student leaders of new conciliatory proposals from Louis Joxe, the Acting Premier. He offered the immediate withdrawal of police from the Latin Quarter, permission for the students to hold a meeting there that night, and reopening of the Sorbonne on Saturday. These proposals were put to the crowd. Their answer was a

with courageous, on-the-spot, reporting — France stayed up to listen....
 ... "2 am: It is now obvious that police are preparing a powerful attack. Radio announces we are surrounded and that government has ordered police to attack ... In front of us we turn over cars to prevent police from charging with their buses and tanks (Radio said tanks were coming but we never saw any)

flouted and then routed. In the two or three weeks after the Night of the Barricades, France was in a state of revolution. That is to say, the existing power structure — not only political power, but every sort of power — was challenged and in some cases overturned, and an attempt was made, however confused and disorderly, to put another in its stead. Students, workers, active citizens joined together

great roar of "Liberez nos camarades!" (Free Our Comrades). The government's gesture had come too late....
 ... As news reached the students that the police had called up heavy reinforcements, the throwing up of barricades became more feverish. Building sites were plundered, billboards torn down from the walls, scaffolding and barbed wire piled up, and everywhere cars were tipped on their sides and jammed in among the pavés (cobblestones). Anxiety was blotted out by a sort of frenetic joy. They were like men preparing to sell their lives dearly...

from Red Flag/Black Flag.

... I must insist again that the general mood was defense not offensive, we just wanted to hold the place like an entrenched sit-down strike ... Their tactics are simple: at 100 yards distance they launch gas grenades by rifle which blind, suffocate and knock us out. This gas is MACE (Vietnam and Detroit Mace). Also explosive grenades, one student near us picked up one to throw it back, it tore his whole hand off ... But then police attack at three points simultaneously: at two extremities of Gay Lussac, at our barricade and at Rue d'Ulm ... Finally we are forced back. Our barricade burns. At this point all I can remember is that I fainted from lack of air"...

from 1968 by David Caute

spontaneously in hundreds of insurrectional committees all over Paris, but also in the provinces. This very widespread revolt against the old forms of established authority was accompanied by an acute and profoundly enjoyable sense of liberation. All sorts of people felt it in all walks of life. A great gust of fresh air blew through dusty minds and offices and bureaucratic structures. This throwing off of constraint, this sense of relief was the authentic stamp of the revolution, the proof that the changes being wrought were really of revolutionary proportions.

Suddenly and for a few precious days, the French, whose normal life is bound by many petty regulations, enjoyed the pleasures of a primitive anarchistic society. It was a society without policemen, with everyone his own traffic cop. In spite of the vexations of life, the strike, and the drying up of gasoline pumps, men will look back on that period and remember it with joy.

The most striking feature of those days was the sight of people talking to one another — not only casual exchanges, but long intense conversations between total strangers, clustered at street corners, in cafés, in the Sorbonne, in course. There was an explosion of talk, as if people had been saving up what they had to say for years...

from Red Flag/Black Flag

The Morning After

As can be seen from the above account, this was not an insurrection, an attempt to overthrow the government and seize power. But it did drastically change the country's political climate, as the following brings out even while exaggerating (although written by respectable reporters) the degree to which a real revolution had taken place:

... To live through a revolution is a delirious experience. It is a little frightening, but also exhilarating, to see authority

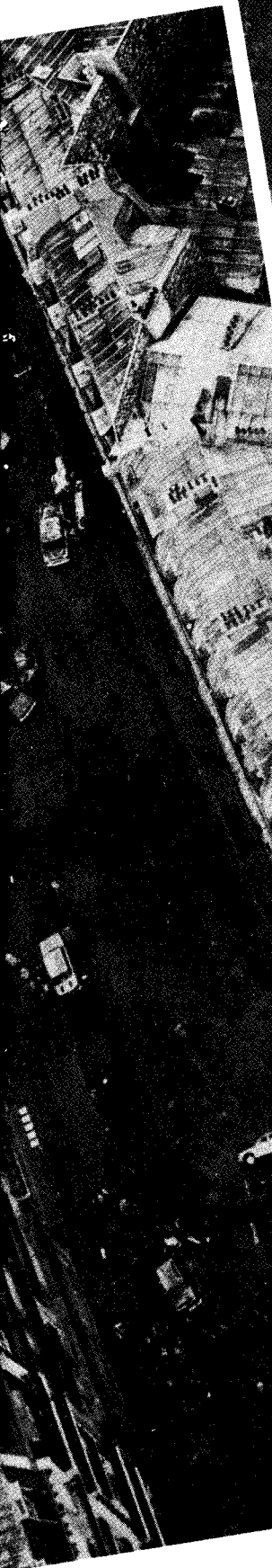
One of many posters on the streets of Paris in 1968.



double: one three-foot high pile of wood, cars, metal posts, dustbins ... Of course the majority of people simply look on. We organise a cordon to keep photographers and bystanders away from us..."
 In many homes transistor radios remained on all night. The two commercial stations, Europe One and Radio Luxembourg, rose to the occasion



Paris, May 10, 1968.



If the theoretical struggle against modern revisionism played a vital role in the rebuilding of a Marxist-Leninist movement it was especially the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, an unprecedented new form of struggle, itself in large part a fruit of this combat against modern revisionism, that gave rise to a whole new generation of Marxist-Leninists. The tens of millions of workers, peasants and revolutionary youth who went into battle to overthrow the capitalist roaders entrenched in the party and state apparatus and to further revolutionise society struck a vibrant chord among millions of people across the world who were rising up as part of the revolutionary upsurge that swept the world in the 1960s and early 1970s.

The Cultural Revolution represents the most advanced experience of the proletarian dictatorship and the revolutionising of society.

(Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement)



Chinese workers and students greet Mao during the Cultural Revolution.



France, 1968. Students marched from the Latin Quarter to the Billancourt Renault factory outside Paris. The revisionist union leadership locked the plant gates shut to keep out "the ultra-left plague." Some workers climbed out onto the roofs to salute the red flag and join the students.



Workers outside the Renault plant at Flins, after government riot troops led by armoured cars drove them out. Flins workers then sent to the Sorbonne for students to help them battle police and retake the factory.

l'Humanité

ORGANE CENTRAL DU PARTI COMMUNISTE FRANÇAIS

**RETOUR
A LA NORMALE...**



"Back to Normal" — Poster mocking the common slogan raised by the "parties of order" — the government and the PCF — in June 1968.

Self-exposures

From Headlines of l'Humanité (organ of the French Communist Party - PCF)

- Unmask the Phoney Revolutionaries (May 3 1968)
- Nanterre and Sorbonne Closed to Students Three Weeks Before Exams — Communist Party Denounces the Responsibility of the Government and Ultra-left Adventurists and Friday's Police Violence (May 18 1968)
- Strikes Spreading, Factories Seized / Exams Immediate Concern of Great Majority of Students (May 18 1968)
- Bosses and Government Up Against the Wall — We're Ready to Take Part in Serious Negotiations Say CGT and CFDT (May 23 1968)
- Victorious and United Return to Work / CGT Paris Denounces Efforts of Groups Foreign to the Working Class [at Flins] (June 6 1968)
- "I must remind you that the Communist Party has never had anything in common with the so-called revolutionary groups whose methods we have denounced from the beginning.... The only goal of the Communist Party is the happiness and prosperity of France. (PCF General-Secretary Waldek Rochet, June 29 1968)

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The Whole World Is Watching — Chicago, USA, 1968

It was a high point of the anti-war movement during the '60s upsurge of mass struggle. We were marching down Michigan Avenue toward the Conrad Hilton Hotel, which was the headquarters for the candidates, their staffs, and the press. For most of the afternoon we had been trapped in Chicago's lakefront Grant Park...

But when we tried to leave the park area to march on the Amphitheater, site of the Democratic Party's National Convention on Chicago's southside, we found all the routes of exit blocked. The sunken tracks of the Illinois Central Railroad could only be crossed where roads bridged them. In the middle of each of these cross bridges now sat a .30-caliber machine gun on a tripod, flanked by helmeted soldiers with rifles.

"On orders of the Chicago Police Department, there will be no march," announced the

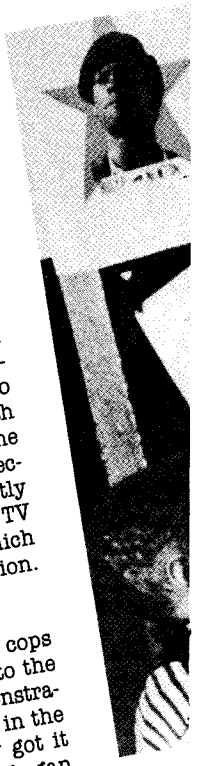
police commander.... But many of us dispersed in small groups to attempt an end run around the blockade, so that by 6:30 several thousand had infiltrated the line of troops and had massed on Michigan Avenue. Just then a mule-drawn wagon train of the Poor Peoples Campaign which had been driven all the way from the South appeared and also began moving down Michigan. The crowd surged around it. Several youths ran to the front carrying the flag of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and a black anarchist flag. Cheering and shouting, we surged forward. Chants of "Dump the Hump" and "Peace Now" went up.

On lower Michigan Avenue, the scene was one of lively chaos. The National Guard troops on the bridges had been liberally dispersing tear gas from the CA-3 backpack

sprayers, but the wind was blowing it back through their own ranks and into the downtown area around the Conrad Hilton Convention Headquarters. As the impromptu march came down Michigan, the bulk of the crowd in the park was able to break through one of the cross streets and join the rest of us at the corner of Michigan and Balbo. There were already several thousand demonstrators gathered directly across from the Hotel. They now picked up chants. Upstairs in the Hilton, campaign workers for Eugene McCarthy who had become sympathetic after three days of police attacks began throwing toilet-paper streamers out of the twelfth-story windows and blinking hotel room lights in rhythm with the chants. "Hell no, we won't go," "Fuck you, L.B.J.," and "The streets belong to the people" merged into a roar.

The police seem to have been caught completely by surprise as a huge crowd — which was supposed to have dispersed — suddenly reassembled right at the Convention Headquarters. A few cops had rushed into the street swinging wildly, but the crowd swarmed past them. Emergency calls for reinforcements crackled over the radio waves. City buses loaded with cops began to arrive, but the people now filled the intersection. The scene was brilliantly lit by the flood lights of TV mobile camera vans which were also in the intersection.

At 8 pm a phalanx of cops charged down Balbo into the intersection. Some demonstrators were sitting down in the intersection, and they got it the worst. The cops began clubbing everyone, beating demonstrators, newsmen, and random pedestrians alike. The air was filled with debris as the larger portion of the crowd looked for anything and everything to throw. At one edge of the intersection the cops cornered a large group of people against the plate-glass window of the Hilton's Haymarket Restaurant ("A place



Democratic National Convention, Chicago, 1968.

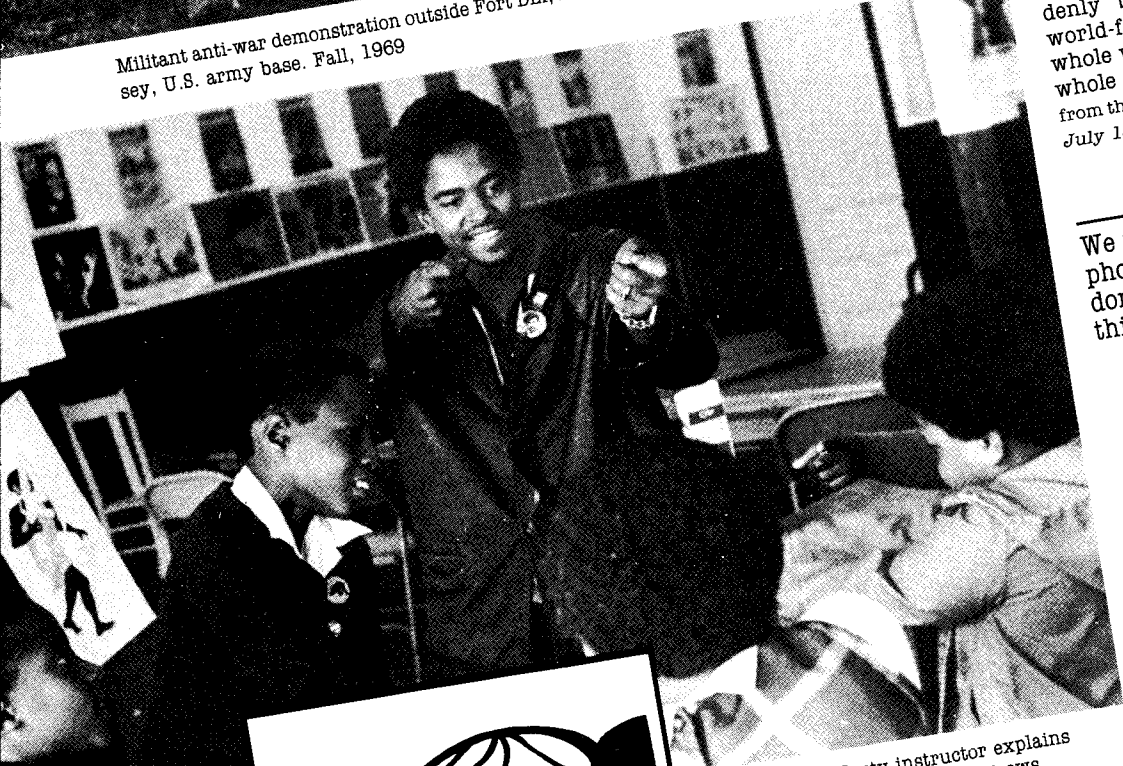


Militant anti-war demonstration outside Fort Dix, New Jersey, U.S. army base. Fall, 1969

where good guys take good girls to dine in the lusty, rollicking atmosphere of fabulous Chicago," or so their advertising went). People were banging on the windows, seeking help from the startled diners. Suddenly the glass pane shattered as dozens of demonstrators fell through onto the dinner tables, cutting themselves on the shards of broken glass. Pandemonium broke loose as crazed cops climbed through the broken window, still clubbing, and pursued people through the hotel lobby.

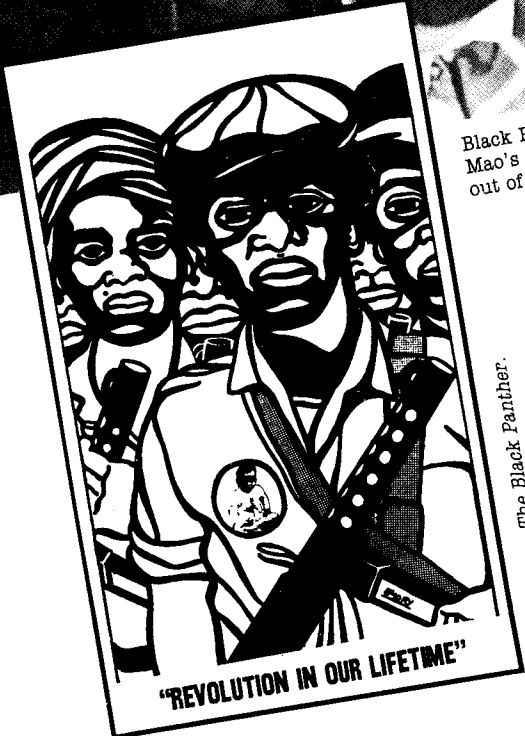
thing heavy and portable. Pop bottles, glasses, a telephone, and heavy hotel glass ashtrays came raining down from the hotel windows, smashing among the advancing cops.

Unknown to those of us on the scene, the TV networks had switched from live coverage of the Convention in the Amphitheater on the southside to live coverage of the melee at Michigan and Balbo. At the height of the action the great mass of demonstrators outside the intersection suddenly burst into the now world-famous chant, "The whole world's watching! The whole world's watching!" ... from the *Revolutionary Worker* — July 18 1968



Black Panther Party instructor explains Mao's slogan "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

We wish to thank those photographers who donated their photos for this photo section.



Cartoon from The Black Panther.

Hundreds of people above, leaning out of hotel windows, were shocked and outraged. Young campaign workers who had come to Chicago "Clean for Gene" and determined to "open up the democratic process" couldn't believe their eyes. Below them on the street, knots of blue-shirted cops gathered around individual fallen demonstrators to beat them with riot sticks. Suddenly the festive display of toilet paper streamers was replaced with a shower of any-