

BIG FLAME

AN INTRODUCTION
TO OUR WORK &
PERSPECTIVES.

This document is an introduction to the work and perspectives of the revolutionary socialist organisation BIG FLAME in 1975, for those who are interested. For you it probably raises more questions than it answers.

So it is best read with other things we have written in more detail about the development of our work and outlook. Through seeing examples of our mass work, and talking with Big Flame comrades, we hope that your questions can be well answered.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION, CONTACT US AT THE ADDRESS ON THE BACK

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YOU SHOULD FIND ATTACHED THE MINIMUM POLITICAL AGREEMENT FOR BIG FLAME WHICH WAS VOTED ON
T THE FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF BIG FLAME MEMBERS . - EASTER 1975

A CLASS SOCIETY

We live in a class society. It is divided between the WORKING CLASS - the proletariat - who produce with their labour the wealth of this country. And the ruling class - the bourgeoisie - who own the means by which the wealth is produced and so control and profit from the end product.

Today, as a result, 7% of the country's population own 84% of the wealth, although the 7% are not the ones who work to produce it. This is the result of living in a capitalist system, where the working class who produces the profits neither owns nor benefits from them. In this situation there is no 'national interest', only class interests. BIG FLAME is an organisation involved in the fight for working class interests against the interests of the ruling class.

THE WAGE v. OUR NEEDS

The symbol of our position in this class society is the wage - which is the price we can screw from the ruling class for our labour. Of course the ruling class always try and give the smallest possible wage: and will use every possible means, including their control of the government and the state, to keep the wage down and their profits up.

It's obvious that we aren't paid wages which meet our needs - because in this society, profit for the ruling class comes before the needs of the working class. As a result, every time there's a fall in profits or a 'crisis' they use it as an excuse to limit our wages further. They will, where possible, deny us wages altogether - by putting us on the dole; or in the case of housewives making us depend on a man's wage. Kids and pensioners don't get a wage because they aren't 'profitable'. These are the rules of the game according to the capitalists - "We control the board and you can only play when it suits us."

And because money under this system is the key to power, choice, freedom and control, the working class not only lack the wealth, they also lack power. And the poorest of the working class, like the housewife without a wage, tend to be the least powerful. BIG FLAME sees the struggle against our dependence on the wage as the most important fight of our time. As long as we sell our labour power for a wage, capitalism will exist in some form, and our needs won't be satisfied.

But the power of the ruling class, in this and every other capitalist country, doesn't lie just in money. It also lies in their combined power - the state - which controls us every day through its machinery - the courts, the schools, the prisons and the police among others.

WHAT IS THE ALTERNATIVE?

WHAT IS THE ALTERNATIVE TO THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS? Either we can continue to play the game of the capitalists where the best we can hope for is to alter the rules by which we are kept down.....or we can fight to create a system where the working class, the majority, are in control of the wealth they produce and everyone receives what they need. This is the struggle for socialism, which will end in a communist society where the wealth we produce is in the hands of the people and not the private property of a few individuals who use it to control the rest. BIG FLAME believes that the struggle for socialism is the only answer to the present 'crisis' which is a crisis of their system, of their way of running things. Socialism can't happen overnight: it can't be decreed by laws and the details can't be pre-planned because it will be an entirely new way of living when the mass of the people organise together to take control of their own situation.

FOR MANY PEOPLE SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM ARE DIRTY WORDS. Because for more than a hundred years the ruling class have made propaganda in school and in church, through newspapers, TV and other means they control to make sure of this. They have always publicised the failures, mistakes and disasters which have occurred in the struggle for socialism: and have tried their utmost to discredit the successes of what is the largest mass movement in the history of the world.

Although opinion is still divided amongst the working class on the question of socialism and communism, ruling class opinion is unanimous. The fight for socialism is their number 1 enemy and the force that will destroy their system in the end. **AND THEY'RE RIGHT!** Communism isn't concentration camps - it's not an impracticable dream.. IT'S THE REAL MOVEMENT WHICH IS DOING AWAY WITH THE PRESENT ORDER OF THINGS.

WE ARE THE BUILT-IN ENEMY OF CAPITALISM

This fight to do away with the present order is always a part of the daily struggle of the working class. Because fighting for what we need always brings us into conflict with a system that won't give us what we need. As a result the working class is always fighting capitalism in one way or another - though the sheer strength of this class struggle is often underestimated, even by socialists.

You want evidence? The way that workers are undermining 'productivity' and 'efficiency' in the factories: the way that our wages have pushed 'too far' into profit margins and the bosses' ability to plan future profits: The way that rent arrears are now a fact of life: the way our communities are coming alive to fight for better housing and facilities: the way we no longer accept unemployment as the price we have to pay every time there's a 'crisis'.

In all these cases BIG FLAME sees the growing strength of our class struggle, the growing anti-capitalist feeling that we won't remain the obedient servants of the Great God Profit. That we don't just want the crumbs of the bosses' table - we want the whole bakery! The present 'crisis of capitalism' involves many factors but at its roots lie the strength and struggle of the working class. In Britain it's only by realising that the working class have kept productivity increases lower than any other major industrial country, and have pushed wage increases the highest that we can understand what the newspapers call 'the Weakness of the Economy'...the Lack of Investment...The Fall in the Pound....and all the other smokescreens they hide our class struggle with.

After 20 years of 'social peace', "You've never had it so good" and 'one nation', class struggle is back on the agenda in Britain. The question now is - Has Capitalism got a future? and What is the working class alternative?

A STRATEGY

In this situation it's not a matter for us of 'bringing political questions to the working class' or 'adding the fight for socialism to the daily struggles of the working class'! The problem is how to make the various sections of the working class consistently self-conscious of their existing class struggle and strength. And so if we want to build a strategy, an anti-capitalist programme, then we must look at what is going on inside the mass struggles of the working class right now. This is the importance of what BIG FLAME calls the strategy of working class autonomy.

WORKING-CLASS AUTONOMY

The crisis grows. For the ruling class the problem is how to keep the working class divided, demoralised and under control so that we will work harder for less return from our employers and from the state. For the Working class the choice becomes increasingly whether we cooperate with this 'solution' or whether we reject it. Either we will cooperate in a series of wage bargains, social contricks, and 'national' policies....or we must develop those demands and struggles which express our own interests and totally exclude the interests of the ruling class; struggles which increase our autonomy, or independence, from the capitalist system.

It is to these struggles and demands that BIG FLAME attaches importance today. We don't want to prop up a rotten, arranged marriage between the classes - we want a divorce! So we look for struggles that attack the basic idea of the wage bargain, the oldest con of the lot 'A fair day's work for a fair day's pay': struggles which confront not only the boss, but very often the conservative and defensive machinery of the labour movement.

WORK

For the ruling class, getting us to work harder and more 'efficiently' is their only means of survival. For us working harder is to make our lives even more tedious and unsatisfying. The demand for less work, whether it is for a reduction in working hours or a sufficient basic wage so we don't have to depend on overtime expresses our needs against theirs. We must also support the fight against the kind of work we are forced to do. In their need for more production the bosses force us into situations like the inhuman assembly line, too fast, too dangerous, too mindless. They now try to force even white collar workers into the mass production routine. We must understand how people are rejecting this kind of work-through absenteeism, 'sickness', sabotage and resistance to 'mobility of labour'. We are challenging the work as well as the wage. There's no 'fair days work' on an assembly line. In these situations, our demands for a decent life run against what our bosses demand from us

UNEMPLOYMENT

The bosses want less of us to work harder: so they can cut down the wage bill, frighten us with the dole and create a mobile labour force. At different times, the fight for No redundancies, overtime bans, work-sharing and reduction in hours express our needs against theirs

WAGES

By tying our wages to the work we do for them, the boss tries to precisely control our existence. Everytime we are unnecessary to his profit, we may lose our wage and fall into the unfriendly arms of the so-called 'welfare state'. To this the demand of guaranteed pay - work or no work - is the growing reply which expresses our need against theirs.

THE FIGHT OF WOMEN

It has been rightly said that women hold up half the sky. Its also true to say that this half of the working class support the male half on their shoulders as well. Their needs are suppressed not only by the position that the state holds them in by tradition and by laws, but by most of the male working class. So we must publicise and support the struggles of women in both their workplaces - whether badly paid in factory and office or unpaid in the home. The fight for free nurseries, and childcare: for free contraception and abortion - womens demands - are not less important as many believe. They are against the needs of the ruling class to keep women as servants of the servants - and winning them can release women to fight for what they, and the rest of the working class, want.

DIVISIONS

By maintaining divisions at work between high and low paid, men and women, black and white, those at work and those on the dole; by maintaining divisions in our communities between those in slums and those in 'better' areas; by encouraging competition throughout the system, the ruling class try to weaken our collective strength and misdirect our anger. The struggles for equal pay, against grading and against racialist organisation express our collective need against theirs. In all situations we don't just look for demands which express the autonomy, the independence of the working class from capitalism - but also for those demands which expresses everyones class interests. No one can unite around a fight for wage differentials, or one that benefits men at the expense of women, whatever the short term benefits may seem. But in contrast a demand for lay off pay, which may seem to be restricted, actually expresses a feeling with which we can all agree with - money to live on whether we're 'profitable' to the bosses or not.

In this way, wherever the needs of the working class are expressed in total opposition to the interests of the capitalists, the strategy of working class autonomy is growing inside the working class.

BUT THERE ARE OBSTACLES

THE MAIN OBSTACLES

As we have said, the fight to do away with the present order of things hasn't only got the ruling class as an enemy. There are also obstacles within the working class which prevent us fighting for our class interests in the ways we have described. We must understand them. Broadly speaking the three main obstacles are: the force that we must call 'reformism': the attitude which fails to understand, and therefore encourages divisions within the working class: and the tendency to fight our class struggle only in limited areas.

REFORMISM

This is the attitude which cannot divorce itself from the rotten marriage between the classes, which through tradition, lack of confidence or prejudice returns to the bosses' bed time after time. It dominates the traditional 'leadership' of the working class - Its Parliamentary Party, the Labour Party, its trade unions, in their speeches and their actions and their structures.

While ultimately accepting the views and ideology of the ruling class on such matters as work, wages and the necessity of social contracts, it labours to improve the position of the working class! This contradiction means it fails. However, the strength of our reformist leaders - which varies from period to period - is based not so much on the active, committed support of the working class, but on a sort of toleration. The growth of working class autonomy within the struggle has not yet expressed clearly enough, has not yet been organised strongly enough to be a loud and clear alternative to the dominant reformist sttitutes.

We think that to fight the attitude of reformism we mustn't continually try to expose those with reformist policies, or to urge reformists to change their ways (as if the working class has failed to notice the last 100 years of betrayal by such 'leaders'). Instead we must strengthen and organise the demands and struggles

which express our autonomy so that it becomes a more powerful and attractive force inside the mass movement of the working class, than the bankrupt leadership and structures we have at present.

DIVISIONS - WHAT IS THE WORKING CLASS?

The second obstacle to our progress is the many divisions that are maintained inside the working class. That we are divided, no one can deny. But it's not just a question of unfortunate 'attitudes'. Each division~~s~~ among us has a real material basis. For instance, women are treated as second class citizens in terms of wage and privilege whether they work at home or in a factory or office: Black people and immigrants consistently get the most menial and worst paid jobs, besides receiving worse treatment at the hands of the state, whether in the shape of the judge, the police or the dole clerk.

The result? A situation where some sections of the working class have a material advantage over others, and are encouraged by the ruling class to preserve this domination at the expense of working class unity: where the most privileged sector - the white male factory worker will usually fight to maintain his 'privileged' position over women, since women work for him as well as for the ruling class. The Communist writer Engels once wrote that within the family the men are the bourgeoisie, while the women are the proletariat. In this situation there is a lot more to fight and change than a mere 'attitude'.

In Northern Ireland, the ruling class ensured their profits for generations by maintaining just such a material division, which seemed just a religious one by giving Protestant workers a few extra perks and making them feel they had something to defend against the Catholic working class. And by encouraging in turn the fears and prejudice between the relatively privileged British worker and his Irish brothers and sisters, they promote precisely the national feelings which are useless to us.

As a result of this, most sections of the working class have more than one oppressor, more than one obstacle to their struggle, in a tower built on privilege: a tower divided in various ways on wage, age, sex, colour, religion and sexual preference. The ruling class recognise these divisions and we must too. Any organisation which concentrates on building the power of one section of the class to the exclusion of others is increasing our divisions and making us weaker.

DIVISIONS & THE PROBLEM OF ORGANISATION

If we want to fight for working class unity, we have to do more than make calls to unity like 'Black and White, Unite and fight' or 'Join the revolutionary party and unite through the leadership'. At present such calls to unity would inevitably be on the terms of the most powerful sections - just as calls for 'national unity' by the ruling class inevitably fall to their advantage since they are more powerful.

Real unity can only be based on some equality of power: only when women, black people and immigrants or gay people are strong enough to impose their needs, to define our struggle from their point of view, to say what their goals are, can a genuine all round class politics be developed. For this reason unity can only come if these sections in their variety have the opportunity to organise independently to develop discover their own identity within the working class. And that's no contradiction unless we are content with a unity that suppresses the political needs of half the working class. For this reason, BIG FLAME recognises the necessity for women and other doubly oppressed groups to organise independantly after their own interests within our organisation.

But BIG FLAME is not freed from the problem we are describing. As yet, our practice and membership is very limited, particularly in relation to black people and other immigrants, for example. The divisions we have described do not disappear under good revolutionary intentions. For us in particular at the moment this means the development of a strong womens 'commission' capable of making the eyes of BIG FLAME more than the eyes of the male working class.⁵ When we describe BIG FLAME as a general

political organisation, we do not forget that this is an statement of intent, which will take time and struggle to achieve. But these are the ways we must precisely answer the question 'What is the working class?' and develop our struggles on that understanding.

FIGHTING IN EVERY AREA OF OUR LIVES

The third obstacle is closely linked to the second. In short, while the ruling class attacks and tries to control the working class in every aspect of our lives, the present organisation of the working class, and therefore its ability to fight back, shows a great unevenness. This is a great weakness. While a particular factory may be winning a mighty payrise, a rent increase is as likely to pass unopposed in the estate across the road.

As the present crisis hots up, all areas of our lives are being reviewed under the microscope of profit and productivity. What the ruling class lose in wages, they may take back in rents and rising prices. Where they cannot economise in industry, they will try to reduce in public spending, making life more difficult for worker and 'consumer' in this field.

Where men in struggle can perhaps ignore this, women have no choice. Whether they are in waged work or not, their work as unpaid housewives doesn't let them make an artificial division between the fight at work and the fight at home. Which is why women are so often in the vanguard of the struggle outside the factory, though this is too often ignored by the political organisations of the 'working class'.

THE TOTAL POWER OF THE WORKING CLASS

We have to understand the real question of class power. To those socialists who say that power lies in the factory, we say 'Of course power lies in the factory and the workplace, and can be an immense economic lever against the ruling class.' But though the wage gives us the power to fight, it does not necessarily increase the power of those without wages, those outside the factory. So seldom has the power of waged workers, under their reformist leadership, been used in the struggle outside the factory, that experience demands we develop our power outside. And to do this we need to look to, and work with those who are providing the leadership - who are mostly women, that so-called 'weak and backward' section of the working class.

To confine ones attention to the class struggle in the factory is the tradition of our first obstacle - reformism. An inability to see that our enemy is not just this or that boss, is not just a question of higher wages. The enemy is capitalism, and capitalism is at work in every part of our lives. Class war is total, or it is nothing.

THE PRESENT BUILDING THE REVOLUTION

For BIG FLAME during this period, the question of a revolutionary programme for the working class, and the question of where we find our leadership, does not just involve us in understanding history and the general laws of class struggle, and understanding Marxist theories. These are important, sure. But they will be neither use nor ornament unless they are combined with understanding the developing contents of working class struggle at present in all its sectors. ONLY IN THIS WAY CAN WE DEVELOP A PROGRAMME OF THE MASSES AND NOT FOR THE MASSES.

It's for this reason that we put so much stress in our political activity on MASS WORK. This is not merely a question of quantity! It is a question of the relationship between a revolutionary organisation and the working class. It should affect our whole sense of direction, our tactics, the forms of communication we use - IN THE END, WHO WE ADDRESS OURSELVES TO AND WHO WE WORK WITH.

It is 'mass' in the sense that we address ourselves through mass leafletting to rank and file militants directly at factory gates or in the communities. It's 'mass' in the sense that we work among the groups of workers who are part of the growing body of unskilled and 'interchangeable' units of production in the eyes of the bosses. It's mass in the sense that we work with housewives, who though they live often in isolated situations, represent the problems and potential power of a massive section of the working class.

In contrast, we reject as main strategies the infiltration and winning over of Trade Union branches, Shop Stewards committees and local Labour parties; Of course there are important tactical questions which may mean some involvement with these organisations of the 'labour movement'. No one can ignore the relationship between the working class and these organisations, as we have described.

But a revolutionary attitude to trade union organisation must start, once again, from the point of view of the autonomy of the working class. From an understanding of how the working class has gone and must go beyond trade unionism. History and experience show that the trade union branch or the shop stewards committee cannot be the FORM through which the mass of the working class develops politically. That must come through mass self activity which is growing now. We look for leadership inside the mass of the working class, by identifying what we can describe as the mass vanguard - the leadership inside the working class, which emerges with that group of men or women who are at any period of time expressing most strongly their autonomy or independence from capitalism, both in their particular situation and for the working class as a whole. It is the organisation of these forces that we must develop and link up.

THE FUTURE

MAKING THE REVOLUTION

In winning the socialist victory, the working class will come more and more into open conflict with the armed forces of the ruling class state. As this situation develops we will need stronger and better organisation to win. It has been well said that capitalism must use its army and police as a tiger uses its claws. It is useless to imagine that we can win against this force through Parliamentary resolutions, peaceful demonstrations and political newspapers. The ruling classes have never surrendered to the working class without a vicious fight in the past. And they will fight in this country as they are at present whether it is the fist of a policeman on a demonstration, the jailing of socialists or the bullets of the Army in the streets of Belfast. The dream that we can gradually take over and control the various functions and bodies of the ruling class state and achieve socialism 'peacefully' was most recently shattered by the events in Chile in 1973. We do not have a choice. When people fight for socialism, the ruling class will counter attack openly or secretly - it's useless to say 'If we don't start, they won't start'. They have been at it for hundreds of years already.

SEIZING POWER

And to ensure a socialist victory, we will have to do more than take on the state. We will have to create our own state with its own power. All revolutionary movements have seen the development of organisations of mass working class power. In Russia, the Soviets: in Chile, the cordones: in Portugal at present, their revolutionary committees. These were the rank and file organisations developing out of the mass struggle to organise the take over of the factories, the running of communities. Unless these also become capable of running the whole of society and defending the people against the bosses attempt to make a counter revolution, then the revolution won't get off the ground.

This is what is meant by the dictatorship of the proletariat - the replacement of a state controlled by the ruling class by a state controlled by the working class. It will be based on the direct, democratic will of the mass of the working class. The ruling class will scream that we are destroying 'democracy' as they have done to the Portuguese revolution. The louder they scream, the more successful we will be.

This state, if it is successful, cannot be 'above' us, as the ruling class state is today. But it's clear that any formal organisation of power can lead to bureaucracy, especially under the pressures of defending the revolution. It can lead to the growth of new elites in the state within the revolution, as was the case with Stalin in the Russian Revolution and his successors. We will have to fight to maintain the revolution. Though many have fought and failed in the past, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the creation of a state which the working class control is our only chance of winning and maintaining the revolution.

THE PARTY

We have tried to describe what we see as the in built anti-capitalist fight of the working class - and the need to develop it as our strategy. But on its own it is not enough. We recognise that the working class will have to create a party, a party of the working class. That does not mean that BIG FLAME sees itself as that party -unlike other hastier organisations - nor do we see ourselves as the only force from which that party can be built. The creation of a revolutionary working class party can only be the summit of the growth of the autonomy of the mass working class movement. The party can only be created by revolutionaries out of a new, higher level of class struggle and the development of leadership from all the sections of the working class we have described before.

WHY... AND WHEN?

Why the party? Because we recognise the strength of the reformist influence inside the working class and their ability to prevent a clear anti-capitalist strategy emerging. Even as we move nearer a revolutionary situation, the influence of this reformism will remain a danger. When the stakes are high, it is a mortal danger. We remember Chile, where the reformist leadership tried to strike bargains with the capitalists, to take command of their state and use it to make the revolution: in particular they tried to use their army. As an African comrade has said 'A soldier without politics is an assassin' This was the case in Chile: and we must go further. an organisation which is not politically built by and for the working class struggle cannot serve our purpose - it can only be used against us.

The organisation of the ruling class state is not like a motor car which will respond to any driver who gets in the driving seat., particularly since that state is designed for one purpose - the maintenance of capitalism. How can it be used to make the revolution? To counter the influence of those confused politicians who try and tempt us to drive the ruling class machinery, we need our own organisation, to dismantle it. And we need only look 60 miles across the Irish Sea to see this strategy at work. In Northern Ireland, where the Catholic working class were faced with a state specifically built from its voting system to its police force to suppress them, they have refused to be conned into 'using' it. They are fighting to destroy it. It follows that the most militant, class conscious and committed members of the working class must be organised around a strategy to take power. Not to substitute for mass action, but to ensure its precise direction.

But while the time is not yet ripe for the creation of such an organisation, it doesn't mean that we sit around and twiddle our thumbs. BIG FLAME sees its job as to continually help in the development of mass anti-capitalist struggle. We would define the task of a revolutionary organisation as

- 1) To be inside all mass struggles in order to strengthen the strategy of working class autonomy.
- 2) To build up an overall picture of the needs of the class struggle from this position and to make the needs of each section of the working class the concern and common property of all sections.
- 3) To work at making the present class struggle the road to a socialist victory.

THE INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE

As it is at home, so it is abroad. Not only are the working class in every other capitalist country fighting their own battles from Japan to Argentina and back again, but capitalism is an international system. In the billion dollar networks of the multinational companies, in the imperialist plunder of the third world countries, in the world wide police forces like the CIA and NATO, the ruling class ignores national boundaries, searching for profit and protecting it. So class war is unavoidably international. Car workers striking in Italy's Fiat Company are like General Motor's workers striking in Argentina are like Ford workers striking in Halewood or Dagenham, It's not just that struggles exist the world over - they are linked the world over.

If the workers in Portugal were to complete their revolution, then that is a concrete victory for us too. Because the bosses lose an important base for their operations, and cannot play us off against the Portuguese workers any more. It would be a set back for the political confidence of the bosses, and a boost for our confidence. It shows us that victory is possible, and can provide us with material help and experience for our own struggle. So we must have an international view. Not just in following the lead of Portuguese workers who have followed the tracks of their international masters, like Plessey, to seek our support: but because its part of our own struggle.

For this reason BIG FLAME has - and will - been very active in building movements and campaigns in solidarity with international class struggle, like the Chile Solidarity Committee and the Troops out of Ireland movement. We also believe that BIG FLAME can be developed by close cooperation with similar revolutionary movements abroad. At present we have links with organisations in all European countries this side of the iron curtain: with groups in the USA and Canada. And in particular we value our close relationship with Lotta Continua, the largest revolutionary organisation in Italy, and the MIR, which occupies a similar position in the Chilean underground resistance. The experience and political support of these organisations is invaluable to our own development and understanding.

IRELAND

Yet by far the most important international struggle for us in Britain is the struggle in the North of Ireland. This struggle is being waged against our own ruling class and the British Army, yet it is still met in this country with apathy and even hostility. 100 years ago it was said that the English working class would never do anything decisive in this country until they had separated their policy over Ireland from that of their 'ruling' class. If out 'internationalism' is to mean anything, it must be put into practice on this matter.

For hundreds of years the British ruling class have used the wealth of their 'possessions' overseas to help 'buy off' revolution at home. They have forced the people of these countries, like West Indies and Ireland, to move here as an immigrant workforce. Now only a handful of these 'possessions' remain from Hong Kong and the Middle East to Ireland. Any organisation that cannot fight the problem of imperialism and immigration in our own 'back yard', continues the useless marriage with the ruling class.

WHAT IS SOLIDARITY?

For us in BIG FLAME this means we support all forces which are fighting imperialism, British or anyone else, despite the reservations or criticisms we may have of their politics. Many anti-capitalist and revolutionary forces grow during a fight for self-determination, even though they may be forced into alliances with purely nationalist or some bourgeois forces in their struggle. In this situation, the struggle for national liberation and socialism are often in close relationship. It's not our job to criticise or withhold support from forces just because they do not appear 'socialist' enough: particularly since we don't hold back on these grounds from supporting many struggles in our own country.

AT HOME AND ABROAD OUR JOB IS TO IDENTIFY THE FORCES AMONG THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE WHICH FIGHT CAPITALISM WITHOUT COMPROMISE - WHO NO LONGER SEE ANY FUTURE FOR THEMSELVES AS LONG AS THE CAPITALISTS ORGANISE THEIR LIFE, THEIR LABOUR AND A STUNTED FUTURE FOR THEIR CHILDREN.