The history of society is a history of class struggle. It is not made by millionaires and generals, although it is the victors who tell the tale. The real makers of history are the masses, in their unstinting refusal to accept the way things are, and their heroic struggle against oppression and exploitation. The brief portrayal of this millenia-old saga offered in this photo essay is of necessity schematic and can only give a hint of the countless dramatic struggles that have taken place in different epochs on different continents, and much, unfortunately, had to be omitted. We hope these glimpses help illustrate Engel's observation that the working people in every corner of the earth are indeed each other's distant kith and kin, that their hearts beat as one, that our class, the international proletariat, is a single class with a single interest, of putting an end to class society and bringing into being a communist world.

> Pages from the History of Class Struggle

Primitive
Society and
the Rise of
Classes

For tens of thousands of years mankind lived under primitive communalism, where, though classes did not yet exist, people were nonetheless dominated by the forces of nature. As the productive forces developed, a social division of labour arose, and with it, private property, classes and patriarchy.

Together with the first appearance of classes came] ... the world historical defeat of the female sex. The man took command in the home also, the woman was degraded and reduced to servitude; she became the slave of his lust and a mere instrument for the production of children. - Frederick Engels, Origin

of the Family, Private Property and the State

Inset above: Long houses, North America.

Right: People of the Tundra, in the Arctic. In early society extended families lived in communalistic households often headed by women. Slavery at one point or another characterised societies around the globe. Most slave revolts disappeared into the dust of history. A few, like the massive one led by Spartacus, which rocked the Roman Empire, and in which 100 000 slaves lost their lives, survived both time and censorship.

Slave Society

An unusually frank scene from an ancient Egyptian wall painting, which depicts the ruling Pharoahs crushing the slaves underfoot.

I am a worker: one grain of the sands that fills up the ruts, but also builds the temples. Perhaps I owe my life to God, I know the law: "Man, from your own sweat you will earn your daily bread."

I erected Greece and Rome,
I destroyed arrogant Troy:
my hands are hammers, weapons to create
and destroy at will.

If you see before you any products of labour, It was I who shaped them, gave them birth.

I am the monarch without throne or crown, a master who must always obey another.

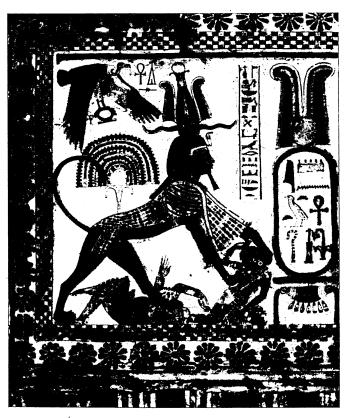
How many lucky men have I helped enrich, while I myself remained hungry?

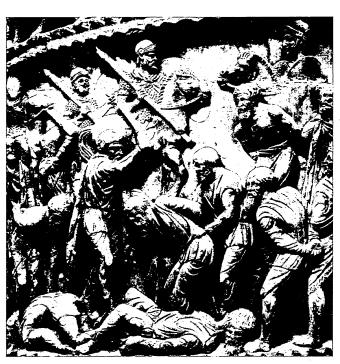
How many stood upon my shoulders?

My orphans have become Mammon and Nabob...

To deprive my person of dignity was the work of scheming minds; but gold will indubitably remain gold, fragance of earth will elude concealment; and if I am negated by the corruptors, who will deny the final judgement of history?

Amado V. Hernandez,
 Filipino poet,
 excerpt from The Worker Hero





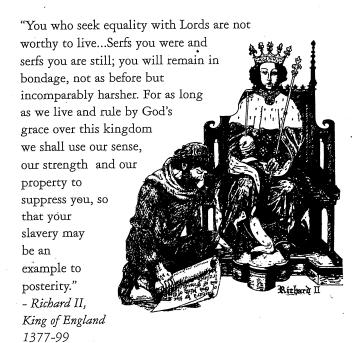
The Roman Empire was erected on the basis of slave labour.

Feudalism



A depiction from revolutionary China of a peasant rebellion.

England, 1381 - The Year of the Peasants' Revolt



"Ah, you good people, things cannot go
well in England until all property is in
common and there are neither serfs nor
gentlemen but one united people. How ill
they behave to us. For what reason do they
hold us in bondage?
The lords' claim to be more
lords than are we rests only
on their power to force us
to labour and produce in
order that they may spend."

- John Ball, English peasant
leader speaking at Blackheath 1381

Feudalism generally superseded slavery: the labourer was no longer the possession of the owning class, but was bound to the feudal lord's land. Peasant revolts periodically shattered the rulers' peace. Sometimes these struggles were titanic in scale, such as the Taipei Rebellion in China, which rocked the nineteenth century Ching Dynasty to its foundations. Especially before the rise of the proletariat, the peasant revolts were marked by the limitations of the times. Some peasant movements were co-opted, others were brutally suppressed. Yet even those that failed left burning the embers of hope for a new way of living.



Peasant revolt in Spire, Germany, 1502. The peasant banner features a simple boot, in symbolic opposition to the elegant leather footwear of the nobility.

Rosy Dawn of Capitalism

"The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signalised the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production" — Marx, Capital, Vol. I



An East India Company poster to recruit British soldiers. It promises reward, adventure and victory. (East Indies refers to what we now call South Asia and South-East Asia).



Aztec painting of warriors attacking a troop of Spanish conquistadores entrenched in a building (in what is now Mexico).

Las Casas, a young priest who participated in the conquest of Cuba in the 1500s, reported that the Spaniards "thought nothing of knifing Indians by tens and twenties and of cutting slices off them to test the sharpness of their blades".

Atahualpa the Inca chief declared: "I will be no man's tributary... As to the pope of which you speak, he must be crazy to talk of giving away countries that do not belong to him."

Painting inspired by the slave revolt led by Toussaint L'Ouverture in the French colony of Haiti. 1801.





Captured slave.

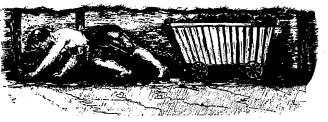
"Those who profess to favour freedom and yet deprecate agitation are people who want crops without ploughing the ground: they want rain without thunder and lightning, they want the ocean without the roar of its many waters... Power concedes nothing without demand, it never has and it never will."

 Frederick Douglas, an ex-slave, in defence of an armed anti-slavery revolt just prior to the outbreak of the US Civil War in 1861.

The Birth of the Proletariat

The expansion of trade, the growth of science and technology, the concentration of production into increasingly larger units in modern industry, and the expropriation of peasant land led to the rise of a new class of owners, the bourgeoisie, and a new class of labourers, the proletariat. First established on a large scale in England, the proletariat was characterised by the fact that it no longer laboured on individual parcels of land, as the peasantry had, but was forced to sell its labour power in order to survive. It was, as Marx declared, a class with "nothing to lose but its chains".

"What the bourgeoisie, therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable." - The Communist Manifesto



In nineteenth-century England children as young as four were employed in the coal and iron mines.



The first generations of proletarians had been driven off the land and forced into the cities into "workhouses" like this, in conditions of urban squalor scathingly depicted in 19th-century novels like those of Charles Dickens, Victor Hugo and Emile Zola.



Child miners in France. Late 1800s.



The Potato Eaters. Painting by Vincent Van Gogh, done while he was living among the coal miners in Belgium. 1885.

The
Bourgeoisie
Seizes Power,
the
Proletariat
Takes the
Stage

The bourgeoisie expanded and gained strength over several centuries, and increasingly contested power with the feudal classes, first in England in the late 17th century, and then most dramatically a century later in the French Revolution of 1789. But even as the bourgeoisie seized power for the first time, the forces of the new-born proletarian class burst onto the scene, and soon were to establish themselves as the implacable enemy of capitalism.

French Government forces are bombarded from above in the timehonoured fashion on the "The great men who in France prepared men's minds for the coming revolution, were themselves extreme revolutionists. They recognised no external authority of any kind... everything was subjected to the most unsparing criticism: everything must justify its existence before the judgement-seat of reason or give up its existence.... We know today that this kingdom of reason was nothing more than the idealised kingdom of the bourgeoisie; that this eternal Right found its realisation in bourgeois justice; that this equality reduced itself to bourgeois equality before the law; that bourgeois property was proclaimed as one of the essential rights of man; and that the government of reason ...came into being, and only could come into being, as a democratic bourgeois republic." - Frederick Engels, Socialism: Utopian and Scientific





Karl Marx and Frederick Engels at the founding congress of the First International, the first time the working class brought together its forces internationally against the bourgeoisie and reactionaries.

"The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win! Proletarians of all countries unite!"

— The Communist Manifesto

Louise Michel, a prominent Communard.



Women at the barricades of the Paris Commune in 1870. The proletariat seized power for the first time, but was murderously suppressed after 90 days. Remarking on the revolutionary women, one frightened bourgeois observer proclaimed: "If France were a nation of women, what a terrible nation it would be."

Capitalism Expands: Colonisation and Resistance

As capitalism expanded around the world, it took sovereign power in the areas it conquered, establishing outright colonies. Britain's King George II, for instance, was proclaimed Emperor of India. Indigenous cultures and languages were ruthlessly suppressed, their histories rewritten, their economies subjugated to the colonialist country's needs. Everywhere this met resistance, from a variety of class forces.

"I have heard your words, but I do not see any reason why I should obey you. I should rather die. I have no relationship with you and I cannot recall that you have ever given me a pesa or a quarter-pesa or a needle or thread. I search for a reason why I should obey you and I cannot find even the smallest... If you want to fight, I am prepared, but never shall I be your subject. ... Since I was born I have not set foot on the coast; shall I now go there because you call me? I shall not come. If you are strong enough, come and get me. I should rather lose your respect than surrender to you."

A cry of defiance from Machemba, a tribal chief from southern Tanganyika (Lindi) [present-day Tanzania] to the German District Officer at Lindi who had ordered him to give himself up at the coast.

— Quoted in The Scramble For Africa, Robin Brooke-Smith



Mural by Mexican artist Orozco depicting the revolutionary upsurge there in the early 1900s.



Laxmi Bai, who had ruled a small kingdom in what is now Uttar Pradesh, India, strapped her child to her back and went off to war against the British colonialists, as part of Tantia Topi's war for independence in 1857. She was eventually killed in the fighting.

The United Fruit Co.

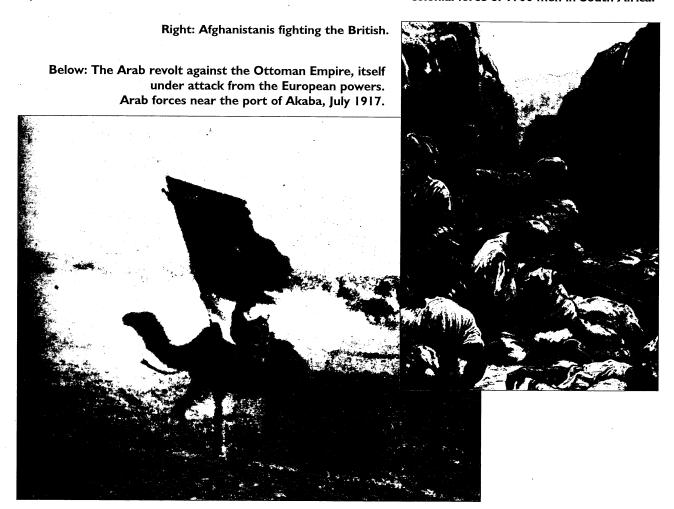
When the trumpet sounded, it was all prepared on the earth, and Jehovah parceled out the earth to Coca-Cola, Inc., Anaconda, Ford Motors, and other entities: The Fruit Company, Inc. reserved for itself the most succulent, the central coast of my own land, the delicate waist of America. It rechristened its territories as the "Banana Republics" and over the sleeping dead, over the restless heroes who brought about the greatness,

the liberty and the flags, it established the comic opera: abolished the independencies, presented crowns of Caesar, unsheathed envy, attracted the dictatorship of the flies, Trujillo flies, Tacho flies, Carias flies, Martinez flies, Ubico flies, damp flies of modest blood and marmalade, drunken flies who zoom over the ordinary graves, circus flies, wise flies well trained in tyranny.

- Pablo Neruda, Chilean poet



The Battle of Isandhlwana in 1879. 20,000 Zulu warriors surrounded and obliterated a British colonial force of 1700 men in South Africa.



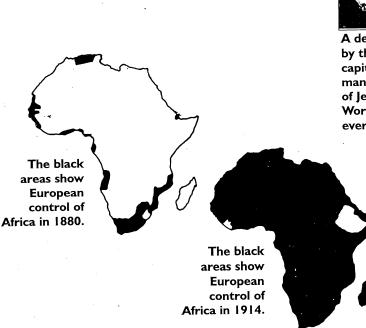
Imperialism – An Era of War and Revolution

By the dawn of the 20th century, capitalism had divided up the entire world. Monopoly capital had emerged. A handful of wealthy imperialist nations now dominated the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Mankind had entered the era of imperialism, an era marked by wars of colonial plunder and world war, with the imperialist countries mobilising their armies to slaughter the soldiers of other imperialist countries in order to redivide the world. But it is also the era of proletarian revolution.

"For the first time the world is completely divided up, so that in the future only redivision is possible, i.e. territories can only pass from one 'owner' to another, instead of passing as ownerless territory to an 'owner'.

"Hence, we are living in a peculiar epoch of world colonial policy, which is most closely connected with the 'latest stage in the development of capitalism', with finance capital."

— Lenin, Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism





A depiction of the horrific devastation of World War I by the progressive German painter Otto Dix. The capitalist nations' destructive capacity increased many-fold: in 1806 Napoleon won the decisive Battle of Jena using 1,500 rounds of artillery; by the end of World War I, France was producing 200,000 shells every day.



1898 – The US war against Spain to take possession the Philippines and its other colonies marked the birth of imperialism. The US writer and satarist Mark Twain summarised the war as follows:

"We have pacified some thousands of the islanders and buried them; destroyed their fields; burned their villages, and turned their widows and orphans out-of-doors; furnished heartbreak by exile to some dozens of disagreeable patriots; subjugated the remaining ten millions by Benevolent Assimilation, which is the pious new name of the musket...

"And so, by these Providences of God – and the phrase is the government's, not mine – we are a World Power."

- from A People's History of the USA, Howard Zinn

To Answer

It roars and it rattles, the war's big drum, demanding live meat to be spitted on iron. Slave after slave from all countries come to handle the steel their fellows die on. What for? The earth trembles, unclothed unfed: man splashes in the bloody bath like a zany. Only that somebody somewhere should get his pocketful of Albania. Human packs grapple with bloodthirsty yells, slash after slash the earth's hide flay, iust for somebody's ships to pass the Dardanelles free of pay. Soon the earth won't have a rib left whole. They'll tear out her soul, too, mauling and maiming her for the only purpose that somebody should

haul

in a netful of Mesopotamia. In the name of what, roughshod, boots through the cities crash? Who's in the sky of battle? Liberty? God?

You, whose life is their sacrifice, when will you rise, upright and mighty, and fling your query right in their face: WHY

ARE

WE FIGHTING?

– Mayakovsky, Russian poet, 1917

Revolution in Mexico rocked the feudal aristocracy. 1912.



The Spartacist revolutionaries in Berlin, led by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknicht, rose in 1919 under the inspiration of the **Bolshevik** Revolution, but were bloodily suppressed by the German social-democratic government.





In 1916, Irish revolutionaries seized on the difficulties the British imperialists were facing in the midst of World War I to launch an uprising for power - they were brutally crushed, their leaders hanged.

Out of the Horror of **World War - Revolution** & the World's First **Socialist State**



Above inset: Lenin, the Bolshevik Party leader in disguise - in 1917 the secret police of the Russian government had placed him at the top of their Most Wanted List - but the Bolsheviks went to great lengths to protect their revolutionary leaders.

Above: Sailors on the Aurora were a key force during the Communist-led insurrection.

Lenin analysed how world war shattered the normal functioning of imperialism, stretched the ruling classes thin, and awakened the masses to political life, and how a determined party of revolutionary internationalists could seize on all this to advance the revolutionary cause and seize power. Upsurges shook the world, but it was only in Russia that a revolutionary party would lead the proletariat to power and go on to build socialism.



Below: Building socialism in the USSR, the world's first socialist state. A political education team takes the revolutionary programme to villages in Turkmenistan.



The Russian empire is dying

There are neither the silky sounds of skirts at the Winter Palace

Nor the tsar's prayers at Easter

Nor the cry of chains on the road to Siberia...

Dying, the Russian Empire is dying...

No longer will the yellow mustaches of pomechiks get wet in vodka glasses

No longer will the copper beards of mujiks dying of hunger

burn on the black soil like a handful of blood And Today

The death

that is approaching the Russian Empire

Has neither a yellow head

Nor a pitchfork

In his hands is a lively red flag

And on his cheeks the blood of youth

Nineteen hundred seventeen

The seventh of November

With his soft and deep voice

Lenin said:

"Yesterday was too early tomorrow too late,

The time is today."

The soldier coming from the front

said "today!"

The trench that killed death out of hunger

said "today!"

With its heavy steel black

cannons, the Aurora

said "today!"

said "today!"

And so wrote the Bolsheviki in history

the date of history's most profound turning point:

Nineteen hundred seventeen.

the seventh of November.

— Nazim Hikmet, Turkish poet. 1925

Crisis & World War II

In This Deadend

He who knocks on the door at midnight

Has come to kill the light. We had better hide the light in the closet...

Those there are butchers stationed at the crossroads With bloody clubs and cleavers. These are strange times, darling... they excise smiles from lips and songs from mouths. We had better hide joy in the closet...

- Ahmad Shamloo, Iranian Poet

"For forty-eight days there raged an unprecedentedly bitter battle, unparalleled in the history of mankind - from August 23, when the entire German force crossed the bend of the River Don and began the allout attack on Stalingrad...the news of each setback or triumph from that city gripped the hearts of countless millions of people, now bringing them anxiety, now stirring them to elation".

— "The Turning Point in World War Two", Selected Military Writings of Mao Tsetung

Worldwide economic crisis in the 1930s propelled millions into struggle, and the Communist Parties grouped in the Third International grew in influence. Less than

two decades after the slaughter had ended in Europe's trenches, the contradictions of the world imperialist system led to the rise of fascism in Germany, Italy and Spain, heightening inter-imperialist rivalry and sharpening attacks on the socialist USSR and the oppressed nations. The world once again exploded into war, on an even greater scale than World War I. The socialist USSR was forced to take the brunt of the German war effort, as 15 to 20 percent of its total population died fighting the Nazi invaders.



Above: German revolutionaries defy the Nazis' ferocious repression in the streets, 1934.

Below: Soviet Red Army soldiers at Stalingrad, 1943.







"And should we forget their centuries of inhuman exploitation, wars of conquest, plunder, condemnation of billions to unimaginable misery, genocide, Auschwitzes and Hiroshimas?"

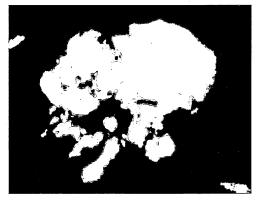
— RIM Millennium Statement



Imperialist crimes of World War 2:
Top: Jews on their way to Auschwitz, where three million were
executed as part of Hitler's "final solution"
to the "Jewish problem".

Above, second photo: The devastation after British and US warplanes bombed Dresden, Germany. As many as 80-100,000 people were killed, the overwhelming majority civilians.

Right: Mushroom cloud over Hiroshima, Japan, in 1945 after the US dropped the atomic bomb in an effort to terrorise the people of the world.



Left: By the end of the Spanish Civil War (1936-39), about 40,000 volunteers from 50 countries joined the Communist-led International Brigades to fight the fascist General Franco.





Mao in Yenan, 1936.

World War II shook the structures of colonial rule world-wide; in China the revolutionary peasant army, forged under Mao Tsetung's leadership, first turned their guns against the Japanese imperialists, and, upon the war's end, against the attacks of the US-backed Kuomintang regime. People's war proved stronger than the imperialists' high-tech war machine, and on 1 October 1949 the Communist revolutionaries led their victorious troops into the capital, Peking. Twenty years later, Mao again led a revolutionary upheaval, this time against top Party leaders who were taking China down the same capitalist road as Khrushchev had taken the USSR, in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Graduates of the red military academy, where proletarians and peasants were trained to lead the people's war and the new revolutionary political power being built in China's countryside.

The revolutionary leader Chiang Ching, during the Cultural Revolution.



Above: Philippines.

The Storm **Centres of World Proletarian** Revolution

A mighty tide of struggle swept the world in the 1960s and early 1970s, leading Mao Tsetung to identify Asia, Africa and Latin America as "the storm centres" of the world proletarian revolution.

"Lenin analysed long ago the division of the world between a handful of advanced capitalist countries and the great number of oppressed nations comprising the largest part of the world's territory and population which the imperialists parasitically pillage and maintain in an enforced state of dependency and backwardness. From this reality flows the Leninist view, confirmed by history, that the world proletarian revolution is composed essentially of two streams - the proletarian-socialist revolution waged by the proletariat and its allies in the imperialist citadels and the national liberation, or new-democratic revolution waged by the nations and peoples subjugated to imperialism. The alliance between these two revolutionary currents remains the cornerstone of revolutionary strategy Right: Vietnam. in the era of imperialism."

> — Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement



Above: South Africa.

Latin America



Left: Chile.

Above: Algeria.

Cairo: Wretched slums against the backdrop of modern high rises for the wealthy typify many of the world's large cities.

The World We Have

Under capitalism, the technology and knowledge that humanity has built up over countless generations is not used to liberate humanity, but to enrich those who appropriate such technology and to suppress their enemies, in particular the revolutionary movements of the oppressed. Imperialist globalisation has intensified the oppression of hundreds of millions, but it has also swollen the ranks of the international proletariat, drawn their struggles into closer union, and laid the basis for new more powerful upsurges. As the RIM Millenium statement concludes: "Look at the state of humanity - class, national, gender, racial, ethnic, caste oppression, chauvinism, religious bigotry, child labour, trade in human flesh, brutal forms of feudal servitude, lives ground into unbelievable misery. Look at the creative power of the people, at the immense capacity of the productive forces straining on the leashes of an irrational, inhuman system. Enough!"



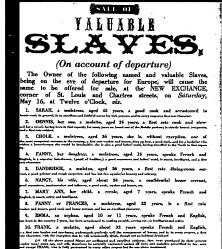
Technology: World War I (above) and today (right).



Despite the enormous increase in productive forces since the nineteenth century, (below) as many as 80 million children are still exploited as child labour.











Advertisement for the sale of slaves in 19th century America, followed by ads for the labour power of wage slaves in El Salvador, touting their low hourly wages, which fall by almost half from the 1990 ad to the next year's ad in 1991 (57 US cents to 33 US cents).



Hundreds of millions have been brought into the ranks of the international proletariat since World War II, large numbers of them women.



