



ONE YEAR ON

HERE TO STAY

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Exchange nears
first fortnight in action
rastructure and all.
estimated 5000 people have
sed through the sprawling

It has been nearly two weeks
since the initial chaotic scenes
on October 15 when police kettled
protesters, arresting eight on
suspicion of police assault
and public order offences.
Since then the camp has turned
into a solid, peaceful working
community – complete with kitchen,
university, prayer room, waste
management and power generation
and speakers at the camp's

All work done at the camp
voluntary, with occupiers
their support when needed.
Meanwhile food, clothing,
and monetary donations ha
in; mostly gifted to the
from people passing by.
One camper, Sean, told th
Times he had put his exp
as a civil servant to us
information tent, a fir
call for many visitors -
stints in the kitchen, t
Finsbury

Editorial

As The Occupied Times reaches its first birthday, it is a good time to reflect on the past 12 months. We set out to use print and digital platforms to publish a plurality of views: not simply those of established writers and professional 'journalists' invested with credibility by the mainstream press, but activists, students and academics who have something challenging to say. The importance of this endeavour becomes evident when we consider the state of mass media and the narratives it perpetuates.

The OT was born in the early days of Occupy in London. We started from a simple observation: the moment that a movement becomes newsworthy, it begins to lose control over its narrative. The more it grows, the harder it becomes to sustain a genuine exchange of ideas among its constituent individuals. It would be preposterous for anyone to claim that a single, controlled narrative should emerge from something as diverse as Occupy; at times, the movement seems to have as many different perspectives as it has participants. We welcome a diversity of views and interests. After all, it was the dearth of creative dissidence and political imagination that compelled many of us to try to occupy the London Stock Exchange in the first place.

Problems arise, however, when "the movement" becomes characterised primarily by what others write and say about it. The inaccuracies begin when journalists and pundits attempt to categorise and classify something that is inherently in flux, constantly morphing and reinventing itself. Even more worrying is that we may not be able to force open a space to develop its own discourse. Most revolutionary shifts invent language and meaning as they go. They are inherently at odds with the norms of mainstream news production and consumption.

Mass media has played a key role in the evolution and spread of capitalism, and today, as one would expect, it both reflects and bolsters the pervasive neoliberal consensus. For revolutionaries, anti-capitalists and those seeking genuine change, the media is the front line of the battle. With the rise of citizen journalism and a revival of independent media, alternatives are beginning to blossom at a time when corporate media companies are struggling to remain viable. They barely even turn a profit in a system they strive to maintain.

The invention of the printing press democratised knowledge and led to arguably the most comprehensive revolution of culture since the invention of writing. People gained access to cheap, mass-produced news, opinions and information, but things changed as the sciences of marketing were perfected. Today it is profitable for media giants to print half a million papers and distribute them free on the tube, greeting London's early risers with stories of last night's knifings and the intrigues of celebrity culture.

The language of the publication and the attention to territorial matters also helped to instill the notion of a 'society', encouraging the emergence of centralised structures of governance, bureaucracy, and political and economic boundaries. The printed and distributed word was an important driving force behind the emergence of nation states.

As globalisation distorted and stretched boundaries of time and geography, media, both broadcast and print, became established as the lens through which we, as a society, view a changing world. We rely on newspapers and magazines to keep us informed about global changes, to help us make sense of them and relate them to our own lives. Yet too often, mass media fails to do this job. Under the yoke of neoliberal capitalism, it often directs our attention away from the workings of power. But if we want to understand the emergence of political narratives, the engineering of consent and the entrenchment of privilege and hegemony, we must consider this dynamic.

After decades of centralisation and consolidation of power, media conglomerates are now in a prime position to take advantage of international media markets, often relying on empty words and frenzied slogans to pursue a particular worldview and advertise a particular brand identity. Rupert Murdoch possesses the qualities required to make it big in media.

But why should we care about what The Sun considers proper? Social unrest reminds us that the "average citizen" is eager to have a say, and the rise of portable technology has provided the tools to do so. Free from the watchful eye of large organisations, increasing numbers of citizens are laying claim to their media autonomy. Community audiences, often ignored by mainstream channels, are challenging the status quo in print and online, participating in the production



process and experimenting with different forms and content to breach the void of silence and ignorance. This holds true for the OT as well. Do-it-yourself media is the logical extension of Occupy's do-it-yourself mentality: don't rely on others to step up and speak out. Speak out, and speak loudly.

The portable printing press that we all carry with us in our phones is becoming an indispensable tool for dissent and a powerful way to challenge the hegemony of mass media. The real time production and longevity of livestream coverage contradicts the rhythm of the news cycle, making it harder to reduce complex issues to sound-bites. It also offers a mechanism of accountability in the face of police impunity. The virtual world, where footage can be easily uploaded and shared, also bridges different causes and occupations, linking us together and building a sense of shared struggle and indignation.

It is not only technology, however, that drives this notion of commonality. Alternative forms of organisation are being practiced by emerging, citizen-led media. The OT operates as a forum where traditional journalistic hierarchies do not apply: an activist can publish alongside the likes of Noam Chomsky or Alan Moore, decisions are made collectively and competing views respected and discussed. The newspaper also encourages and values communal folding and active participation throughout the production process. We strive to provide a media platform made for us, by us.

The rhythm of the news cycle has come to dominate political discussions, and many groups with an interest in public affairs are confronted with a simple and unfortunate choice: march to the beat and risk having your cause misrepresented, or remain silent and be ignored. Many activists who know that the world is more complicated than mainstream coverage suggests are nonetheless forced to adjust their communication strategies to fit the short, snappy spaces granted to them. All is sacrificed for a few prized inches in tomorrow's paper, or the even more coveted soundbite leading the News at Ten.

Too often, demonstrations, protests, and direct actions have been transformed into tokenistic photo ops: the criteria for success has become how prominent your organisation's logo will be on the news. Too many activists have become preoccupied with the question of "how will the media portray this?" Such impoverishment of ambition reduces the potential threat of direct action to a cynical product placement strategy.

The media is one of the primary battlegrounds where we can reclaim our right to narrate our actions. Indymedia is becoming increasingly important as an independent news source, unbiased by corporate interest and emanating from the ranks of those who work for social, economic and political change. Indymedia publications usually make it clear where their sympathies lie - this makes them more honest than writers who claim objectivity whilst remaining caught in the net of their corporate media environment.

As we look forwards, and attempt to build on the legacy of the St. Paul's occupation, we must remain

wary of the mainstream narrative, as well as those elements of commercial media-making that channel efforts into ineffectual submission, passivity and complicity. If the corporate media powerhouse is incapable of examining its own foundations, indymedia can expose the rot. If the socio-political is reduced to a polarised duopoly of "consumer choice", we must give voice to the many alternatives. If isolated stories fail to expose the systemic causes, citizen-led media must join the dots.

To counterbalance the mainstream narrative, the emerging indymedia projects should stay true to the individual, the citizen. The power of indymedia originates in the hyperlocal; from there it flows outwards to connect with local media collectives, and further still towards similar media operations across the globe. From a media manufacturing consent, we move to one which requires our consent in its manufacture.



DONATE TO KEEP US GOING

Since October of last year, The Occupied Times has offered a high-quality alternative to corporate media. Our publication features articles by activists, citizens, thinkers and academic experts from the UK and around the world, and we have published 30,000 papers full of critical analysis, opinion, features and news, without printing a single advert.

The paper is totally non-profit, printed on recycled paper with vegetable inks at favourable rates by a sound and community-minded printer. It is sustained by the voluntary efforts and enthusiasm of its writers and editors, and the donations of its readers. Please help us continue. A donation of £5 funds the printing of 15 copies, and every penny goes into our current monthly print-run of 2,000.

If you would like to help keep us printing the news and views that we feel need to be heard, please make a donation by paypal to occupiedtimes@gmail.com or visit our website at: www.theoccupiedtimes.co.uk.

You can also contribute writing and photography to the OT by visiting us online.

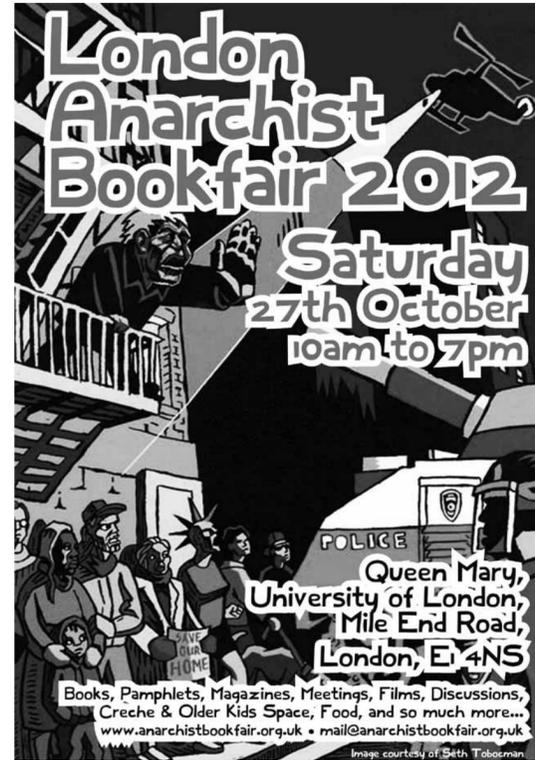
ANARCHIST BOOKFAIR 2012

This year's Anarchist Bookfair will be held at Queen Mary's, University of London on the Mile End Road on Saturday October 27, 10am-7pm.

The Anarchist Bookfair is one of the bigger public events in London's radical calendar. It provides an opportunity for people interested in the anarchist tradition to find out more about its history and philosophy.

There will be meetings, lectures and workshops on everything from anarchist economics to direct action, co-ops to the Zapatistas.

The organisers say: "[the bookfair] can also be a space where we counter the rubbish talked about anarchism by sections of the media and our opponents. We want to continue to make anarchism a threat again."



THE NEW PUTNEY DEBATES

From October 27 until November 11 2012, the New Putney Debates will tackle a wide range of issues including the economy, finance, real democracy, food, the law and democracy, capitalism and land ownership.

Held 365 years ago, the original Putney Debates were a high point of the English Revolution, focusing on the rule of law, sovereignty of a Parliament without Lords or monarchy, rights of ordinary people over those elected, freedom of dissent and a rights-based, written constitution.

Working groups from Occupy London are revisiting the Putney Debates, using them as an entry point for deepening knowledge about democracy, power and rights.

Contributors to the New Putney Debates include Richard Wilkinson (The Spirit Level), Natalie Bennett (Leader of the Green Party), Michael Mansfield QC, George Monbiot, Polly Higgins, Kate Pickett, John McDonnell MP and Professor Conor Gearty. A full programme can be found at thenewputneydebates.wordpress.com



UPPING THE ANTI

The Occupied Times has joined with The Anticapitalist Initiative, Ceasefire Magazine, Globalise Resistance, New Left Project, The Platypus Affiliated Society and Pluto Press to organise Up The Anti: Reclaim The Future. The full day event will consist of an eclectic mix of sessions, ranging from in-depth seminars and debates to participatory, facilitated discussions and workshops. On the agenda will be everything from Resurgence for the Left amidst crisis in Greece to a Housing Crisis in Britain, from looking at strategies for social transformation to looking at the potential and pitfalls of a debt resistance movement.

The likes of David Graeber, Mark Fisher, Ewa Jasiewicz, Dan Hind and Lena Rethel will be speaking. There will also

be spaces for ground level activists to exchange ideas and feedback on what they've learned from previous experiences as well as discussing what they have planned for 2013.

Up The Anti takes place on Saturday December 1 in London at Queen Mary University, not far from Mile End and Stepney Green underground stations.

The event will be followed by a gig at Queen Mary Student Union with comedy, music and DJs. Highlights include political comedians Kate Smurthwaite and Chris Coltrane and blues guitarist Sean Taylor.

For more info and to order tickets, visit <http://uptheanti.org.uk/> (This is a not-for-profit event - obvs!)

EDGING TOWARDS CHANGE

A new fund set up to support communities, campaign groups and activists was launched earlier this month. The Edge Fund has been set up by donors, activists, and people from communities facing injustice and aims to make "grants with a difference, supporting justice and seeking change from below," while prioritising "funding for grassroots or unfunded groups and those seeking real and lasting radical change."

Finances will be allocated to groups "working for long-term systemic change - aiming to transform the economic and political systems which create inequality, oppression and environmental destruction", especially if they are "facing injustice themselves because of their class, ability, race, religion, sexual orientation, or other reasons, and who are actively working to challenge these injustices to create a more equal world."

The first round of grants of up to £5,000 will likely go to UK-based groups.

To apply for funding, contact edgefund@riseup.net before December 1st with details describing

who you are, what you do, your annual income and why you should be funded before, or call 776 712 6915. Or if you would like to donate to The Edge Fund, visit www.edgefund.org.uk or email for bank details.



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DIRTY WHITE GOLD

LEAH BORROMEIO



early 300,000 Indian farmers have killed themselves due to the pressures of debt between 1995-2011. In the state of Maharashtra in 2006, 4453 people committed suicide. That's around one every eight hours. At the time of writing, I receive word of another seven farmers who died over the course of three days.

Maharashtra is located near the middle of India, appearing on a map not far from the town of Wardha in Vidarbha. Nestled between the cities of Amravati and Nagpur, Wardha has a population of just over a million people - most of them cotton farmers.

I met a farmer called Hanuman who borrowed 80,000 rupees (€950) from the bank so that he could farm their average sized 5-6 acres of land with cotton. A father of two, he spent almost all of the loan on boxes of Bt (Bacillus Thuringiensis) cotton seed and pesticides. The technology behind Bt is owned by Monsanto and is licensed to seed companies for use and sale across a range of crops. The seed Hanuman uses costs 950 rupees (€11) per kg, and Monsanto receives around a quarter of this amount. Hanuman also has to buy fertilisers to help the cotton grow and chemicals to keep the bugs away. He

hires labourers at 100 rupees (€1.20) a day to spray those chemicals. In an average season, he sprays between 8-10 times.

This year, the rains hadn't fallen and the wells were running dry. The monsoons finally came, but they came late. Hanuman won't know how much yield he will get from his cotton crop until he goes to pick it in a few months. He won't know how much he will make from it until he takes it to market, where buyers pay him the same price for Bt cotton - which produces higher yield and is grown with pesticides - as they would for organic cotton (lower yield, no pesticides). Hanuman says the only reason that he might consider choosing organic farming would be to cut back on the costs of chemicals. He fears that he might lose too much money.

The seeds are sterile, and therefore unable to be used year on year, meaning Hanuman will have to buy a fresh batch of seeds the next time around. When he last spoke, he said he'd have to borrow money to buy more pesticides and pay for his sons' schooling. Somewhere in that narrow margin of debt he has to find cash to keep his family together.

I befriended Prathiba, a widow who wasn't aware that her husband was in debt until she found a note in his pocket when her daughter found him dead, having hung himself inside their one-room house in 2007. Now sweeping

floors for a living, Prathiba has a second daughter, as well as a son who had to live somewhere else because she couldn't afford to raise him. Unlike many in her situation, she received some compensation from the government of one lakh (around £1,000). The family was able to keep one quarter of this under the terms of the compensation, with the rest put in a bank where they could only skim the interest at the end of the year. The men to whom Prathiba's husband owed money keep coming round for cash. Her in-laws now completely ignore her.

I also met Kantibai, the widow of a man who drank the chemicals he used to farm with on 9th August 2012. Like Prathiba, she didn't know her family was in debt. Her husband asked her to look after their two sons and daughter before he was whisked off in an auto-rickshaw towards a hospital. He never made it. A month after his death, I encountered Kantibai in a state of desperation that will always stick with me. She appeared to have no idea where her life would go from this point.

Kishore Jagtap, a man who runs a local NGO with a widows' and women's empowerment programme, rode with us to meet Kantibai, who lived in a village an hour away from his usual patch. Kishore taught Kantibai what she needed to do in order to apply for compensation, what sort of help was available to her, and taught her sons how to sign on to a welfare work scheme. He also gave her his direct contact details and said to call him anytime. Kishore didn't have to come with us. But he did. And for the first time, as we were leaving, Kantibai managed a smile.

India is around 60% agrarian, so I started at the bottom, with the farmers whom the country's economy relies upon. I found that they were the first to give of themselves and yet the first to be abandoned as India is thrown about in the dizzying ether of free market economics (or as free as you can get when you're bound to the WTO and dole out corporate subsidies).

I encountered stories that challenged preconceived notions of poverty and need. I spent a day looking for the poorest farmer in a village only



to be welcomed into his house and greeted with a brand new television with a dodgy colour tube. He'd spent a week's wages on it. I saw farmers who grew chickpeas and sold them at the market for 30 rupees a kilo, before travelling down the road to buy chickpeas for 50 rupees a kilo. I saw gaps in basic education and farmers who had no one to teach them how to farm apart from the men who sold them the seeds and the chemicals.

I met economists, intellectuals, activists and scientists who lived lives dancing on dualities. Like the man who runs an organic seed bank but farms Bt cotton to fund it. Or the entomologist developing a GM cottonseed that thrives in drought, can be farmed using organic methods and will undercut major seed

companies if he is able to open-source the technology.

Throughout my travels, I encountered enthusiasm, apathy and hostility. Sometimes within the same exchange. And I have only just started. I will need to work my way up the cotton supply chain and get to know the workers, the brokers, the manufacturers, the buyers, the dealers, the designers, the retailers and the consumers.

If you want to help us spread the word about unsustainable cotton farming and the need for supply chain transparency in fashion (and maybe stop people killing themselves), we're running a crowdfunding to help us get back to India and finish the shoot. www.thecottonfilm.com



CHRISTIANIA-OPEN OR CLOSED?

ERICA MASSERANO

It is the 41st birthday of Christiania, and spirits are high. Visitors from all over Denmark and abroad crowd around the stalls on Pusher Street, in front of artistically graffitied walls and around oil barrels, buying their evening's smoke before flocking to one of the many venues and bars. The Christianites themselves are inconspicuous, as the 900 people strong commune is overwhelmed by a flood of thousands of sympathisers.

Despite what you might have heard several times in the past few years, Christiania is still open.

More than a year has passed since Christiania had to choose between the three options the Danish state offered: buying the buildings they have used for decades as a community; buying them as a collective; or having its inhabitants, including numerous children and elderly people, face eviction by force.

Not the most befitting choice to offer a hippy commune which occupied an old military area in the midst of the '70s Danish housing crisis, to renovate and construct unique DIY buildings. But after years of heavy police presence and fruitless legal battles, Christiania saw a new agreement with the state as the only option. And the Danish state figured that setting up the situation so that buying would be the only feasible option, could potentially split the community and crush its soul.

It's also been more than a year since Thomas Ertmann left his role as official press representative and went back to being just another Christianite. We take a walk along the natural park lying just behind Christiania's centre, under the yellowing trees, and talk about the old times and the new.

The atmosphere in the Freetown had been heavy for years since the right-wing government, led by Anders Fogh-Rasmussen who held prime ministerial power for ten years, tackled the Christiania question by focusing - in legislation and in the media - only on the harsh market in Pusher Street.

"There was hardly ever any mention of the fact that Christiania was born from the takeover of an abandoned area which, unlike most squatted spaces, had not been locked down but opened up to the outside world," remembers Thomas. "And there certainly wasn't any mention of the important social function that Christiania performs daily, by being a haven for homeless, mentally ill and resourceless people who would not be welcome anywhere else. In Christiania they are an accepted addition to the local community."

In 2004, Christianites had already agreed upon the necessary conditions for a fair deal. One of their wishes was that Christiania's original area would not be diminished, which was necessary in order to avoid speculation and to make sure the broad resourceless segment of its population could keep their homes. Market prices would have brought class-based social cleansing to the area, the opposite of the inclusiveness which Christiania stands for. Another important point was that Christiania should keep governing itself through neighborhood meetings and common meetings, the tools of consensus-based direct democracy.

The stalemate ended in 2011, when Christiania agreed to buy

the grounds as a fund, effectively implementing collective property. "The mood was of great relief and great confusion," says Thomas. "People felt relieved that their fate no longer depended on politicians, but at the same time the situation was new and extremely complex."

Even as Christiania accepted dialogue with the state, it was not only ideology that made the deal tough to swallow. The price for the grounds was not based on market value, but was set at €8.5 million, a sum a squatter commune doesn't carry in its back pocket. To raise the money, Christiania started printing 'Christiania shares', thank-you cards for whoever made offers. Today, the fund has gathered €1 million.

Thomas is positive about the future of Christiania. "My hopes are that Christiania will continue with its unique structure, and that its model will spread. Every city needs free spaces. I think Christiania's crossbreed of DIY attitude and collectivism, which is present at all levels in our commune, is an ideal that has great prospects, because nobody stands alone and taking responsibility is encouraged."

As we turn back towards the centre of Christiania, boxbikes (which were invented here) pass by as cats look on, slowing to avoid the kids who play in the middle of the street. People of all ages are drinking and smoking in groups and circles under the coloured lights of Pusher Street. Several languages other than Danish are spoken at every corner. The spirit is that of a vital international community, and the pace is the relaxed beat of community life.

At the root of all the political games that have been played on its grounds, there is a deliberate denial of what Christiania really is for its inhabitants and visitors, which goes far beyond hash joints and colourful antics.

Christiania offers a glimpse of an alternative way of life to industrialism and consumerism in the middle of one of Europe's capitals. Christiania does not believe your right to a home should depend on your income. Christiania shares its emotional wealth with those judged unfit to participate in mainstream society. Christiania has taken up the challenge and the massive energy drain of governing itself, and after 41 years it is still standing strong.

Whatever revolutions will come in Christiania's future, one thing is certain: we will all still be invited to dance.



EUROPE IN CRISIS

DAVID FERREIRA



September was billed as a turning point in the eurozone crisis, but after a week of mass anti-austerity protests in Spain, Portugal and Greece, the only thing I can take from this month is that politicians are still unable to stop the continent's unrelenting decline into social turmoil.

Despite the efforts of the European Central Bank to stabilise the banking and monetary aspects of the crisis, the recession, deepened by austerity measures, threatens any stability earned by Central Bank action.

Heading into October, Europe faces three trouble spots on its southern "periphery". As in previous years, Greece approaches confrontation both inside and outside parliament whenever the latest austerity measures are brought forward for a vote. The Greek state is in collapse, with police directing residents to the fascist militia of Golden Dawn in crime disputes involving migrants. Social services are in free fall, with the former ranks of the Greek middle class turning to charity services for food and medicine. This level of dysfunction, compounded by another round of budget cuts, is too much for the Greek public to tolerate.

When the IMF recently pushed Greece to pursue further wage and pension cuts, the finance minister pointed to a bullet hole in the window and asked the IMF representative: "Do you want to overthrow the government?" Eurocrats, again pushing for more counterproductive austerity measures, risk sending Greece into a full nervous breakdown, with unpredictable consequences. It's not only EU and euro zone membership that's at stake, but the viability of Greece's post military junta democracy, and even the wider stability of the Balkans, if extreme nationalists like Golden Dawn continue to advance into Greek mainstream politics.



While Greece is further along in its painful austerity program, Portugal is quickly catching up with political dysfunction, public opposition to austerity, and an entrenched economic depression with no obvious exit. Any semblance of political stability in Portugal was lost in one speech by prime minister Passos Coelho, when he announced a 7% increase on the contributions of workers to social security. If that wasn't politically explosive enough, he added that there would be a tax cut on the social security contributions of employers. The prime minister justified the measures in the name of economic competitiveness. A week later, around 660,000 protesters filled the streets in outrage over the government's plans, and the following day the crucial coalition partner in the government came out against the tax measure. The measure formally died at a summit of Portuguese statesmen on September 21 2012. All of this still leaves the Portuguese government scrambling to find the billions of euros in budget cuts and tax increases needed to comply with the country's IMF and European Union adjustment programme. In a tactic borrowed from Greece, Portugal's creditors have threatened to withhold loans if the austerity drive stalls.

While smaller countries like Portugal and Greece have been of sufficient concern to European policymakers since the crisis erupted, the deterioration of a country the size of Spain threatens to bring the whole European project crashing down on itself. Austerity has intensified longstanding regional tensions in Spain, with Catalans in the northeast desiring more political autonomy, while the ruling Popular Party in Madrid and the European Union seek greater centralisation to eliminate regional budget deficits. The regional authorities in Catalonia threaten Madrid with a referendum on independence, but Madrid insists it has the constitution and national authority on its side to block a referendum. In October and November, Galicia, the Basque Country, and Catalonia all have regional elections, and all three regions have well-established and relevant nationalist movements. With a "bailed-out" Spain only promising additional rounds of austerity, the political centre of Spain risks losing more voters to regionalist parties, which promise a better future with stronger autonomy, or even outright independence.

This retreat of the political centre is happening across Southern Europe. It is most obvious in Greece, with once dominant parties like centre-left PASOK polling 8% as opposed to the 43% it won in the 2009 general election. Following the latest austerity announcements in Portugal, the ruling social democrats lost 12% in just a few weeks, with the Portuguese Communist Party and Left Bloc (allied to Greek Syriza) rising to take 13% and 11% of public support, respectively. In Italy and Spain, voters are similarly shunning the parties that have governed for decades. Europe's plan to keep the monetary union together depends on national politicians complying with austerity in exchange for loans. As we are seeing this autumn, the streets of Barcelona, Madrid, Lisbon and Athens are increasingly restive and ready to sweep those politicians aside.

GREECE ON THE BRINK

SMARAYDA
CHRISTOFOROU

There is an uneasy calm in Northern Greece right now, with no sign yet of the harsh Balkan winter or the demonstrations against soaring fuel costs and taxes it will bring. I was last here two years ago, during the early days of the crisis – people were joking about ‘tin krisi’ but still dining out and consuming, albeit more cautiously. Today, they are a tired, broken people, afraid and turning to increasingly desperate survival methods.

The newspapers quote astronomical debts that will take generations to repay, blaming a bloated civil service, massive pensions and a nation of tax evaders for Greece's fate. But what impact are the austerity measures that are deemed necessary by the Troika having on the ordinary Greeks? Not just in the big cities, where a lot of the current reporting comes from, but rural areas and coastal resorts? Who or what do the ordinary Greeks blame for the crisis and what is life really like for them?

First up is Theo, the taxi driver who picked me up from Thessaloniki airport (Greece's second largest city). He is in his 40s and lives in a modest two-bedroom apartment with his wife and four year old son. Here's what he had to say:

What was life like before the crisis?

"Two years ago I worked 10 hours a day, six days a week and took home around €12,000 a year. I shared this taxi with another driver – we split all the costs and shifts down the middle. My family and I were comfortable and could afford a few luxuries. We took a two week holiday every August, went out for dinner once a week, did big weekly food shops and treated ourselves to new clothes. I spent around €300 on loan repayments every month, which was manageable on the money I was making."

How has life changed?

"Now I work sixteen hours a day, seven days a week just to survive. And for this I had to borrow another €50,000 to buy the other half of the taxi so I can work all these extra hours."



On a good day I'll take €100 in fares but only €30 of it is mine, the rest goes on running costs and taxes. And I'm one of the lucky ones because I have work and can feed my family.

We haven't bought any new clothes for two years. Luckily, my sister's boy is a few years older than our son so she gives us hand-me-downs. We do most of our food shopping at markets and if we do go to the supermarket we only buy value or own brand products – basically whatever is on special offer. We only buy exactly what we need. My wife goes to the market two or three times a week; that way there's no danger of us wasting anything."

How does this hardship relate to the current system of political economic control?

"This is not the future we were promised. We made plans, took out loans and organised our lives based on the money I was making and suddenly they [the politicians] tell us that we borrowed all this money and that it now has to be paid back. I've always worked hard and paid into the state. I see no light at the end of the tunnel, no hope for the future at all because they're asking for money that we simply don't have."

Why is Greece in this position?

"The politicians borrowed all this money and made bad decisions, frittered it away on I don't know what, and now it is us working people who are paying the price."

Yiannis is a fruit farmer in Naoussa, a small town in northern Greece, about an hour and a half from Thessaloniki.

"The cost of producing has gone up. I pay much more for pesticides and fuel but I've had to cut prices to get business both in the internal market and the external one."

I don't think we're anywhere near the bottom yet – things are going to get a lot worse. Our politicians, the global market and the international system, are playing a dangerous game. We are the guinea pigs of Europe and the world.

Capitalism is to blame for the crisis not just here in Greece but in the rest of the eurozone too. I don't believe that we're living under capitalism any more but imperialism; a giant corporate state where the private sector reaps the rewards, while the state picks up the tab when things go wrong and pays off its debts.

A lot of people are blaming the euro for this crisis. I don't agree. It's good that we entered the euro as we gained a hard currency. But we

should have used this opportunity to reduce our debt – the politicians did the opposite. They borrowed money from Europe to give to their supporters in order to buy votes and for fake business ventures. Not all the money was wasted. Some people used the EU's development loans to start businesses but many others used the extra cash to go on a spending spree buying goods from abroad so the money went back to those countries.

We're at war right now. The politicians are using divide and rule tactics."

Maria lives in Aifitos, a coastal resort in the Halkidiki peninsular, about an hour and a half from Thessaloniki. She makes her living from the tourists, renting rooms and beach umbrellas. She's married and has a 12 year old daughter.

"I don't know how I'm going to heat our home this winter. Home heating oil prices doubled last year and we hear there'll be even more rises this winter. Everyone bought wood-burning stoves last winter after the first big price hike but now the wood merchants have put up their prices because they know there'll be lots of demand again this year. A lot of them are holding back supplies until winter so that they can put their prices up, like they started doing towards the end of last winter. A lot of people have resorted to illegal logging. They are going into the forest at night to cut down trees in secret and storing it for winter. I don't blame them but I worry about the effect this will have on our woods and forests."

As for us, we'll be using blankets, hats and coats indoors to keep warm once the cold weather comes. Food prices are also a problem but we're better off than the people in the cities. At least we've got some land. I'm planting vegetables all year round – now it's tomatoes and aubergines, come winter it will be potatoes and onions.

It's the medicine that is the real worry. I had to buy the HPV vaccine for my 12 year old daughter – you know the one that protects against cervical cancer. The state doesn't pay for it upfront any more. I had to pay the €150 and then claim it back. I ask you who has a spare €150 sitting around the house these days? Then the doctors went on strike and by the time I could claim the money for the vaccine back they told me it was too late and that I should have claimed it within a month. There was no way I could do this when they were on strike. So I lost the money through no fault of my own."



We're all a lot more conscious of where anything we do buy comes from. The milk, cheese and yogurts have started carrying signs that say things like 'this is 100% Greek'. We don't go to shops owned by foreign companies like Lidl, even if it is cheaper. We have to make sure that any money we do spend is circulating here not going abroad."

Thanassis, 30, is a market trader in Thessaloniki. He still lives at home with his parents, grandfather and two sisters in a small two bedroom flat. He sleeps in the living room with his parents, his sisters share a bedroom and his grandfather sleeps in the other bedroom. He has given up hope of settling down and having a family of his own.



"Illegal traders on the pavements by the official market where I have my stall are taking all my trade. They undercut my prices because they don't pay any tax or pitch fees. I have to pay my pitch fees, plus tax on my earnings, which is about to go up to 30% from the very first euro I earn, as well as a new tax of €500 every three months whether I make any money or not. The guy who's selling illegally outside the market doesn't pay a penny in taxes and the police do nothing to stop it. I owe €1,500 of this new tax but I'm not paying it. I don't have the money, I don't own anything so let them come and arrest me. I don't care."

I didn't vote in the last election – they're all thieves but if I had to choose someone I'd go for Golden Dawn. At

least they are doing something. They give people food and deal with crime where police aren't bothering to do so. People call on Golden Dawn to deal with problem neighbours, immigrants sleeping rough in their area."

Dimitri is 36 years old. He runs a restaurant in Naoussa with his wife and parents. He has a two year old son.

"Every day we open the restaurant but it isn't making any money – we're not breaking even. The last of the

profits from the good times are keeping us going but once that's gone we're going to have to close it down. I can't keep losing money like this."

In the last year we've had to let go of two waiters and two kitchen hands. Now it's just me, my wife and parents who run the place. I just have one waiter at the weekend."

The big problem for us – apart from the crisis in general – is the new taxes on food. The tax on food was 8% a year ago now it's shot up to 23% – so food and alcohol are taxed at the same level. How can that be right?"

I can't raise the prices of food and drink in the restaurant because it will mean no trade at all, so instead I have to take the hit. I'm doing this so money still circulates. If the money stops moving, then it really is over for us."

We still get customers as you can see. [It's Thursday night, the annual Naoussa film festival is on and there are about 15 customers.] The problem is that they're not ordering very much at all. Four people will come out for dinner, order one main course between them, a side dish with bread, one drink each and sit there all night. They come out to socialise but they're not spending. It's okay now while the weather is fine but in the winter I'll be heating the restaurant and losing even more money if this carries on."

Fear, desperation and anger are everywhere. Greece is moving through dangerous terrain, with extremists filling the void left by the discredited mainstream parties. The Greek Civil War saw brother fight brother as families were split down the middle. Thanassis sympathises with Golden Dawn, while his student sister is an avid supporter of KKE (the Greek Communist Party). Immigrants are attacked in the streets by organised racist thugs. What is happening right now in Greece is a warning to us all of what a depression can lead to – scapegoats, fear and loathing, dehumanising of whole sections of the population.

People don't understand why things have got so bad and so are blaming the rise in legal and illegal immigrants over the last 20 or so years. The question is where will it end? Do the Greek people have the belief or stomach to see through these austerity measures? From what I saw this September, I think not."



NEXT STEP STRIKE DEBT

MICHAEL
RICHMOND



When we arrived at 7.30am, the NYPD had already locked down much of the centre of New York's financial district. This prevented some of the more set-piece actions from taking place, such as the "human wall" to block off access to the New York Stock Exchange. Many of us were kettled at various intersections and entry points, and the police's Catch-22

tactic of arresting anyone in the street and then arresting people for "blocking the sidewalk" had begun in earnest.

The action was split into four themed groupings - education, environment, debt, and the 99% - all of which had their own planned actions and affinity groups. Elsewhere, throughout the morning, motorways were blocked, bank lobbies were turned into glitter parties, and high class restaurants were invaded and mic-checked. Many who were blocked off split into smaller groups and began circling the cordoned perimeter looking for openings to where they thought the action was taking place, but the NYPD had sewn this one up. Large scale direct actions all over the world are continually coming up against highly militarised police forces, automaton shock troops standing as the first line of defence for a crumbling status quo. This weekend of action in New York saw over 180 arrests without a hint of violence, or even property destruction, on the part of protesters.

In OT16, the comedian Stewart Lee wrote a satirical piece that is as true a piece of analysis as we've printed, about how modern protest actions seemed to him like "bows and arrows against the lightning". He wrote: "Global capitalism has moved beyond space and time into a theoretical abstract region

unfettered by the laws of either physics or common decency." How much effect would it have had even if we physically blocked the NYSE or indeed the London Stock Exchange, when millions of transactions would continue to digitally flit around the globe, trading futures in North African wheat prices or betting big on some new internet trend?

This isn't to say that it's all pointless, or that Occupy is a failure; the one year anniversary should be a time to celebrate achievements first of all. A change in discourse (to what extent and for how long remains to be seen) is rightly often credited to the actions of occupiers stubbornly pitching their tents in a thousand cities worldwide. Inequality, a lack of political agency, and economic and environmental injustice have been pushed higher up the agenda. Occupy has also had more imperceptible consequences. In the US, it has enlivened a slumbering, non-institutional left into a genuinely radical movement acting as a big tent for various causes. And a very big tent it is, with a far greater spread across age, gender, class and race than any other political group. (though they would themselves admit that there's still some way to go on that front.)

Occupy Wall Street does spectacle better than anyone. This was there for all to see on the night of S17, when Zuccotti Park was reoccupied for several hours. A three person-operated model of the Statue of Liberty holding a sign which read: "all our grievances are connected," did battle with the hulking figure of Bane from the new Batman movie and his fearsome "boulder of debt." A troupe dressed in a near-identical uniform to that of Major League Baseball team, the Los Angeles Dodgers, came to the party as the "Tax Dodgers", accompanied by two women with hula hoops as the "Loopholes", while others performed street theatre satirising the absurd violence of the NYPD.



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The now infamous OWS drum circle kept an intoxicating beat as capoeira players played, while others chanted "All day, all week, Occupy Wall Street!" An amputee in a wheelchair had an electronic ticker attached overhead with messages like "Charge your cellphones here," "tax deductible donations welcomed," "Cancel all debt," and "The Ten Commandments are evil and un-American" scrolling across on a loop. This is important because it is creating commons: reintroducing the idea of public space to places where neoliberalism has extinguished the very concept. New York City, where strangers play chess with one another in every park and artists perform on subway trains, has stubbornly maintained aspects of a culture of common ownership, but it feels more like a remnant when it needs to be a harbinger.

In Britain, a political culture with more well-established left activist groups and infrastructure, Occupy has nevertheless provided an open platform to debate all the issues facing the left, even if at times that platform has been used simply to critique where people think Occupy has gone wrong. This is useful in itself; everyone knows that people within the movement have disagreed massively and destructively on all manner of issues regarding both process and principle. This first birthday shouldn't lead to self-indulgence or the fetishising of all things "Occupy"; instead we should be continuing to reflect, to challenge and critique ourselves, because undoubtedly we could be so much more.

A key flaw is that, as Slavoj Zizek warned and so many have said, Occupy fell in love with itself. It fetishised its processes and how inclusive they were, but on September 17 a 500-600 person general assembly was held up because one woman wanted everyone to sing "Imagine." The movement is too self-referential: Everything has to be branded Occupy this or Occupy that. A temporarily effective tactic has morphed into a seemingly permanent prefix.

Amidst the backbiting and puerile media froth there is genuine analysis, but quite how hard a task it is for any group to take on the established order is rarely mentioned. To overthrow the

current order within just one year (often the criteria by which Occupy is judged) is to ask too much. Besides, those who pointedly pose the challenge "what is your alternative?" are people entirely disinterested in alternatives or the need for them and are instead solely concerned with reinforcing the seeming impenetrability of the existing paradigm.

When the Situationists challenged people in 1968 to: "Be Realistic, Demand the Impossible," they probably could not have imagined how much more impossible that realism we seek could seem. The realism that we have now sees it as normal for an elderly woman to be sitting in the shadows of Wall Street's towers, with bin liners filled with junk all about her, peeling back a makeshift bandage on her leg to reveal an open, infected wound - the mark of the uninsured, a punishment for poverty. This is a realism that sees healthy food sold more expensively, and a supposed measurement for progress (GDP) that values car crashes more than a parent caring for their own child or a family growing their own food. And still now, the realistic consensus dictates that we must expand airport capacity to meet the demand of the dozens of global business centres that have sprouted across the growth economies of China and India, in complete denial of climate change.

Surely part of demanding the impossible is to make ourselves, our



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families, our friends, our colleagues and our neighbours believe that another world really is possible, that it is possible to maximise human wellbeing rather than profit, to protect our environment not our privilege. What we are fighting for is to change reality itself, not just what the world has come to mean. To win the right to form a new reality, we have to expose this capitalist surrealism for what it is: a planet-devouring system that will burn our world and our hopes at the altar of 'efficiency' and false freedom.

With that in mind, by far the most exciting development within Occupy Wall Street is the emerging focus on the issue of debt. In the aftermath of the May Day actions, various activists from the Occupy Student Debt Campaign and the theory and strategy journal Tidal began to build a narrative around debt being central to the crisis, forming a new group called Strike Debt. Their thinking is that medical debt, mortgage debt, student debt, municipal debt, and money being created as debt are systemic issues that directly caused the crisis and affect us

all - across class, race and even political hue. Everyone except the 1%, that is.

Here is a point of unity to organise around, a practical issue that can lead into larger questions about why there is so much debt and what can be done about it. They have published The Debt Resistor's Operations Manual, which contains practical advice about how people can resist their debt, but the overall aim is to build a large scale debt strike or "Rolling Jubilee", to begin working collectively towards liberating people from the debt peonage that they find themselves imprisoned in, usually through no fault of their own.

This is one of the key things that they highlight: with debt, as with mental illness, the most powerful inhibitor to action is the debtor's own shame. Strike Debt has begun to hold ceremonial "debt burnings" and talks where people share and reveal their own debt stories in a fashion not dissimilar to an Alcoholics Anonymous meeting. The anarchist anthropologist David Graeber, an original Wall Street Occupier and author of



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Debt: The First Five Thousand Years, has himself been influential in this decision to zoom in on debt.

In a recent article in The Nation, he writes of how central debt is to modern American capitalism and therefore to Occupy: "As a member of the team that came up with the slogan 'We Are the 99 Percent,' I can attest that we weren't thinking of inequality or even simply class, but specifically of class power. It's now clear that the 1% are the creditors: those who are able to turn their wealth into political influence and their political influence back into wealth again." He ends by underlining the centrality of debt: "Occupy was right to resist the temptation to issue concrete demands. But if I were to frame a demand today, it would be for as broad a cancellation of debt as possible, followed by a mass reduction of working hours - say to a five-hour workday or a guaranteed five-month vacation."

This brings us back to contemporary notions of what is realistic. What kind of morality is this morality of debt that says paying one's debts is more important than anything else? We are seeing a regression back to Victorian times when debtors were criminalised, jailed and branded with a stigma that couldn't be erased. And yet, everyone is in some kind of debt because the system is built on it, none more so than the entire financial sector which can only survive on public bailouts.

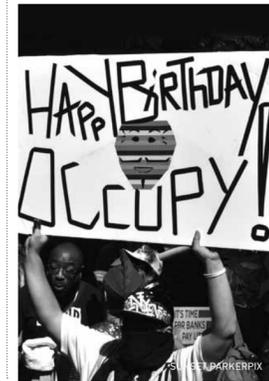
Stewart Lee is probably right that capitalism can cope with people camped in parks and outside churches. It can live with sporadic marches on their patch and spectacular direct actions in their banks every so often. But could it cope without two things that it does still need us for: our tacit consent to its notion of reality, and our dutiful obedience to pay our debts and taxes? In a world of disappearing surplus value and growth opportunities, it is increasingly our debt that Wall Street and the City of London use (and need to use) to inflate their new bubbles with derivatives like asset-backed securities on our mortgages and student loans.

In Ireland, over half of the population continue to boycott a new household tax levied to pay for the elite's bailout. "I Don't Pay" movements have sprung

up in Sweden, Spain and Greece over the last two years where citizens are acting together to refuse to pay rising public transport fares, and in Greece in particular, there has been avoidance of paying road tolls and a widespread refusal to pay hiked electricity bills. The authorities can't send everybody to prison. Not if enough people stick together, as they did with the Poll Tax. The next question becomes the most important: can you build a large enough movement for it to have a real impact? The first step is education, another thing they've started to get right in Occupy Wall Street.

In the week following S17, the Free University of New York put on five full days of lectures and seminars in Madison Square Park on a wide range of topics, completely free of charge. Talks were well attended, fully inclusive and attracted dozens of passersby, including a retired Wall Street executive who began as a heckler but became a regular attendee.

When anarchists talk of the 'propaganda of the deed', it means employing direct action as an example that you want others to follow. Reclaiming public spaces, even temporarily, for the purposes of radical education, and building toward a collective withdrawal from the 1%'s debt trap, are the best ways forward. At the moment, large one-off actions are good for spectacle and symbolism, but not much else.



MARK KAURI



THE END OF THE END OF HISTORY

SHUT DOWN, SHUT UP, GET ON WITH IT

MARK KAURI

"Shut Down Wall Street" still has a certain ring to it, even one year on. But #S17 was never going to succeed in matching the occupation that came to define last year's movement, despite a four-figure turnout and a well publicised, wide-reaching plan of action. (Transparency in planning may be a point of principle for a movement seeking inclusivity, but it also goes some way towards letting them know we're coming...). It is hardly surprising, and far from disappointing, that the fallback from S17-as-action was demonstration, networking and planning among activists still tied to the causes of Occupy, many of whom crossed state lines and national borders to make the day. Myself and other members of the OT collective were among them.

While news of dozens of unwarranted arrests stole the headlines, the real story of S17 and the preceding weekend was one of discussion born out of a year of organising against economic injustice. Many activists involved in the weekend's action have since pointed to the real value of smaller events such as the September 15 gathering in Washington Square Park; an initial point of meeting and discussion among activists, an open-ended event free from the gravity of 'significance' heaped upon the anniversary date of occupation. Beyond the headlines and column inches aiming at the commercially optimal balancing act of at once deriding a 'dwindling' movement, whilst simultaneously throwing a congratulatory 'runner up' consolation prize to persistent occupiers, these genuine moments of networking were of greater value to the cause. The weekend's meetings helped keep Occupy moving beyond the restrictive framework defined by its initial tactic ("All day, all week, occupy Wall Street!") and towards a more versatile incarnation in wide-reaching, networked organisation and grassroots activism in neighbourhoods far away from the financial super-hubs targeted by last year's occupiers.

I witnessed the reality of this kind of organisation after leaving Wall Street, travelling and crashing with occupiers and activists across some of the country's Northeast and Midwestern States. In Chicago, way beyond the skyscrapers of the city centre, the El Barrio branch of the Occupy movement continues to organise in the neighbourhood of Pilsen, holding regular GAs and actions that are rooted in local causes. In a community where the local jail is a hotspot of activity, occupiers are taking it upon themselves to provide jail support for those on release. Activists meet newly released inmates with water, shoelaces and the offer of a mobile phone for calls to be made to arrange a ride home. In El Barrio, Occupy stands apart from many former city-centre branches by virtue of its members' ties to the local community, with many occupiers having grown up on the very streets where they now organise.



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Why 'Jail Support'? You only have to scratch the surface of local court activity to get a sense of the injustice felt by those experiencing what passes for law enforcement in Chicago. Cases underway include that of my host, Gary Wagaman, an activist facing allegations relating to his participation in a protest march in solidarity with Quebec's student movement. Gary, who is pleading innocent, stands accused of throwing an object at an officer, despite multiple eyewitness accounts to the contrary and video evidence debunking numerous claims in the police write-up. If convicted of this felony, he faces a minimum 1-3 year jail sentence. The officer in question was said to have been injured and yet no medical reports have been made available by the prosecution, despite weeks having passed since the protest. Gary's roommate, Alejandro, points out that his friend's situation is telling of a wider trend of run-ins with the police in the neighborhoods, vindicating his group's efforts at the local jail.

In Washington DC, I caught a glimpse of a different form of organisation to Wall Street's shut down, when an early morning action in the run-up to the Occupy DC's anniversary targeted various branches of Bank of America across the city in response to foreclosures imposed on homeowners looking to renegotiate their mortgage payments. The more secretive action took the bank by surprise, resulting in a number of closures and disrupted business hours, with no arrests made. The action was undertaken by distinct affinity groups tied to the same cause, but avoided the pitfalls of transparency through more secretive planning, putting the narrative of the action in activists' hands, and taking the banks by surprise.

Both the organisation and direction of post-occupation activism in Chicago and DC stems from the anticapitalist motivation underpinning the movement, with many occupiers in El Barrio often ready with half-jokes about 'red state' interests. Many I talk to about their political stance are sure to identify themselves as anticapitalist, or anarcho-sympathisers. These sentiments were shared by several activists I met with across the northeast, but were best articulated in a conversation I had back in Wall Street, on S17. Among the group of jail support activists waiting throughout the night for the day's arrestees to be released, I met a twenty something anarchist involved in zine-making and the distribution of literature spanning Thoreau to Graeber to more recent, group-penned pamphlets on anarchism, civil disobedience and anticapitalism. He recounts that after having taken part in Occupy since the beginning, he stepped back for a while, got a job and an apartment, and started studying journalism, but chose to drop it all and live "off the grid", as much as possible, occupying his time mostly with activism and non-violent resistance to capitalism.

"Where are you staying tonight?" I asked. "On the streets."



ECHOES OF THE FUTURE

TINA BAKOLITSA



In the 39th episode of "Star Trek: The Next Generation", Jean-Luc Picard, the captain of the starship Enterprise, finds himself in the unique situation of having to confront his future self. Through a recovered video log, this future Picard is shown to have arrived from a few hours ahead in time, after abandoning both ship and crew, having saved himself with a shuttle while the

Enterprise falls into an energy vortex and is destroyed. Biologically out of sync, the future Picard is unable to talk to his present-time double, so can explain neither the reason for his actions nor provide the solution to their predicament. He serves only as a warning from a future in which the wrong choice was made. With the Enterprise already trapped inside the vortex and the destined destruction approaching rapidly, Picard has to figure out a new course of action that will allow everyone to survive.

Activists and thinkers around the world have likened the Occupy movement to a signal from the future. Reverend Jesse Jackson described occupiers as "canaries in a coal mine". Chomsky talked of a "reflection of tendencies that could become irreversible". For Žižek, the protests of 2011 are fragments of a utopian future that lies dormant in the present as its hidden potential. In these fragments, Žižek also recognises the circular structure of a science-fiction story involving time travel: the signs from the future come from a place that will become actual only if we follow these signs.

Between October 2011 and February 2012, general assemblies held at St Paul's courtyard ratified a number of statements: United for a Global Democracy, Initial Statement, International Statement, Corporations Statement, Economics Statement, City of London demands, Homelessness Statement. While addressing a range of ostensibly separate concerns (democracy, environment, economics and housing) these statements are coherent in their recognition of having a common origin in capitalism. Through this understanding, the statements warned that international financial institutions critically undermine democracy, and that an economic system based on infinite growth yet relying on finite resources can only lead humanity and the environment to destruction. They criticised the current austerity measures as being detrimental to present and future generations. They called for the abolition of tax havens and complex tax avoidance schemes, and for the accountability of banks and financial institutions. They demanded public transparency of all corporate lobbying, including the activities carried out by the City of London, and called for politically independent and effective regulation of all financial practices.

All Occupy warnings and critiques have since received ample validation. A series of scandals emerged throughout the year highlighting the urgent need for accountability in the banking sector, from honours and executive bonuses received by bailed-out bankers (Stephen Hester, Fred Goodwin) to LIBOR rate manipulation, mis-selling of payment protection insurance, swap mis-selling and money laundering. Corporate tax avoidance was another recurrent theme, with major UK companies cutting deals in Luxembourg, company directors 'exiling' themselves in Monaco, and Vodafone and Google facing questions about

their tax records. On a global scale, tax avoidance was recently estimated at £13 trillion. For comparison, the UK national debt currently stands at just over £1 trillion. And that's only taking into account tax avoided by exploiting differences in cross-border tax rules (offshore tax havens). Additional tax avoidance schemes have been uncovered. Meanwhile, almost 50,000 became homeless in England alone and temporary accommodation rose by almost 50%. According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, the UK recession looks set to continue well into the foreseeable future, challenging assertions that public sector cuts and taxation hikes would boost the economy. As for regulators being effective and independent of the industries they regulate, both the Financial Services Authority and Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs appear wanting, as the LIBOR rate-fixing scandal and recent 'outings' of tax-dodgers have made clear. The erosion of democracy under the relentless pressure of unelected financial bodies was chillingly confirmed in elections and referendums within the EU, including Greece, while in the UK the interests of the City of London Corporation determined national policy and undermined democracy at both the electorate and representative (parliamentary) level.

While these foretold futures came to pass, Occupy's evolution both as protest and process continued. With the demise of the initial open-ended camps, alternatives started being explored. Nomadic Occupy was temporary, mobile and driven by local issues. While this model expired too, its message hailing the primacy of community activism and land did not. In a recent example, the criminalisation of residential squatting acted as a catalyst for the successful collaboration between squatters and community campaigners working to save their local library. The Olympics triggered, among other things, warnings about the privatisation of public space. Settling in disused woodland, the Diggers 2012 renewed discussions on the relationship between land and democracy, and fed the idea of a commons-based economy as a new way forward. To encourage this cross-fertilisation of ideas and action, a series of meetings and debates was arranged, including the Occupy Research Collective Convergence, the New Putney Debates and the October 2012 Quilligan Seminars.

On its anniversary, and for a number of reasons, Occupy finds itself splintered and isolated from the social forces necessary to successfully defend and advance it as a movement, such as established activist groups, organised labour, and emerging movements. To reconnect with these forces, Occupy first needs to address issues of political expression, organisational mechanisms and cohesion in the absence of camps. It's a formidable task, but not an impossible one. After all, these were the forces that guided and supported Occupy's birth.

A year has passed. The vortex of capitalism is still churning away unchecked at life, humanity and livelihoods. It doesn't look any more caring or responsible than it did a year ago; if anything, it is even more voracious. At its centre, authoritarian capitalism beckons. Once again, Occupy is raising the alarm, this month with Global Noise. Like the future Picard, Occupy has no ready-made solutions to offer. Like the present Picard, we are reminded that if we want to free ourselves from this deathly stranglehold, we will have to figure out ways of working together collectively, because the future tells us that no individual action is going to be enough.

HOW DO YOU BUILD A MOVEMENT?

THE DAILY RHYTHM OF DIRECT ACTION

JOSEPH KAY

Bankers' bonuses, MPs' expenses and police-media corruption grab headlines, but these are only the most visible of the injustices that the existing political and economic system is built upon. Every day is filled with smaller injustices. These can be economic: pay cuts, unpaid overtime, benefits cuts or rent hikes; or they can be about power: bullying bosses, stress, sexual harassment or police racism.

These injustices aren't a defect in the system; they are a sign that it's functioning normally. They've certainly been intensified by the economic crisis. For example, last year in the UK a record 5.26 million people worked unpaid overtime averaging almost a whole extra day each week. But, they also predate the crisis.

It has always been in the interests of bosses to get as much work for as little pay as possible. So they freeze or cut wages, increase the pace and intensity of work or the amount of unpaid overtime, or both. Workers' interests are the exact opposite: to earn more for less, to become less stressed and have more free time. It is in the interests of landlords to spend the minimum on maintenance and to withhold deposits, while still charging the highest possible rents. Tenants' interests are the exact opposite: paying as little as possible for the best housing. It is always in the interests of the state to cut back benefits payments while channelling handouts to their party donors at firms like A&E. Workfare, making people work for their benefits, is just the latest way of making our lives dependent on work, while forcing wages down. Yet again, claimants' interests are the exact opposite: receiving enough to live on whilst jumping through the fewest hoops, rejecting the distinction between deserving and undeserving poor.

Despite the frequency of these everyday injustices, they rarely lead to spontaneous resistance. Often the injustices are experienced alone, and alone, bosses hold more power than workers, landlords have more power than tenants, the job centre has more power than claimants and so on. Too often, these grievances lead to demoralisation rather than to resistance. To turn isolated injustices into collective action requires organisation.

As these injustices are part of a capitalist system, to be effective this organisation needs to be opposed to capitalism's 'proper channels'. So, instead of employment tribunals, closed-door union negotiations, legal action, lobbying or running for parliament, it is direct action - controlled and taken by those affected - which is the means to fight systemic injustice.

When Laura was owed over £700 in unpaid wages by a London pub, she organised. Her family and friends bombarded the phone and email of the business, demanding payment. The landlord paid up on the eve of a threatened peak-time picket. When Ruth, Jess and Charlotte had their £1,200 deposit stolen, similar direct action tactics won it back. When workers on the London Underground wanted to resist changes to working conditions, they organised a 'piss strike' - one after another, workers went off to the toilet, leading to very little work being done. Management caved in within two days. When cleaners at Brunel University wanted

written contracts, they held a mass meeting and refused to work until a manager promised them contracts on camera. A phone blockade of the same manager prevented an attempt to backtrack, and the cleaners got their contracts.

Direct action doesn't rely on anyone else. It doesn't require official representatives from unions, or political parties, or legal experts and the goodwill of the judiciary. It helps build the power and confidence of those who use it. It can enable workers to defend themselves or improve their conditions. Tenants who have stood up to their landlords are no longer isolated and powerless.

On a practical level, building this kind of movement means banding together with our workmates, housemates, classmates and fellow welfare claimants, and focusing on real everyday issues. We want a revolutionary movement, but we won't achieve it by trying to convince everyone to be a revolutionary. Instead, we can engage other members of the working class on the small everyday grievances that we all share. From these defensive struggles, we can begin to take the initiative. And from a position of strength, discussion about a different system - one without bosses, landlords and politicians - is no longer idle talk. Rather, direct action is the means to win as much as possible right now, while building collective power and opening space to think about more fundamental social change.

The Solidarity Federation certainly doesn't think it has all the answers. But we do think nothing helps build a movement like concrete victories. A solid movement begins with getting organised and standing up to the injustices we experience in our everyday lives. To be successful, the organisation has to be revolutionary. It must aim to put an end to the current unjust system and will reject methods which imitate or collaborate with the system. It will avoid full-time officials, political representatives and backroom deals. We don't think this is rocket science. It is a practical anarchism relevant to anyone with a boss, a landlord or power held over them by leaders.

It might seem like these small, everyday victories are a long way from the overthrow of the system and its replacement with something better, and in isolation they are. But you need only look to the student movement in Québec to see how radical union organisation can explode from everyday grievances to mass struggle. A powerful working class movement will be much more than just a revolutionary union, but such a union can be a catalyst for everyday struggles, and can link them to the need for wider change. Through direct action we can build the power of ordinary people to improve our lives in the here and now, while preparing the ground for social transformation to put an end to systemic injustice altogether.

The Solidarity Federation is a revolutionary union initiative: a working class organisation which seeks the abolition of capitalism and the state. In their place members of SolFed want a society based on workers' self-management, solidarity, mutual aid and libertarian communism.



CATERING FOR CHANGE

STEVEN MACLEAN

To begin with, the kitchen at St Paul's served up surprisingly good food, but as the occupation rumbled on, various ingredients were omitted in an attempt to cater for everybody.

First went the meat so that vegetarians were not excluded, then the use of spices was curtailed to cater for those who didn't like anything too hot. Others didn't like salt, and so on, until the excellent chef left, frustrated by the limitations. Eventually we ended up with notoriously bland, grey sludge which appealed to nobody, including the vegetarians and people who didn't like salty or spicy food. This was no great disaster, and the food remained edible and plentiful, with meat and spice eventually put back on the menu, but it provides an analogy for the 'outreach' strategy adopted by Occupy in London.

The attitude was often "we can't do or say anything too radical because it will alienate the public," but if you worry all the time about scaring people away you end up with bland, empty platitudes which appeal only to those relatively comfortable with the status quo, and fail to address people's grievances.

INSPIRING PARTICIPATION

Movement building should not be about chasing numbers to eventually reach a critical mass who can then make radical change. Of course, change is the ultimate goal, but change isn't just the destination, it's also the vehicle. By understanding and addressing people's grievances, we show that another way is possible, while highlighting the exploitative nature of governments and inspiring resistance against a politics people never voted for and have no hand in carrying out.

What is happening at Friern Barnet, where activists have joined with locals to liberate their library lost to cuts, is truly inspiring. Local residents are fully behind the occupation, and teachers are taking pupils along to visit. This is a great example of people directly confronting the consequences of the neoliberal agenda, not just symbolically, but in a practical way with immediate and obvious benefits to the community. Reopening closed libraries and youth centres across the country would not only win allies and improve lives; it would create a real sense of people taking power back.

Of course, to fundamentally change a system a critical mass of people is needed, but if you put too much emphasis on numbers, and in so doing appeal to already populist ideas, then you just end up repackaging the status quo, which won't change anything.

Successful movements don't have to encompass a vast majority to be effective. There's already a movement including everybody: the world exactly as it is now. If Occupy in London could have received the support of every Guardian reader it would have been a real force to be reckoned with. But it's important that when previously non-politicised people join a movement the act of doing so requires a significant shift in perspective, or is part of a wider, ongoing shift.



RADICAL/LIBERAL ALLIANCE

Liberals seeking change need to remember that radicals are asking for everything they want and more. Strategically, liberals should back the more ambitious demands of radicals, even if they don't want to go as far. If liberals veto radical ideas and rhetoric - as the word 'capitalism' was blocked from a so-called Occupy Global Manifesto - then the radicals are effectively excluded, whereas a liberal agenda could be encompassed and realised through more radical ambitions.

As Stavvers explains, taking aims and demands to the extreme means lesser aims are more likely to be realised. Just as Malcolm X made MLK look like a more palatable option, radicals can make what liberals want seem more feasible. But this requires that movements resist adopting liberal messaging at the expense of radical ideas and analysis.

PREPARING FOR OPPORTUNITY

Golden Dawn are making themselves relevant in Greece by opportunistically replacing services like security and even childcare, winning favour with people who have never held fascist views. We can do the same, but we would be creating what we want to see, rather than merely exploiting people's needs.

We should also understand the importance of good analysis. Theory and action are not competing factors, and demonstrations that are not underpinned by a meaningful critique or articulating real aims, demands or desires can be energy-sapping without much gain, while giving the state a chance to appear 'tolerant' by allowing them to happen.

Symbolic protests can be toothless, but not because they are symbolic. They are toothless because their symbolism fails to highlight the difference between people's values and the government's agenda, and the point at which the two clash.

Activists should not focus on winning the support of a corporate media invested in preserving the status quo, they should work to replace it. A movement needs to be fostered over time, through networks, dialogue, mutual aid and acts of solidarity.

Capitalism is doing a very good job of discrediting itself. We need to focus on what what we'd like to retain of the society we now see around us, whilst refining alternative visions so we have ideas and practices to thrust into the vacuum when the system becomes untenable.

SQUATTING LAW MATTERS

FIN GREEN

On September 27, 21 year old Alex Haigh became the first person to be sent to prison under the new law that criminalises squatting in residential buildings. He received a sentence of three months in Wormwood Scrubs for the crime of temporarily residing in an empty building while he looked for work in London. Covering the story with a habitual sensationalist alarmism, the Evening Standard lamented "the crisis of invaded homes" that afflicts the country. There certainly is a crisis of homes, but the real problem is not habitation in empty buildings. Rather it is the ever-growing waiting lists for social housing and increasing numbers of people forced to sleep on the streets. In the aftermath of his sentencing, I spoke with other London squatters and advocacy groups about the implications of the new legislation.

In response to the prison sentence, the Squatters' advocacy group Squatters' Action for Secure Homes (SQUASH) issued the following press statement: "The real crimes are the 930,000 empty properties across the UK, not the people who are bringing these back into use. This crazy law is aggressively punishing the victims of our housing crisis, at an exorbitant cost to the taxpayer."

The new legislation comes as part of the Legal Aid bill, which was expected to generate savings of £350 million. A report commissioned by SQUASH, however, estimates that the cost to the taxpayer of enforcing the ban could be as high as £790 million over the next five years.

In a squatted South London factory due to be demolished I spoke with Rob, who has been living in squats for the past two years. I asked for his response to the first prison sentence under the new law, and how it was covered in the media:

"I think there's a fairly concerted media hate campaign going on at the moment. When you look at the Evening Standard article about Alex Haigh being jailed, and their claim that there's a squatting crisis going on in the UK with gangs of Eastern-European targeting family homes, it's clearly delusional nonsense."

Catherine Brogan from SQUASH suggests that Rob could be right. She

points out that "one 160 leading legal figures have signed a letter arguing that the public was misled over the necessity of the new law."

Despite the Daily Mail and Evening Standard stories about families made homeless by squatters whilst on holiday, legislation already exists which protects homeowners in such circumstances: Section 7 of the 1977 Criminal Law Act states that it is a criminal offence to remain in a building if asked to leave by a displaced residential occupier.

I asked Rob why he thinks opposing the new law is important: "For me it's not just about the house I live in at any one time. It's about a community that I've become a part of, and it works as a unique type of community entirely because of squatting."

This notion of a squatters' community may prove to be their greatest strength in opposing the new legislation. A few days after my visit to the South London squat, a text goes out on the squatters' networks calling for people to resist the eviction of a family from a residential property where they were formally tenants. I spoke with Peter, a long time squatter and housemate of Rob: "It's important to resist evictions because everyone should have the right to a home and shelter. It's ridiculous that in the middle of a housing and economic crisis the government should bring in a law that's going to result in more people sleeping on the streets."

Speaking of strategies being employed to oppose the new law, Peter said: "People are becoming more organised. Eviction resistances are proving to be a good way way of building solidarity and networks. The more that we resist, the more unworkable this law becomes, and that is why I think it is important to keep squatting residential buildings."

Even in news coverage generally critical of the new law, much is made of the distinction between 'legitimate' squatters, who are sleeping rough with nowhere else to go, and so-called 'lifestyle squatters', who choose not to pay London's exorbitant rents. As pointed out by a number of sociologists, currently there is a great overlap between these categories. Catherine Brogan notes, "We saw a great rise in

squatting during the recessions of the 70s and 80s, and we've certainly seen an increase in the last three years." With youth unemployment sitting at just over one million and an emergent graduate-without-a-future generation, squatting is both an budgetary necessity for many young people today, and a way extricating oneself from a system that pointedly reveals its unfairness in these times of economic crisis.

In this context, the act of squatting is not only a form of protest in the refusal to pay rent. It also provides the space to experiment with alternative relations and modes of living that do not follow the logic of the market. For Peter, squatting provides a space free from the financial compulsion of rent: "we can create spaces that embody the ideals we would like to create in a future society. This can be seen in various social centres and community projects that have been run from squats, whether in Holland's popular 'people's kitchens', that provide free hot meals, or at 56a here in London, which offers the public bike repair services by donation."

Those who supported Occupy should acknowledge a common cause with the fight against the criminalisation of squatting, because it is an attack on a form of protest that uses space to practice prefigurative politics. The strength of Occupy resides in its ability to transcend the usual protest politics of temporary spectacle by actualising radical notions of democracy, which seek to expose and disrupt certain mechanisms of power, and demonstrate the potential for alternative power relations. But building these radical alternatives requires space, whether the city square or the squat.

Viewed in this context, the space of the squat is inherently ideological. For Rob, "squatting is the domain of people living outside the norm; whether that's because of political ideology, economic condition, nationality or sexuality."

Catherine Brogan agrees, suggesting that the new law is not just about reasserting property rights, but "closing down spaces for alternative discourse and protest." That's why opposition to this law is essential. It's a fight not only to provide homes for those in need, but also to keep spaces where opposition to hegemonic power relations can flourish.



FRIERN BARNET – THE LIBRARY THAT REFUSES TO DIE

ROGER TICHBORNE

When a local community loses its heart, it's inevitable that it will die. Local communities can be built around many things; a church, a pub, a cricket club. In Friern Barnet, it is the local library which is the focus of the community. It is situated on the village green, and was set up in the 1930's with a loan from the Carnegie trust. Sadly, for the residents of Barnet, we have a local authority which places no value on community and the hubs which nurture it. Fortunately the local community have different ideas, leading to a remarkable series of events, culminating in the reopening of the library by the community and activists. Let's start at the very beginning.

Shortly after the 2010 council elections, Barnet Council announced that it was holding a strategic library review. Rather alarmingly the cabinet member responsible, Robert Rams, announced that people could "get books from Tesco's". He also suggested that maybe people could read books in Starbucks. On hearing this, I realised that we ran the risk of losing our libraries and decided that we needed to stop this disastrous policy before it took hold. I organised a petition to keep all of our local libraries open. Conservative councillors were lobbied at their surgeries. We made sure that everyone got the message that they would lose their library if they didn't take action. We had soon collected the 7,000 signatures required to compel a debate.

Robert Rams got the message. He realised that many of the libraries were in Tory wards and that it could cost them dear if they carried out their plans. In March 2011, when the strategic library review was presented, only two libraries were targeted for closure. One was Friern Library, the other was in Hampstead Garden Suburb. The HGS library was in a strong Tory ward, and soon a deal had been done to keep it open. Friern, being a Labour ward, received no such treatment. Although the council pretended to be interested in community plans, they had no intention of doing anything other than selling the building and pocketing the cash. Community groups were strung along for months. This was purely to avoid a legal challenge. Once the period for consultation passed, the library was cruelly shut with only 24 hours notice. People did not even have the chance to return books. A small occupation of the building was staged,

but after several hours people left and the library was shut.

I immediately announced, in my blog "The Barnet Eye", that we would hold a 'people's library' on the village green next to the library on the following Saturday. Hundreds of people turned up and a carnival atmosphere ensued. People brought tea, cakes and posters in addition to books. They also brought gazebos and the Save Friern Library campaign took over the running of the people's library. The event was staged every week throughout April and May, and we even got a visit from The BBC's One Show.

In August, I got an excited call from a local activist. They told me that Friern Library building had been occupied. I immediately made my way to the site and made contact with activists. I was amazed to find that the group were squatters, ironically evicted from a site in Camden by the local Tory MP Mike Freer's campaign to outlaw squatting in private residences. I then found that they planned to reopen the library. Meetings were held, and a rota of community librarians was set up.

What was even more exciting were the plans to stage lessons, music and other community events in the space. The council even came down and entered discussions with the group; these discussions are now ongoing. With a shocking lack of good faith, the council then started proceedings to evict the group, even though there are no plans for the building. Even more shockingly, it turned out that the council was spending £600 a day on security to keep the building closed. As the building is now occupied by people who love it, the council is saving this money, as security has been withdrawn. Sadly, they are still foolishly proceeding with the court case.

Perhaps the most ironic thing is that Mr Freer's anti squatting legislation has made our squatters at Friern Library community heroes. Phoenix, who is facilitating discussions and coordinating the library, has shown the council true community values. More than 3,000 books have been donated, children are having lessons, the elderly have their community hub back. Friern Barnet is the library that refuses to die and everyone associated with it is proud of our response as a community.

Stop Press: News from court on October 10 was good - the case has been adjourned until December.

DALE FARM LIVES ON



year has passed since the violent eviction of Dale Farm, a Traveller site in Essex. The eviction cost £4.8m, resulted in 35 arrests and left 80 families

homeless. On the anniversary of the eviction, the OT speaks to some of those whose lives have been changed by the challenges they face.

The eviction of Dale Farm was the culmination of 10 years of legal twisting and turning. Candy Sheridan, vice chair of the Gypsy Council, describes the negotiation process leading up to the eviction as extremely confusing and deceiving, saying in a pensive tone "I think they were running circles around us". Finally, in the early autumn of 2011, authorities were ready to put an end to Dale Farm.

Ellen Yianni, an activist who lived on the site for a month, describes how residents prepared for an increasingly likely eviction: "I arrived late in the evening, the night before the first big potential eviction attempt on September 19," Ellen explains. "The site was buzzing with late night preparations. Until the early hours of the morning, I helped to build barricades and coordinated with the other medics, the numbers of which were woefully insufficient. Some of the residents were having celebrations, celebrating the 10 happy years they'd spent at Dale Farm."

A month later, bulldozers and hundreds of policemen in riot gear appeared on site to forcefully remove the Travellers from their plots. The eviction itself is frequently described by those who were present as "horrific". Although it was expected and meticulously planned for, it was nonetheless shocking and extremely traumatic. "I remember the police coming through the back fences, facing

my caravan where my kids were and my kids looking at them," recalls a former Dale Farm resident. "It's absolutely been a nightmare."

Ellen offers a similar observation: "I was struck by the image of two hundred coppers with riot shields glinting, marching towards us. It was a very violating feeling. The next few hours were a mixture of violence, crying children in their parents' arms, desperately scurrying around the site to avoid batons and a heavy, sinking anxiety hanging in the air." Over the course of a day the close-knit community was destroyed, their once-lively plots were filled with stagnant water, and sewage soaked into ground that had been gardens.

A year later, around 36 families have moved onto Oak Lane, the road leading to their former home. They have no access to electricity or running water and have to share one toilet between 40 people. The once thriving community now resembles a toxic wasteland, where children play among the debris, rats, and ruins of what used to be their home.

What many of the residents lament most of all is that prior to the eviction, for the first time in generations, the children of Travellers had been able to settle into a school and had learned to read and write. "Why would they give them an education and then take it away?" asked one of the mothers.

Basildon Council is now taking measures to remove the families residing along Oak Lane. According to councillor Tony Ball, "the council will be checking compliance after September 29. If the notices have not been complied with, then we will have to go through the correct processes to determine the appropriate course of action." Though the specifics of the operation remain unclear, the council does not exclude any of its options. "I said last year that there was no need for people to be living

on the roadside," Ball continued "and that they should engage with the council regarding personal needs."

Nathan Saunders, an activist from the Traveller Solidarity Network (TSN), disagrees with the claim that the residents could simply relocate: "What has been offered is a couple of flats. These are not only insufficient in relation to the number of people living on the roadside, but expecting Travellers to move into council flats is a gross disregard of their human rights as warranted by the UN Convention." One of those living on Oak Lane echoed this sentiment, stating that "if we had anywhere else to go we would be gone". Many within the Traveller community feel that the extreme and disproportionate measures taken by the council are an expression of a deep intolerance towards the Gypsy/Traveller culture.

Travellers are not the only ones being subjected to an ultimatum. The Traveller Solidarity Network has given the Department for Communities and Local Government 28 days to vacate their central London premises, citing "persistent racially aggravated persecution [of Travellers, Gypsies and Roma]... harassment, alarm, and distress amounting to anti-social behaviour and gross misconduct." The government department, led by Conservative Eric Pickles and responsible for much-criticised changes to Traveller site provision in the recent Localism Act, refused to comment. TSN insist they have completed a full 'Equalities Impact Assessment' which "balanced the needs of Eric Pickles's political career against the rights of Travelling communities to a home" and warned that if the ultimatum is not observed, "direct action will commence no later than 1pm on the October 19."

For more information: www.travellersolidarity.org



MASS TRESPASS AT NUCLEAR POWER PLANT

EMMA FORDHAM

Four days of action by anti-nuclear protesters culminated in a mass trespass at Hinkley Point power station in Somerset on October 8.

Activists occupied common land close to the power station, securing a protest camp site and erecting a tin-roofed wooden headquarters and solar panels overnight. Kitchen, campfire and a direct action training space were set up, and around 70 protesters moved onto the site.

A march and rally in neighbouring Bridgwater attracted locals who are against the building of the proposed new Hinkley C reactor. Hinkley A was closed in 2000 after a Stop Hinkley campaign, while Hinkley B is still operational despite cracks in its reactor core. Stop New Nuclear supporters from London and Glastonbury travelled by coach to take part in the action. Speeches by an electrical engineer who used to work on the existing Hinkley plant, and by a British man who was living near Fukushima with his Japanese family during the 2011 earthquake and subsequent nuclear meltdown, were described by participants as moving, frightening and galvanising.

Zoe Smith of campaign group South West Against Nuclear (SWAN) said that this protest was significant because "French energy company EDF are preparing to build a new reactor here but it's not a done deal. They've been trashing the countryside in preparation for the build, but they don't actually have planning permission yet. Bear in mind that EDF are having their own economic crisis. We can win this one if we keep up the pressure."

Barrels symbolising toxic waste were rolled through the streets followed by a 'die in' during which activists lay in the road, blocking the main gates to the power station. The arguments against new nuclear were expounded, with a focus on financial as well as safety aspects. Between serving meals and hot drinks to protesters, the Stop Hinkley kitchen crew explained that wind power is now cheaper than new nuclear so it is becoming harder for the government to justify nuclear subsidies; meanwhile, investors are pulling out of nuclear.

Non-violent direct action training was followed by overnight

reconnaissance missions prior to the mass trespass aiming to 'Reclaim Hinkley' on October 8. Activists faced eight foot high fences topped with barbed wire and patrolled by G4S security teams with guard dogs. Having announced the action in advance – in order to obtain maximum publicity – those planning to trespass knew that G4S were on high alert. Approximately 50 police officers were also in attendance.

Despite the high levels of security, 30 protesters scaled or cut through the fence and succeeded in entering the proposed Hinkley C site. Affinity groups carried out a variety of actions while trespassing, some collecting soil samples while others locked on to the fence, hung banners, re-opened footpaths, planted wildflowers, sang, prayed or played hide and seek with G4S. Divergency tactics by those remaining outside the fence helped in the success of the action and work at Hinkley B was disrupted by an early morning blockade of the main gates.

Green Party leader Natalie Bennett spoke to trespassers through the fence, voicing her support for their cause. "In the case of Hinkley, it is deeply disturbing that earthworks have already started even though funding is not yet in place. The whole situation shows real contempt for the democratic process," she said.

Six activists were arrested and one suffered a suspected broken arm. Minor cuts and grazes were sustained by a number of trespassers but during a debrief back at the tin-roofed barn after the action, the mood was jubilant. Freshly empowered young activists and veteran peace campaigners alike expressed determination to continue the fight against new nuclear.

Camilla Berens, acting as press officer, described the trespass as a major success, while expressing sympathy for those hurt or arrested. "To have around 50 people prepared to put their liberty on the line was truly impressive," she said. "A generation has been sold the lie that nuclear is clean energy but we will keep putting pressure on the government. Investment is drying up and it is time to face the facts."

For more information visit www.stophinkley.org/ or www.stopnewnuclear.org.uk



PREOCCUPYING: ALAN MOORE

“...A REASONED OPPOSITION TO OPPRESSION IS BOTH POSSIBLE AND NECESSARY”

ALAN MOORE IS A WRITER AND ANARCHIST, AND THE AUTHOR OF WATCHMEN AND V FOR VENDETTA. HAVING WRITTEN FOR US BACK IN JANUARY, MOORE RETURNS TO THE OT TO DISCUSS ANARCHY, WAR, AND THE ROOTS OF THE MODERN EDUCATION SYSTEM.

OCCUPIED TIMES: Having previously suggested that many of the problems humanity faces flow from a tiny number of “leaders” and the current political and economic system they maintain, what do you identify as the main problems in the political and commercial makeup of our society?

ALAN MOORE: I think that with the inevitable erosion of those false certainties which shored up the reality of previous generations, we have seen a subsequent collapse in our sense of societal significance and, not entirely unconnected, in our sense of personal identity. We are no longer certain what the social structures we inhabit mean, and therefore cannot gauge our own value or meaning in relation to those structures. Lacking previously-existing templates such as blind patriotism or religion, it would seem that many people mistake status for significance, building their sense of self on what they earn or on how many people know of their existence. This appears to lead to a fragmented and anxiety-fueled personality as the most readily-adopted option, which it may be imagined is a desirable condition for those seeking to herd large populations in accordance

with their own often-depraved agendas. **OT:** What does anarchism offer in the way of a solution to these problems? **AM:** With its inherent rejection of leaders and hierarchy, anarchy is antithetical to all imposed ideas of status. Neolithic hunter-gatherer societies would mock or ostracise those members of the tribe who seemed intent on engineering a more privileged position for themselves, a practice still maintained in some existing aboriginal communities, perhaps as an acknowledgement of the tremendous social instability that seems to follow at the heels of inequality. In anarchy’s insistence on no leaders is the implication that each man or woman takes on the responsibility of being their own master and commander; the pursuit of these demanding duties being the sole means by which meaningful individual freedom is attained. In repositioning ourselves back at the centre of our own unique subjective cosmos, we may find that our dilemmas with identity and meaning are those born of hierarchical societies. As human beings making our own peace with this extraordinary universe, we could make possible the genuine collaboration

between self-determined and splendidly various personalities that I believe must be the basis for all truly viable and equally-entitled cultures.

OT: What do you think has been the effect of corporate sponsorship and ownership on the arts, and what would do you think about the relationship between art, advertising and capitalism?

AM: The commoditisation of the arts, with us since the outset of civilisation, is in my opinion always a corrosive influence. It disempowers the creator, and too often turns them into harmless geldings who’ve forsaken individual vision in the frantic scramble to be marketable in an art field which, increasingly, is little more than an extension of the entertainment industry. Happy to have a profile, to have work, their only function is as social palliatives. Apparently content with this self-image for as long as it is profitable, artists have abandoned their erstwhile role as the wielders of immense and world-transforming forces. No-one wants to be a bard for fear it might disqualify them from the Booker Prize, and in result our culture lacks an insurrectionary John Bunyan or



ILIAS BARTOLINI

incendiary William Blake when it could sorely use one. As for the connection between advertising, art and capitalism, or ‘Charles Saatchi’ as I sometimes call him, I suppose that the existence of a thriving marketplace is a necessity when one is looking to sell out.

OT: What are your thoughts on the prospects for mass action, civil disobedience and bottom-up movements? Does collective action still have the potential to change society, or does this kind of ‘demonstration’ amount to just that?

AM: Collective action has tremendous power to change society and, yes, mass action in itself is an expression of that change, even when the protest would appear to be blithely ignored by the authorities as with the stunningly huge protests at the Iraq war. A demonstration is just that, a mass display of disapproval that reminds our leaders of the vast potential powder-keg they’re sitting on; a worrying symptom of unrest within the body politic that it is dangerous or even fatal to ignore. In addition to the prophylactic force which they impose on those who govern us, such movements also have the positive effect of demonstrating that a reasoned opposition to oppression is both possible and necessary. Given that the social orders that restrict us are all pyramidal in their structure, and that the top stones on any given pyramid are those which are by definition the most easily replaced, a bottom-up approach to politics would seem to me to be the only real way of effecting meaningful and lasting change.

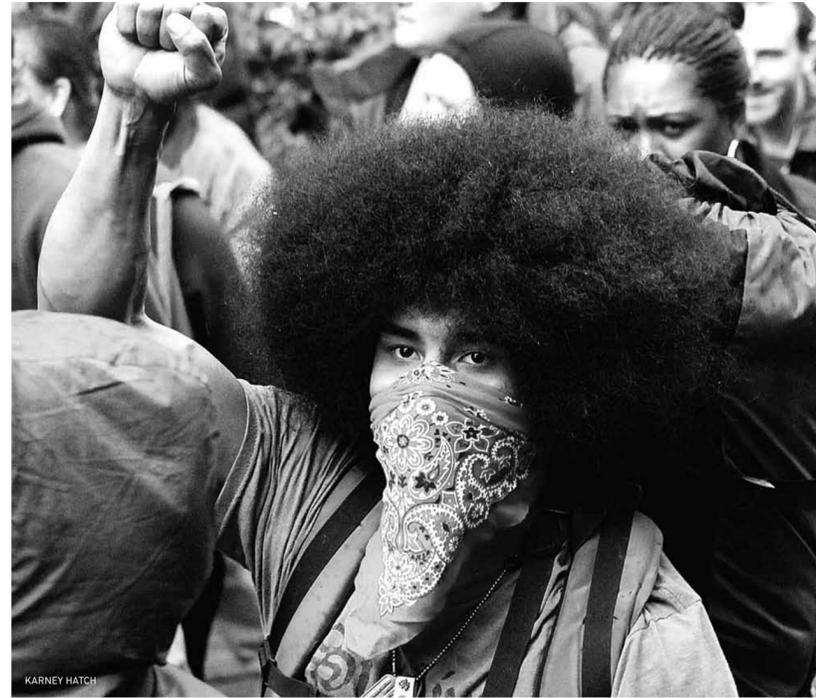
OT: What other methods or tactics could be explored with a view to challenging economic, environmental and social injustices?

AM: The current protest movement, being a beneficiary of a post-modern world with all the many overlooked or else deliberately hidden treasures of the past at its disposal, could do worse than pay attention to its disaffected history in the search for useful inspiration. The ideas of Situationism, instrumental in provoking the Parisian student population to prise up the cobblestones in 1968 looking for a beach, offer intriguing new ways of relating to the urban landscapes which surround us. The concept of psychogeography, derived at least in part from Situationist

conceptions of the city, is a means by which a territory can be understood and owned, an occupation in the intellectual sense. Those able to extract the deepest information from a place are those most able to assert some measure of control on that environment, or at least on the way it is perceived. At the same time, by mining seams of buried or excluded information, it is possible to reinvest a site with the significance and meaning which contemporary town planning and commercial vested interests have removed from it. In my conception of the world, it is this luminous substratum of mythology and meaning that the physical domain is standing on, rather than the reverse. Our advertisers and our politicians seem to understand this fundamental law of magic perfectly, and those who stand in opposition to the ruthlessly asserted worldview of such people would do well to turn such nominally esoteric concepts to their own advantage.

OT: Having left school early and built a career as a self-taught writer and artist, what advice do you have for young people today who wish to pursue their own ambitions, or those who don’t have access to the resources of higher education or training?

AM: Having been recently asked to run a few workshops for excluded kids in Northampton, this is a subject I’ve been thinking about a lot lately. Firstly, I’d say that from the perspective of someone who’s just kicked out of school and denied further education, it would probably seem as if the world has ended...and in terms of the conventional world that schooling was allegedly preparing such a person for, it probably has...it may well be the greatest stroke of luck that person has ever experienced. The compulsory education system widespread across the western world is largely a creation of 18th century Prussian educationalist Wilhelm Wundt. After Prussia’s defeat by Napoleon at the battle of Jenner in 1802, it was decided the main reason for the Prussian army’s poor performance was that the soldiers were thinking for themselves rather than blindly following orders. Wundt suggested a new compulsory education system that would solve this problem by fragmenting the pupil’s intellect, and thus also fragmenting his or her



KARNEY HATCH

personality. This would be achieved by dividing learning into a whole range of separate subjects without providing any linkages between these isolated areas of knowledge.

Also, dividing the pupils up according to age (and, if possible, gender and religion) would further isolate the individual and make them malleable to authority. This is the origin of modern education, a process which seems mainly intended to alienate individuals from the learning process while at the same time teaching punctuality, obedience and the acceptance of monotony. During the Thatcher era, it was decided that the American secretary of state Robert McNamara’s policy of setting ‘kill targets’ for GIs during the Vietnam War (which had obviously done such a lot to ensure America’s victory in that conflict) should be adopted by the NHS. After this had been effected, with the resultant damage to the health service that entailed, it was decided to implement the practice in the field of education. And here we are.

In being excluded from the current education system, it might be thought that the excluded party has been fortunate enough to be knocked off of a conveyor belt which was at best delivering them to a staid life as a useful worker-unit, and at

worst propelling them towards a psychological and intellectual abattoir. Not until we are forced back on our own resources do we learn what those resources are, and having been rejected by an education system which quite evidently wasn’t working anyway can be a perfect opportunity to educate oneself. You can pursue those subjects you are actually interested in, where learning is enjoyable and sometimes actively addictive, and will probably discover that an interest in one subject will lead naturally to an interest in almost every other subject over time. You may even find, as in my own case, that you’re often asked to lecture at the educational establishments you were prevented from attending, where the highly specialised and exam-fixated students will seem baffled and bewildered by the breadth of knowledge which you seem to have absorbed. It’s also worth pointing out that none of the many wonderful artists or writers with whom I’m acquainted have got there through the route of academic qualifications. In practice, most of what is being taught in schools amounts to shoddy and beleaguered lessons on how to become a shoddy and beleaguered teacher, perpetuating a system which for centuries has been geared more to the enslavement of young psyches

rather than their liberation. **OT:** Throughout your career you have been involved in various underground and independent publications. Do you feel that cyberspace is the best platform for this kind of work, or is there still value in tangible ‘underground’ publications today, such as print media? **AM:** Given that I do not possess an internet connection, it’s likely that my answer to this question will be biased. While I suppose that there are underground or counter-culture publications which exist online and which may be tremendously effective, my own leanings are toward print media, which seem to me more human and immediate. With Dodgem Logic, when an electronic version was proposed, I found that my initial interest chilled considerably after seeing such a publication. While presumably pitched perfectly at its intended audience and beautifully produced, I personally found the presentation slick and rather soulless, with the interactive elements merely distracting and irrelevant.

Also, around the time that I was thinking about this, my elderly neighbour Elsie from across the street bumped into me and thanked me for the Dodgem Logic issues that I’d posted through her door, informing me that she’d made one of the delicious trifles suggested on our cookery pages and had really, really enjoyed it. At that moment it occurred to me that this was someone who would never own or use an iPad, and that this applied to many of our local readers. I do not believe that everyone is now online and that we are existing in an information-rich utopia. I see a chasm opening between the information-rich and information-poor and, possibly because of my own background, age and prejudices, I believe that something funny, lovely and informative that is available to everyone without the need for a device or internet connection is the option which, to me, makes most sense both emotionally and ethically.

OT: Your work Lost Girls was described as “pornography”, and certainly challenged the preconceptions around this field by exploring new narratives and representations of sex and sexuality. How important is the treatment of sex, sexuality and gender in terms of the overall well being of a society? **AM:** Our sexual identities are our

most intimate components, and the greater part of those identities exist entirely in the sexual imagination. The governing of sexual imagination, then, becomes a high priority in any system of control. Our current culture involves an incessant bombardment with sexual stimulation and also seeks to associate shame and guilt with any sexual unorthodoxy. I believe that this results in certain individuals being forced into progressively more dark and furtive corners of their fantasy life, and perhaps eventually deciding that they wouldn’t feel much more disgusted with themselves if they were to cross over from the realm of fantasy to actual abusive practice. This would seem to be borne out by the much lower rate of actual sex-crime in those countries such as Holland, Spain or Denmark where no social stigma is attached to the perusal of pornography. While a sexually healthy attitude is perhaps not the single most important aspect of a functioning society, an unhealthy approach to these matters will almost certainly eventually poison every other aspect of the culture.

Boys and girls with an excess of healthy and hormonal sexual energy will have that vital life-force siphoned from them to fuel foreign wars or other violent and fanatical agendas. Better, I think, that we should overcome our shame and squeamishness in talking about sexual imagination and identity, and in the right hands I believe pornography might be a vehicle towards that state.

OT: Last year, Frank Miller (Author of Sin City & the Dark Knight Batman series) described Occupy Wall Street as a bunch of ‘louts, thieves and rapists’, and suggested that if they really wanted to better their country, they would join the army and fight in Afghanistan. You and many other comic writers openly responded that he was out of line; would you care to elaborate? **AM:** You have to remember that a certain number of individuals in the comic industry are largely there because they’ve managed to somehow transform abilities with art or writing into a career that guarantees them an extended adolescence. Their worldview is coloured or informed by the

simplistic moral narratives which they spend the best part of their creative lives delineating, and they are often careful to avoid any information which would prove disruptive to that way of seeing things. Anybody who had actually spent any time conversing with ex-servicemen would know that they are not the natural enemies of protest movements such as Occupy. For one thing, as I understand it, more than half of the whole homeless population in both Britain and America is made up of ex-forces personnel no longer needed by their countries, and one might indeed suppose that they would have a lot of reasons for supporting protests against the conditions that have so shamefully disadvantaged them. I understand Frank Miller stated his regret that he was now too old to fight alongside soldiers in Afghanistan, but said that if he’d been a younger man he would have been the first to have his ‘finger on the trigger’. Presumably he didn’t hear about the first Gulf War, the conflict in the Balkans or the many other opportunities he could have had to do the right thing and enlist.

I can remember, in the 1980s when the marvellous Joyce Brabner organised Real War Stories for Eclipse Comics, I was amongst the comic professionals who were put in contact with ex-service people with an eye to transforming their personal stories into accessible comic form. I worked with an understandably initially prickly Vietnam vet turned excellent writer named William Erhard, telling the story of how his youthful patriotic idealism had been used to lead him to a distant land to kill farmers and fishermen. Bill’s story was a powerful and harrowing account, and anyone who’d listened to it could not have continued to base their idea of modern warfare on a Sgt. Fury comic that they read when they twelve. But then, Frank Miller didn’t contribute to that project. My thoughts on the whole matter are that, if you should be employed in a supposedly creative industry where you spend your day writing or drawing about heroism while rigorously avoiding any real-life application of that quality, you should probably keep your mouth shut regarding people and situations of which you clearly know or understand nothing.



TA



ANDREA BAKACS

ACRIMONIOUS ACRONYMS

NEV REMU

Leaked digital communications between various branches of Occupy reveal tensions within the movement, which celebrates its birthday this month. Three groups, Occupied Media (OM), Occupied News (ON) and Occupied Press (OP) are at the centre of a war of words, with spokespeople from each of the horizontally organised, non-hierarchical, leaderless groups exchanging insults and accusations.

According to one insider, ON considers itself more progressive than OM, whereas OM claims that ON has strayed from its roots. Both OM and ON have been criticised by OP, which sees itself as closest to Original Occupy (OO).

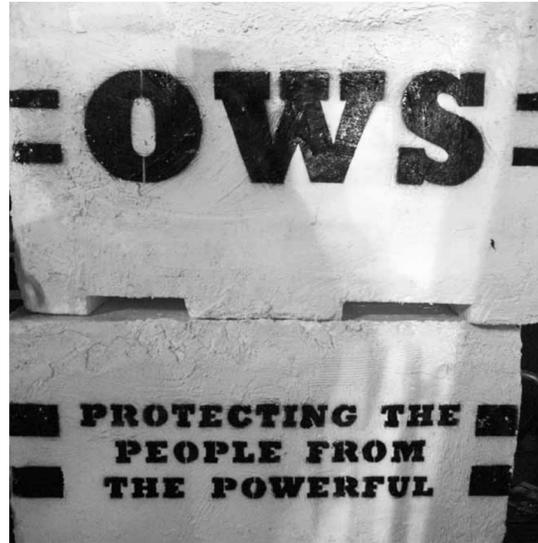
A source claiming to be a former member of OO, however, described how minutes from a General Assembly in May prove that the issue of contention was actually a database which OM refused to release, despite ON insisting that the information be shared for the benefit of all Occupiers. According to this account, OM countered that that there are plenty more cards to be found in phone boxes around central London. Another informant from Occupied Semaphore (OS), a one man working group based on a derelict oil rig in the North Sea, contacted us with the flags he normally uses for outreach with passing cargo ship captains. His decoded message mentioned nothing about databases, but traced the beginning of the conflict to a packet of biscuits that disappeared from the tea tent in January.

We also received a garbled email from OO@gmail.com about prefigurative politics and the perils of utopianism, but matters are complicated by a statement from Occupied Radio (OR), claiming that OO was never a working group. Rather, the

informant described OO as a kind of theoretical and never-witnessed subatomic particle that emerges to seed a new division of Occupy, but, being stable only in an ideological vacuum, vanishes into the void almost as soon as it is created. Meanwhile, a spokesperson from Occupied Quabalah (OQ) - a group of dissident rabbis squatting an abandoned synagogue in Finchley - contacted one of our correspondents through his dreams, explaining that the differences between the factions are due to subtle energies dependent on the Hebrew transliterations of the various acronyms. OQ is not affiliated with the Occupied Jews Network (OJN), which has launched a media project involving various other working groups as an alternative to the Occupied News Network (ONN). The collaboration of OJS with the Occupied Screws Network (OSN), the Occupied Blues Network (OBN), the Occupied Views Network (OVN), the Occupied Cruise Network (OCN), the Occupied Snooze Network (OSN), and the Occupied Moos Network (OMN) features dozing correctional facility officers sleep-talking the news from cowpens on scenic yachts, to a soundtrack of downtempo klezmer played on slide guitar.

A Gallup poll reveals that 99.99999% of the British population are entirely unaware of any differences between the acrimonious acronyms, and, having spoken to OM, ON, OO, OP, OQ, OR and OS, we are indeed none the wiser.

Solidarity Amongst Vowels of the English Occupy (SAVE Occupy) issued a press release claiming that O is in A&E, and unless U and I get down there ASAP to give her a transfusion, O will soon be O.



PARTY CONFERENCES HELD IN PARALLEL REALITY

JACK DEAN

With the aim of providing a demonstration of the efficiency and cost effectiveness market forces can provide, in a humbling display of tri-partisanship, the three main Westminster political parties decided to hold their entire conference season in an alternate universe - built for them by Capita and G4S.

The decision was first trailed by the leader of the Liberal Democrats. In a moving and profound apology, Mr Clegg redefined logic by claiming he was sorry for lying about lying that he was telling the truth. The tone was carried through to the Lib Dem conference where, for a number of days, the party acted in a manner that suggested it was operating on the premise that it was not, in fact, currently the punchline of every political joke in the country.

At the Labour Party conference, Ed Miliband conducted his very own hyperreality experiment when he eulogised Benjamin Disraeli, garnering a great reception in the strange new dimension where 'one nation' politics could trump all. Added to the ferocity of an empty and meaningless concept was a strictly observed denial to engage with any of the real factors affecting people back in our dimension crippled by debt, clutching at an almost vaporous National Health Service, scrabbling around to pay their housing costs on time, keep their jobs and still put food on the table. By this point, most observers claimed that nothing appeared to follow any of the conceptual or physical properties of our reality.

In a final and desperate effort to punch through the boundaries of the freshly created realm before its

inhabitants became trapped forever, the Tories used their conference to force conceptualism to its very extremes. The trapped delegates hoped that in creating a paradox vast enough, they could puncture a hole in the fabric of the non-space and return to ours. George Osborne was called upon to conduct this groundbreaking experiment. In a speech singularly devoid of truth, he took to the stage.

Tenaciously ignoring the facts of our existence, the chancellor deftly sidestepped the effect welfare cuts would have on the poorest people in our society, in favour of espousing the benefits of further tax breaks for the wealthy. He then delivered a stunning rhetorical device, reiterating the claim that "We Are All in This Together®" on the same platform he had uttered it only a few years previously. Hairline fractures began to appear as the reproduction of reality short-circuited, sending murmurs around the conference hall. Mr Osborne seized the moment, ploughing on to declare that not only was the catchphrase entirely meaningful and honest all those years ago, but that it still was, to this day. The fractures burst open as the temporary conference zone began to fold in on itself at a vast rate. Delegates ran screaming from the hall, attempting to reach ever-shrinking cracks in the fast dissolving space. Many of them, unfortunately, escaped certain death by clambering over menial workers, brought in to staff the conference courtesy of welfare schemes.

All Parties maintain the conference season was a great success.



THE OT HOROSCOPE

OPPRESSORS



COP
You've thrown your fair share of sticks and stones, and broken plenty of bones where necessary. But it really

is the words that hurt, isn't it? You're out there everyday pounding the streets (as well as political dissent) and what kind of appreciation do you get from your lords and masters? Pleh! How Rude! Your lucky letters for the month are A, C, A and B.



BANKER
It's been yet another month of self congratulatory back-patting (no-one else is going to do it after all). You should be very proud of the many well deserved gongs you picked up at the Investment Banking Awards. There was even an impromptu award for Barclays for their sterling LIBOR work. But, be very careful. Ed Miliband wants to steal all your hard earned money. Avoid red at all costs.



NATIONALIST
It looks like you have a new ally in Ed Miliband. With him and Osborne fighting over who can be more 'one nation', you might perhaps ask yourself this: where did Ed and George go to university? Where do they go on holiday? Where do they shop and go out for meals? What newspapers do they read? What sport do they follow? Still think it's One Nation? One divided nation.

POLITICIANS



NEOLIBERAL
'Triple dipping' a country into recession may seem less fun than 'skinny dipping' in the waters around your yacht, but you're no doubt still cackling like a maniac at the misfortune of the masses. Your insatiable thirst for unsustainable markets has led us into round three of the trickle-up knockout. But chance remains to even your odds if you learn from the past and realise: time's up. Tap out and fuck off, it's time for a new champion in the ring.



CHAMPAGNE SOCIALIST
After finding the energy to make some Global Noise, having bought a very fetching cast iron casserole dish from the local Waitrose, you may feel like returning to silence and hibernation in the cold months ahead. But let not passivity or ineffectual resistance define your political efforts this season, and consider branching out. Remember, as you bash a racket in yet another empty financial district, fulfilment lies not in a strongly-worded letter.



LIBERAL
You're all for workers rights, but is striking a responsible way to go about things? Sure, inequality is rife, corruption is abound and you can't trust politicians, but isn't all this anti-capitalist rhetoric just a step too far? After all, the markets of capitalism have delivered great prosperity! To be at your best this month, try to avoid cognitive dissonance.

PROTESTERS



ANONYMOUS
You seem to have gained the support of the public by swapping the lulz-hunting in favour of

a 2.5GB information dump on alleged sex offences - kudos! But consider widening the target to encompass the macrocosmic motherboard at the root of the problem. This month, take the time to question whether any amount of data can hope to expose the systemic roots of global injustice, and realign your targets accordingly.



PACIFIST
Your eternal patience is being strained. How much longer can the streets of Madrid and Athens be filled with

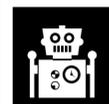
the sound of cracking skulls before the realisation that holding hands and sitting down won't realign the political needs of the planet? As the leaves change their hue this season, consider a change in your own colours. Perhaps it would be more effective to swap the black and blue for red and black?



ANARCHIST
You're not impressed with the TUC rhetoric. Well, you're not impressed with the TUC in the first place.

After all, we should be using our boots to shut off the machines, not wearing them to walk down to Whitehall. Come on, show these Unity obsessed politicians what mass organisation can look like. You don't have a lucky colour this month, as you've decided the electromagnetic spectrum is just another hierarchy.

CITIZENS



WORKER
This month the streets will tremble with the footfall of your inefficacy. With the latest copy of the Socialist Worker tucked under your arm and the old-school union songs sounding out, remember: the desire for change should be matched with efforts to boot. Perhaps it's time to remix those age-old rhymes to reflect the times?

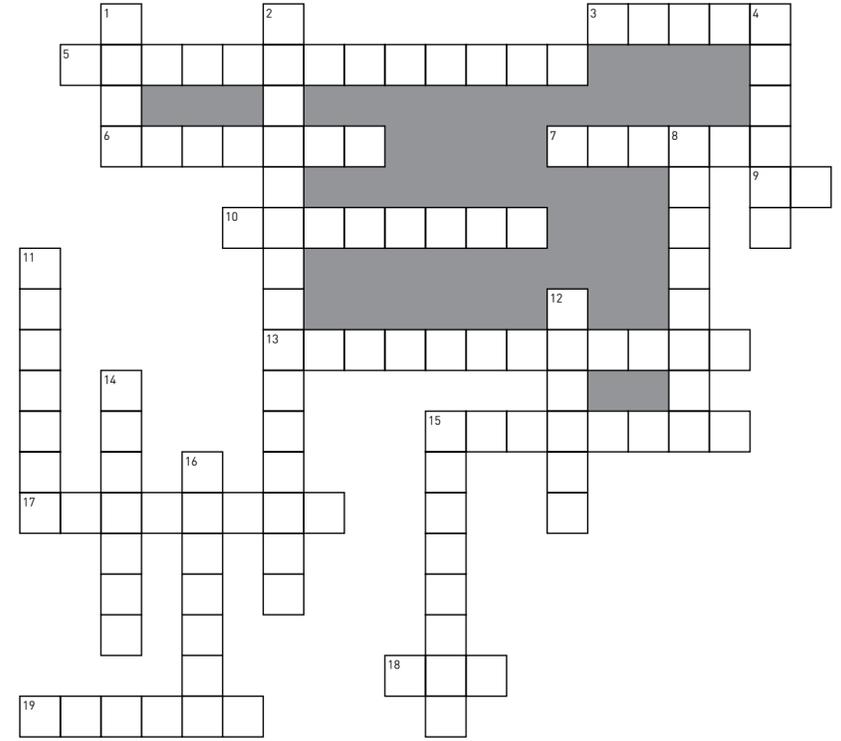


STUDENT
Perhaps this is a month for forgiveness? An old friend who promised much but instead

delivered a life of debt has been good enough to say sorry - he even sang a song for you! Before deciding whether this broken man deserves his reprieve don't miss his warning... he doesn't apologise for the policy, he's only sorry for the initial 'unrealistic' promise not to do what they ended up doing.



PENSIONER
The most long in the tooth have lived through two world wars "and" two depressions. Whisper it quietly, but it could be you more senior of citizens who finally bite back against the system. As more of us live for longer, and with the new Health Secretary warning state care for the elderly is "years" away, a care crisis looks an inevitability. It might be time to start a Jeremy Hunt.



DEBT CROSSWORD

THE OT

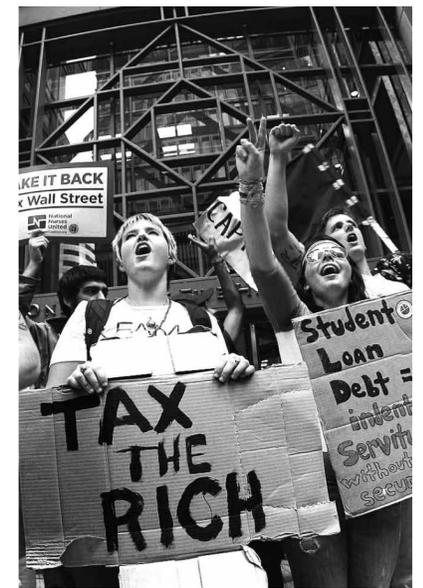
PUT IT ON MY TAB!

DOWN

- These _____s were some of the repackaged mortgage derivatives which crashed the economy in 2008 (1,1,1)
- This author was heavily shamed by his family's incarceration due to debt in Victorian times and depicted a similar story in his novel Little Dorrit. (7)
- The nickname for a credit card, used for easy accumulation of debt (7)
- These kind of _____ mortgages were defaulted on in the thousands, contributing to the 2008 crash (8)
- The inability (or occasional wilful refusal) to pay one's debts will result in this. (7)
- Similar trajectory to Greece now during the Latin American debt crisis of 1990s (6)
- Both a style of banking and a place to build up vast levels of debt. (6)
- A debt security issued by governments and companies. The name's _____. (4)
- No! Not the craven celebration of an unselected head of state but the thousands year old Biblical custom of writing off all debts every 50 years. (7)

ACROSS

- These people turn up to take your telly if you get on the wrong side of debt (8)
- At rates of 3000% APR _____ loans are debt-on-steroids (5)
- Put a "P" in front of this word and you've got yourself a shit social networking site. (8)
- The Bond Markets are sure to be circling round you if you're a Eurozone nation with a big one of these. (9, 4)
- The UK's national debt sits at roughly £1 _____ (7)
- If you silly people (unless you're America) run up big debts then these nice people in nice suits will fly in and structurally adjust yo' ass! (3)
- These poor wretches will be loaded with E**** of debt once they graduate (7)
- A debt security issued by governments and companies. The name's _____. (4)
- National debt run up by an authoritarian regime without the mandate of the people is sometimes considered this and written off. You thinking what I'm thinking? (6)
- When a company is bought by first being plunged into debt, secured against the assets of the company being bought rather than those of the buyer.
- An adjective we share with Spanish activists (9)



HEAR

TO

STAY

ONE YEAR ON