

# The Occupied Times

~ OF LONDON ~

#05 | theoccupiedtimes.com

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## FORTNUM JUDGE IGNORES VIDEO EVIDENCE

RORY MACKINNON

Occupation activists were left reeling this week after a London court quashed video evidence from the Fortnum Fifty, ruling that police made “no explicit or implicit promise” not to arrest them. The first 10 defendants sat in stunned silence at Westminster Magistrates’ Court as a district judge convicted them of aggravated trespass — with camp residents telling the Occupied Times they could never trust a cop again. The charges stem from UK Uncut’s surprise occupation of the self-styled ‘Queen’s grocer’ in March, in a bid to highlight owner Wittington Investments’ multimillion-pound tax dodge. District judge Michael Snow told he

had “no doubt” the group intended to intimidate police, security, staff and customers by sheer force of numbers. But there were audible gasps in the courtroom as he read: “At no point was there an express or implicit promise by police that the protesters would not be arrested” — apparently quashing video evidence of a chief inspector addressing protesters. The footage, screened three times during the trial, shows chief inspector Claire Clark just inside the store’s front entrance, addressing the crowd in a raised voice. “There have been pockets of disorder outside and I wanted to make sure it >>

STACEY KNOTT

## OCCUPIERS UNFAZED BY EVICTION THREAT

**LEGAL ACTION AGAINST OCCUPYLSX PROTESTERS IS UNDERWAY, BUT OCCUPIERS REMAIN UNFAZED.**

At the time of print, the City of London Corporation was planning on taking occupiers to the high court to start an eviction process. The City considers the St Paul’s occupation a trespass on its public highways and said it was disrupting businesses in the area. Eviction notices were served last week after negotiations between the two parties failed- the City asked occupiers to scale back the number of tents and leave by New Year. The occupiers responded by

asking the City to make its business transparent and democratic. Protesters spoken to by the Occupied Times were not unsettled by this recent development, and remained defiant about their cause when the eviction notices were pinned to their tents. The notices told occupiers to remove “all tents and other structures” by 6pm last Thursday or face legal action. The tents remained and in the lead up to this City deadline, the camp’s legal team John Cooper >>

# BUILDING SOCIETY: THE BANK OF IDEAS

RORY MACKINNON

It’s not your usual corporate takeover, but Occupy London has expanded its portfolio with a new Hackney branch — courtesy of Swiss bankers, UBS. The Sun Street squat was bracing for its third day of continuous occupation as the Occupied Times went to print. It is that understood members of Occupy’s direct action group entered the disused four-storey office block in the early hours of Friday morning in a top-secret operation. Protesters then lounged on sills and hung banners from the windows on a brisk Friday afternoon as police looked on.

As a private commercial property the activists’ trespass is a civil rather than criminal offence, meaning UBS would have to seek an injunction next week before any eviction could take place. It is understood organisers have declared the occupation “non-residential” in order to comply with criminal law — but around 30 volunteer caretakers and tranquility team members have decamped to the site. But the no-camping policy could stick in the craw of occupiers at other sites, nearing capacity and on the brink >>>>

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>> was clear and safe for you all to leave the building, okay?” she says. “The officers are getting ready to let you go — if when you leave the building you go to your left, that will be the safest exit.” “Is there a kettle?” a protester asks. “No, we’re letting you go,” she replies. Later in the video Ms Clark repeats the instructions to a legal observer, saying police wanted to keep people safe “so they can get away to the tube station, so they can leave.” On leaving the building all 150 occupants were immediately kettled and arrested, including legal observers. The ruling came as the Occupy London camps came under renewed pressure from authorities, with the City of London Corporation again seeking an injunction to evict protesters from the foot of St Paul’s Cathedral. All camps have seen a continued police presence, with few confrontations on site — but residents who spoke to the Occupied Times said the ruling made them less likely to cooperate with authorities.

>> QC, and Karen Todner talked to occupiers about the legal issues. Cooper said they would make sure occupiers’ interests were “fearlessly defended” but urged occupiers to continue to stay within the law while they could work on their case. “Right down to the smallest degree you have followed the legal advice you have been given, and you have become respected for it”. Cooper told the Occupied Times he was “very interested” in how the City had worded its eviction notice, and said ownership of the land was a contentious issue. “My clients” were accused of health and safety breaches when this started and that was entirely wrong, we need to

Ed, an out-of work sales manager at Finsbury Square who was arrested during this month’s attempted occupation of Trafalgar Square, said he did not think any activists could trust the police. “Everything they’re doing at the end of the day is to demoralise us — no one usually spends 24 hours in a cell for a public order offence,” he said. Fellow resident Luke agreed: the police action at the occupation’s launch and recent weeks had been ridiculous, he said. But Evrim, a theatre director from Turkey, told the Times it was not an issue of trusting the police. “If we know our rights - if we know what’s going on - the facts will come out and they’ll get fired,” she said. Meanwhile more than 40 prosecutions remain in the Fortnum & Mason case; including others who have insisted the prosecution reinstate the charges against them. Mr Snow will also preside over the next tranche of defendants, appearing 29 November.

check everything.” When asked by a camper if there was any chance the police might “jump the gun” and forcibly evict occupiers before the case went through court, Todner said it was unlikely as long as the campers “remain within the law.” “The only way the police could forcibly remove you is if there was a public order incident and as far as I know there hasn’t been any.” Cooper and Todner are representing the occupation at no charge. Cooper told the Occupied Times he was doing this as it is “an example of how the legal profession do have a social conscience and it’s just me perhaps expressing that conscience.”

>>>> of winter — and with many residents otherwise homeless. One caretaker, Will, told the Times he was aware the policy would mean turning people away. But the trick was to get the camps at St. Paul’s and Finsbury Square reader for winter, he said. Meanwhile tranquility member George said his patrol had already turned away several people - “not from the camps; looking for a place for the night” - but had directed them to nearby Finsbury Square. His team were working around the clock, he said, and could not afford to let just anyone in. “All it takes is one UBS employee, one officer — if any of them get in here they can kick us all out,” he said. The multi-million pound complex marks the group’s third site across the capital, alongside the original camp

in St Paul’s Square near the London Stock Exchange and a satellite camp at Finsbury Square in Islington. The camp’s media team hailed the UBS heist on Friday as a symbolic reaction to Britain’s recent spate of home repossessions — further fallout from the 2008 financial crisis. “Whilst over 9,000 families were kicked out of their homes in the last three months for failing to keep up mortgage payments — mostly due to the recession caused by the banks — UBS and other financial giants are sitting on massive abandoned properties,” media working group member Jack Holborn said. The new ‘Bank of Ideas’ was a “public repossession” of one of the companies that he added. A UBS spokeswoman said on Friday the company was aware of the situation and considering legal action. The spokeswoman declined further requests for comment.

# EDITORIAL

Looking out from the Bank of Ideas across at the UBS headquarters, the covered windows reveal a fitting display of ‘blind ignorance’. The finance industry is sick, and the occupy movement is the dull ache it knows is symptomatic of a diseased core, but chooses to ignore in the hope it will go away. Power structures do have their own immune systems though, fighting back against that which would harm them with heavy policing, the removal of rights and legal action like that being brought by the City of London Corporation. With the serving of an eviction notice to occupiers at St Paul’s, a necessary discussion had arisen about how to keep the momentum of the movement going. Have things begun to stagnate? Would occupy out-grow the camp presence? And what would happen if and when it does? The Bank of Ideas appears to be an excellent response to those questions. The move indoors illustrates the continuing energy and creativity of the movement. Rather than becoming complacent, the direct action team has demonstrated its willingness to explore new spaces, and make real, positive changes. It shifts the focus of our presence within the city away from the temporariness associated with tent cities and towards the idea of permanent discussion.

It also focuses on important issues: the lack of communal and political space (something at the heart of all occupations) and the importance of education and child welfare. Some of the challenges the outdoor occupations have faced in recent weeks have also been addressed. The Bank of Ideas is to be a drug and alcohol-free space with a limited overnight presence, but still welcoming to all. This is what occupy looks like. Not least, the repossession provides a basis from which to strategize the movement’s future development. The Occupy movement seems to be at a critical juncture, and the Bank of Ideas could become everything its name promises: a forum for open discussion about change, and about occupy’s role in engendering that change. The Bank of Ideas will no doubt be gone long before many of the financial institutions that have helped bring about the repossession of homes, collapse of economies and brutal austerity measures. There will be no bailout for this bank. While the IMF lurks about Europe like the Grim Reaper; ready to swoop on frail economies condemning them to death and picking their bones for anything worth salvaging, the Bank of Ideas aims to put back some of what our government is stripping away: free education, youth facilities and child care. It’s a bank by name, but there are no hidden fees.

## TENTCITY CALENDAR FOR THE WEEK

WEDNESDAY 23RD  
11:00 – 12:00 / Social Dreaming – Finsbury Square. 11:00 – 13:00 / Visions Of Another World – St Paul’s. 14:30 – 16:30 / The shocking truth about biofuels – St Paul’s. 17:30 – 19:00 / The Auditcity of Hope - Molly Scott Cato – St Paul’s. 21:00 – 23:30 / Cinema InTents - The Pipe – St Paul’s.  
THURSDAY 24TH  
11:00 – 12:00 / Social Dreaming – Finsbury Square. 11:30 – 13:00 / Demarchy: How Ordinary People Can Govern Themselves - Martin Wilding Davies – St Paul’s. 14:00 – 15:00 / “The Co-operative Socialist Possibility: a horizontalist, progressive/experiential alternative” - John Courtneidge – St Paul’s. 16:30 – 18:00 / The Land Value Tax - Dave Wetzel from The Robin Smith Institute – St Paul’s. 18:00 – 19:0 / Taking Back Capitalism – St Paul’s.  
FRIDAY 25TH  
11:00 – 13:00 / The Eurozone crisis and alternative cultures - Manuel Castells – St Paul’s. 11:00 – 12:00 / Social Dreaming – Finsbury Square. 14:00 – 15:00 / Sex, Race and Class - Selma James - St Paul’s. 15:00 – 17:30 / Speak out and Speech buddies – St Paul’s. 17:30 – 19:00 / Sharing in anthropological perspective: the hunter-gatherer model and why it remains relevant - Jerome Lewis – St Paul’s.  
SATURDAY 26TH  
11:00 – 12:00 / Supermarket Superpowers - Lucas Mogg – TentCity Uni. 11:00 – 12:00 / Social Dreaming – Finsbury Square. 12:00 – 13:30 / Money creation: Why it doesn’t have to be this way – Ben Dyson – Positive Money – St Paul’s. 14:30 – 16:00 / Get Out of Debt Free - Jon Whitterick – St Paul’s. 16:00 – 17:00 / The Spaces and Places of Popular Protest in Victorian Britain - Tim Cooper – TentCity Uni. 17:00 – 19:00 / Crack Capitalism and the Occupy Movement - John Holloway - St Paul’s.

SUNDAY 27TH  
11:00 – 12:00 / Social Dreaming – Finsbury Square. How we are learning that we are born to expect fairness, decency and co-operativeness. 12:00 – 13:00 / Does infancy research suggest we are born anti-capitalist? - Graham Music - TentCity Uni. 14:00 – 15:00/What is the Impact of Capitalism on children? – Libdemchild -St Paul’s. 15:00 – 16:00 / Building a true ‘us’ - identifying and overcoming barriers that exclude marginalised groups from participation in Occupy movements - Rochelle Burgess, Institute of Social Psychology, LSE - Tent City Uni. 16:00 – 17:00 / Campaign against Climate Change - Phil Thornhill - St Paul’s. 17:00 – 18:00 / Prison Abolition 101 – St Paul’s. 18:00 – 19:00 / Understanding the Arab uprisings: from above and below - Gilbert Achcar - interviewed by David Wearing – St Paul’s.  
MONDAY 28TH  
11:00 – 12:00 / Social Dreaming – Finsbury Square. 17:30 – 19:00 / The Green New Deal: Helping tackle the economic crisis, promoting intergenerational solidarity and learning from previous anti globalisation campaigns - Colin Hines – St Paul’s.  
TUESDAY 29TH  
11:00 – 12:00 / Social Dreaming – Finsbury Square. 12:00 – 14:00 / We are all so equal that I don’t know why you’re listening to me - Danny Dorling - St Paul’s. 14:00 – 15:00 / Campaigning for today’s and tomorrow’s Pensioners – St Paul’s. 16:00 – 17:00 / Reading Group on Lewis Hyde’s ‘Common as Air’ – St Paul’s.



STACEY KNOTT

# THE ART OF ACTIVISM

Punk-inspired designer Vivienne Westwood has told occupiers to regain their fighting strength through art. Westwood spoke to occupiers at St Paul's on Saturday, and said what they were doing was "absolutely wonderful." She spoke out against consumer culture, and said people should put more effort into appreciating the arts.

"An art lover is a freedom fighter; it gives you strength in your whole life. The opposite of that is people who just suck up consumerism and don't have any formed opinions.... they are just distracted by rubbish," she said. She said this mind-set explained a lack of art today. We are

completely in danger from lack of culture. "We were all trained up to be consumers in the twentieth century: throw away the past, the future will take care of itself, catch the latest thing and suck it up. We don't have any art today."

She urged occupiers to rejuvenate themselves when they were tired of camping, by visiting the nearby art museums. Other than offering her praises and support to the occupiers, Westwood also spoke about climate change, an issue she is "terrified" about. "The financial crisis and the ecological crisis are an absolute match for each other; you have one because you have the other."



## OCCUPATIONS CONVERGE IN LONDON

MARK KAURI

Delegates from other UK and Irish occupations - united by a drive for social and economic reform - met for the first time last weekend in London.

OccupyLSX welcomed representatives from 17 other occupation movements from as far afield as Edinburgh. The weekend opened with introductory speeches from occupation representatives, with delegates outlining the history of their respective movements, their experiences to date, plans for the future and messages of support for the wider movement.

Speaking on behalf of Occupy Birmingham, Rhys and Nicholas Brum opened the delegates' speeches, highlighting the positive reception of their site within the community and supportive local police activity. From Edinburgh, Jamie and Chakan also spoke of a positive police presence at their site and made calls for a Robin Hood tax on banks. Delegates spoke of the location of occupation camps in relation to the political motivation at the heart of the calls of activists, with the Sheffield occupiers noting their chosen location outside the city's cathedral and in direct view of three high street banks.

Delegates from both Bradford and Glasgow commented on the importance of maintaining the dialogue that has been opened since the movement began. Commenting earlier in the day, Occupy Norwich representative Chris Keene also spoke of the importance of communication with members of the public outside of the movement and warned against the potential pitfalls of a solely insular dialogue among activist groups, stating: "we've got to preach to the unconverted and get them on side."

He said the OccupyLSX site was "very vibrant, very dynamic". An enormous number of different varieties of attitudes. Incredible goings-on. Fantastic speakers."

Following the introductions, invited speakers addressed delegates, occupiers and members of the public at the courtyard at St Paul's, highlighting common aims with the global occupation movement and putting forward suggestions for cooperative action on issues including climate change, women's strike movements and support for public services. The talks led into a weekend of workshops and special interest groups on activism and direct action, communications, music and other entertainment.

## USA SOLIDARITY

STACEY KNOTT

Last week the USA occupation movement took a heavy blow as many camps were evicted, shocking and appalling occupiers in London. Camps in New York City, Portland, Oakland, and Denver amongst others had been raided by police in the last week, while hundreds of American protesters were arrested. In a move of solidarity last Tuesday, OccupyLSX activists went to the American Embassy in London to protest the actions against the USA raids. Most prominent in participants' minds was the raid earlier last Tuesday in New York City, where police forcibly evicted occupiers from their Zuccotti Park camp. Five American citizens, with their passports in hand, demanded to be let into the Embassy to voice concerns over the USA evictions, there was a crowd of about 30 protesters at the Embassy, who were out-numbered by a heavy police presence.

Occupier Adam Fitzmaurice from LA was one of the US citizens to speak to the Embassy representatives. He felt the USA is hypocritical about human rights. "I want to know why Secretary of State Clinton feels comfortable demanding dictators such as Mubarak and Assad

respect and allow peaceful protest while the NYPD, Oakland PD, Denver PD, and others across the US brutally gas, pepper-spray and beat peaceful protesters to suppress dissent."

Emma Davies, an American now living in London was outside the Embassy to express "solidarity with all the occupy protests across the world." She said she was heartened to see "the brilliant displays of resistance -people going back to reoccupy, it's clear the protesters aren't giving up; they will carry on demonstrating."

Another American supporter, Taryn Ladendorff was visibly shaken by the New York events. "I got really emotional about it I could hardly believe it had come to this. "One of the most important things about being an American is the right to protest and the right of freedom of assembly - the right to let your voice be heard especially in a peaceful way.

She said the actions in the USA went against everything she was taught about freedom as a child. "They really hammer these kinds of rights into you as a child, when you grow up you realise they are not real but there is something visceral about seeing them being taken away from you over and over again.





# MYTHS IN THE MEDIA

DAVID ROBINSON

## THAT BECAUSE NO DEMANDS ARE BEING MADE, THE MOVEMENT IS POINTLESS

This is a common accusation. Traditionally, a protest movement will begin with a list of demands for changes they wish to see. Occupy is intentionally different. It came about because of a shared idea that the economic and political structures and systems aren't working for the majority of people, but that debate on the issue had been stifled by those at the top so they could impose

solutions that served their own interests. To tackle these issues a fresh perspective is required, and it needs to happen outside of the tired, corrupted democratic model that has let so many people down. Simply by Occupy's existence these debates are taking place, and as public awareness and education into these issues is raised demands will flow from that. These things aren't going to happen overnight, and those who use this as a stick to beat Occupy with are missing the point, perhaps intentionally.

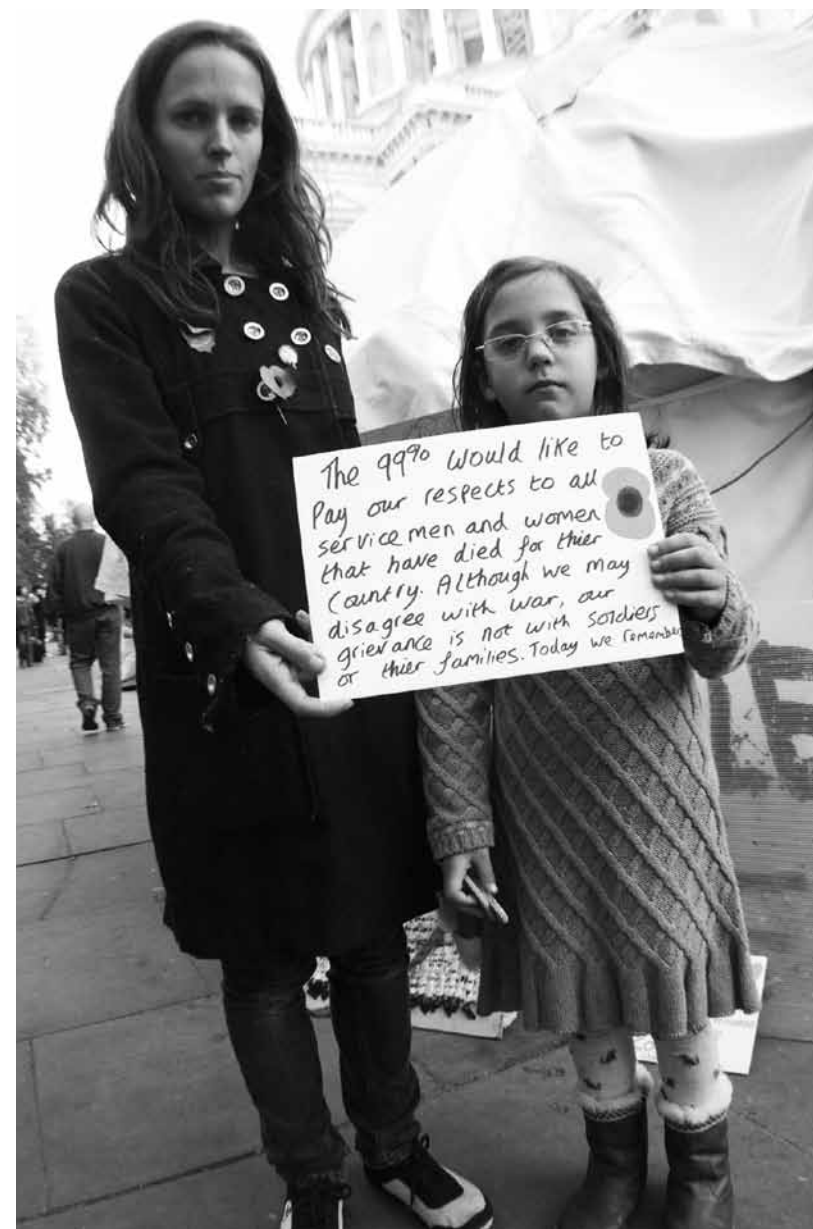
## THAT BECAUSE MILLIONS HAVEN'T TAKEN TO THE STREETS, OCCUPY ISN'T WORKING

People don't have to camp outside St Pauls, or in Finsbury Square, or in any of the thousands of camps that have sprung up around the world to show support for Occupy, nor do they have to pitch a tent to play a role in changing the world. What they need to do is to open their minds and listen to a greater diversity of debates and opinions than those that have been rammed down the public's throats by the elites. From there they can make more informed decisions, and begin thinking of what changes they wish to see. Another way to help Occupy is to spread the word. People are interested,

many don't buy the arguments that have dominated the debate, and they want to hear more. People should counter false arguments when they hear them, such as when others blame the welfare state or government spending for the global banking crisis. There is evidence that this approach is working – opinion polls, media coverage, increasing demands by influential political, economic and social actors, the changing political discourse. Occupy needs to keep up the pressure to ensure these changes turn in to concrete action, and there may come a time people will need to take to the streets, but that time is not yet upon us.

## THAT THE CAMP WOULD DISRUPT REMEMBRANCE DAY COMMEMORATIONS

They didn't. Many occupiers, including several veterans, took part in and respectfully observed all services. Protesters produced a lovely poppy tribute, and the two minutes silence was impeccably observed. Several hostile newspapers had reported that the camp had planned to disrupt the service, but this was merely mischievous journalism. The camp had worked with the cathedral to ensure all services ran smoothly, and that is exactly what happened



## OCCUPIED ELSEWHERE

**UNITED STATES (OPC)** — Occupy Wall Street seized mainstream media headlines again last week, amid shocking scenes of police brutality and an unconstitutional media blackout. But less publicised was a wave of conscientious objectors and solidarity action across the United States.

Around the world people poured into the streets in solidarity with Occupy Oakland after some 500 riot police razed the camp to the ground for the second time in a week, firing tear gas, rubber bullets and flashbang grenades and arresting more than 100 people. Instructors held teach-ins, dozens of businesses closed voluntarily and demonstrators took to the streets of Oakland in a general strike, periodically clashing with police and eventually shutting down the Port of Oakland. In Los Angeles, New York, Denver and dozens of other cities across the country, people marched to show their support for the strike.

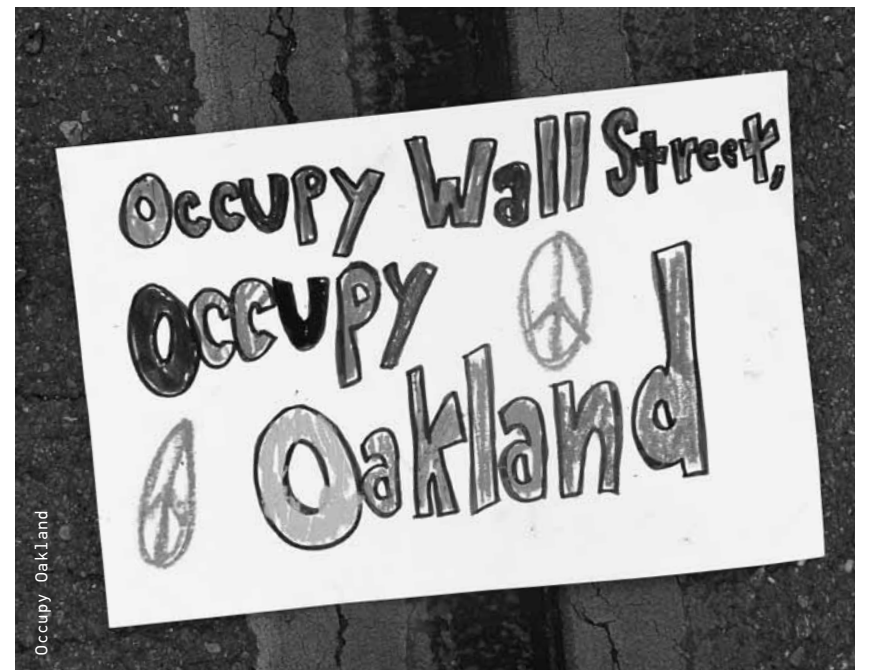
Occupy Los Angeles has set up tents on the steps of City Hall, where their proximity to Skid Row has been both a blessing and a curse. Within days, Skid Row residents started showing up for food and water. Thefts and violence soon followed. But since working with

local advocacy groups like the Los Angeles Community Action Network and starting an Occupy the Hood affinity group, camp residents said security had improved.

In Albany, Governor Andrew Cuomo asked Mayor Jerry Jennings to clear the encampment near the State Capitol, but Jennings and the city police department refused. Tennesseans scored a victory when a U.S. district judge issued a temporary restraining order against a curfew the police were trying to enforce on the Occupy Nashville encampment at Legislative Plaza.

Meanwhile Occupy DC kept the heat on Capitol Hill, with an occupation of General Atomics – a defense contractor specialising in drone aircraft – and periodic shut-downs of the Chamber of Commerce. Occupier and author David Swanson said DC police had been a model Oakland and New York could learn from: "I've watched a police officer refuse the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's request to arrest us as we blocked the Chamber's doors."

This bulletin was compiled with reporting from Jon Chisum, John Dennehy, Brad Edmondson, Ruth Fowler, Charlie Lockwood, Joanie Masters, Keesha Renna, Kevin Schiesser, Jenna Spitz, David Swanson and JoAnn Wypijewski.



## STREAMING IN ACTION

RAGNHILD FRENG DALE

The OccupyLSX Live-stream crew are always where the action is. Their self-proclaimed task is to show people offsite what is happening at the London occupations.

Using cameras and laptops, they cover everything from the general assemblies to spontaneous protests. They are a small team of 10 people, with about the same number of online contributors, who cooperate to keep the feed running throughout the day. They have pooled their experience as students, TV and audio workers together to set up the feed, and many of them have taken time off work or studies to be at the occupation.

The challenge is to be in the right place at the right time, and to keep a stable video stream in an outside environment where heat, electricity and dry conditions are anything but givens.

Last Friday, they were busy uploading video material of an unexpected arrest at St Paul's. One of the team members, who did not wish to be named, explained "it is mainly for documentation, and can be used as evidence later. It is important to record it."

He worked on filming events and documenting all incidents of police encounters, whether they are arrests or cautions. He had documented a police caution after a man said to be a banker kicked in one of the tents earlier last week. At the Guildhall arrests on Nov 14th, live-stream kept running through the whole night.

Their effort is highly valued, with 120-30 people tuning in every day, and a peak of 1280 viewers last weekend. They said they receive a lot of positive feedback and professional help with their work.

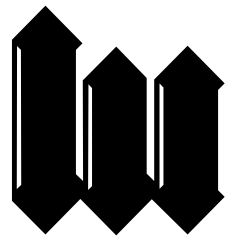
Thank yous are also in evidence: at the general assembly last Friday, one of their viewers came down to present two cold team members with hand warmers and a bag of sweets, later that evening another man who usually works with them online dropped in to offer chocolate and smiles. "People are offering us a lot of help," says Nafeesa\*, who is constantly traipsing around the camp and events filming for the Livestream. "It is fun, but also tiring," says team member Mike\*.

None of them complain about cold, rain, or internet problems; their only wish is laptops with longer battery hours. Full of praise for their colleagues, they retreat into the buzzing tech tent to evaluate the day and plan for future streaming, whether they be planned meetings, broadcasting from other occupations, or running off to unexpected happenings at either of the camp sites.



# FROM THE MEXICAN HIGHLANDS TO ST. PAUL'S

FLAMINIA GIAMBALVO



What has united the myriad of occupy movements, so far, has been a critique of rampant privatisation and inequality correlated to a demand for a 'real' democracy. The latter implies that the current model is a fake and expresses the necessity of building something different.

Over the past decades, our 'leaders' have increasingly excluded us "the people", from the decisions that shape our lives, creating the necessity for a movement based upon inclusion. Through the broad based banner 'We are the 99 percent', we embrace and embody multiple oppressions; paradoxically making us irrepresentable. The 'not in my name' sentiment, which animates many of us, is one of the consequences of a deep rooted crisis of representative politics that has plagued the liberal-democratic world for the past decades.

However, the idea of a social movement that refuses to lead, or 'speak for' others, is not new or necessarily distinctive of the western world. As a matter of fact, the most notable frontrunners of this kind of social experiment are the Zapatistas.

Their experience began 1994, when the Zapatista revolutionary army (EZLN) declared "war on the Mexican state" and expelled federal troops from the Mexican region of Chiapas. Since then, they have been fighting with the people to defend Chiapas against military, paramilitary and corporate incursions. Despite being a formally constituted army of the traditional kind, their resistance is mostly non-violent. The key aim of the Zapatistas is to help the people of Chiapas find their

own voice and be heard by those who would otherwise remain deaf, which, predictably, includes those who would seek to 'represent' them: the official parties of the Mexican political establishment and various Marxist and revolutionary groups.

As explained by the movement's most renowned spokesperson, Subcomandante Marcos, "Zapatismo is not an ideology; it is not bought and paid for by a doctrine. It is ... an intuition. Something so open and flexible that it really occurs in all places. Zapatismo poses the question: 'What is it that excluded me?' 'What is that has isolated me?' ... In each place the response is different".

One of the most fascinating features of this movement, is their decision-making structure, which they describe as 'governing-obeying'. The Zapatistas make themselves directly accountable to the 'Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committees' (CCRI) which are local and regional assemblies based on the principle of delegated democracy. However these are not 'permanent structures', but are continuously subject to the views of the various communities.

This system goes far beyond Marx's concept of the 'Paris Commune'. For this 'revolutionary' organising system to work, the voice of every 'compañero' must be heard. Thus, power does not so much move from the bottom up, but rests with the 'bottom', remaining permanently subject to the views and wishes of the people themselves. Clearly the process can appear time-consuming, but it has allowed for the focus to be shifted onto the conversation rather than the immediate results, creating the first truly inclusive revolutionary movement. As Marcos puts it: "In the world of the powerful there is no space for anyone but themselves

and their servants. We want a world in which many worlds fit. The nation that we construct is one where all communities and languages fit, where all steps may walk, where all may have laughter, where all may live the dawn".

The stance and philosophy of the Zapatistas is, remarkable in itself, but also symptomatic of a more general shift in the underpinnings of the political 'field', highlighting the problems of 'representation'.

In our tent communities, we are opening up new means of doing politics on the basis of the idea that "politics" is not only nor principally a profession – the "business" of the so-called political class –



but rather that politics is the only way we have to resolve problems collectively.

What links the Occupy movement and in particular St Paul's to a revolutionary army in the Mexican mountains is the 'intuition' of needing something new, an economic and political system that serves 'the people'. In this sense we do not 'speak for' the poor and oppressed around the world, but we are in solidarity with them. This renewed discourse has brought to the fore the things that, despite differences, we share in common with people rising up across the globe. Ours is one the many instances of the struggle between 'Power' (or 'Neoliberalism') and the millions of people subject to it.



## THIS IS WHAT DEMOCRACY LOOKS LIKE - LEARNING FROM LATIN AMERICA

ADAM RAMSAY



Stretched across the tent town by the London Stock Exchange is a banner spelling out the slogan of 2011: "Real Democracy Now". Go to the camp and many participants will tell you that it is not their demands which are key – it is their process. The old chant "This is what democracy looks like" is ubiquitous, the discussions are passionate. Whilst anger at banks and at inequality and at capitalism are key motivations, the vision – from Athens to Madrid, Wall Street to St Paul's – is all about democracy – about everyone having their say, their share in each decision.

Since the drastic failure of Soviet style 'socialism' became clear, the left across the world has struggled to find its radical voice. In Europe and in North America, the response was rapid triangulation – running to the right. And so it was in Latin America, where the shock waves of the neo-liberal revolution now pounding the shores of Europe hit hard long ago that the new base was built, new ideas forged, tried, tested, and replicated.

While demands for "real democracy" may seem to Northern Europeans to be a strange new, and exciting response to a financial collapse, Europe's occupations are standing on the shoulders of the

giant movements of the Fovelas and the Barrios of Venezuela, and Brazil, and Bolivia. We are following in the footsteps of Latin Americans – for these policies were key to their re-imagining of socialism.

And so if we are looking to understand what real democracy looks like, protesters gathering at occupations in financial districts and waving their hands are far from the only example we will find. In 1988, the Brazilian Workers' Party won the elections in the municipality of Porto Alegre – a city suffering intense poverty. Rather than craft the city's budget himself, the new mayor declared it would be written by the people. And so to this day, every year, citizens come together in various gatherings of thousands, set priorities, elect delegates to push these, and ultimately choose how to allocate the couple of hundred million US dollars in their city's budget.

The results of this process have led to widespread acclaim – including from institutions not famed for their support for the policies of socialist parties. And perhaps most flattering of all, it has been mimicked across the continent. From Argentina to Venezuela, thousands of cities and communities

have established processes of direct democracy – people's council's, workplace co-operatives, constitutional assemblies, and community control. Radical democracy sits alongside nationalisation and investment in public services as a key tenet of the Bolivarian revolution. Whilst the governments of Lula and Chavez and Morales have had many differences – and many policies we might dislike – they have each overseen vast experiments in radical democracy. And as these experiments have delivered positive results, the anti-capitalist peoples' movements of Latin America – and their governments – have reformed socialism for the twenty first century.

Of course, in its purest forms, communism was always about communities claiming control. From The Levellers in 1649 to the community buy-out of the Isle of Eigg in 1997, local control, decentralisation of power and radical democracy have a long legacy in Britain's left. But their place as the counterweight to overbearing corporate control is what has secured the greatest successes of anti-capitalism in the 21st century. And perhaps we are seeing in the occupy movement that these are ideas whose time has come in Europe too.

## POEM

### CONUNDRUM

*We are all on file for life  
Pot god or top dog  
Anagrammatically speaking  
For we live in a evil or even vile  
Mixed up conundrum world  
They lure us to rule us  
Our leaders are just dealers  
Politicians saying words that change  
into a sword  
Slicing raw creating war  
Then offer roses to cover the sores  
This is shit  
And so we live in a evil or even vile  
Mixed up conundrum world  
A dear read  
The fare of fear  
How or who  
Changed the mood to doom  
A thorn in the north  
From a stew in the west  
That eats the east  
And gives shout to the south  
Takes heart from the earth  
To late this tale  
This verse I serve  
For they don't care for this race  
Those rams with arms  
So snug with their guns  
For their icons are just coins  
This is shit  
And so we live in a evil or even vile  
Mixed up conundrum world  
P.D. Monaghan*



# “DISPUTE NO FURTHER WHEN THE TRUTH APPEARS”

## – LESSONS FROM THE PAST

SAM BERKSON

We do not occupy in isolation. Yet while spiritual-mystical connections to other popular movements are evident, it

is not always welcome to make them publicly. Witness the BBC reaction to Darkus Howe's claim, much replayed on Youtube, that the riots in London were part of a world-wide spirit of “insurrection of the masses of the people”. To the BBC, the riots must properly be seen purely as isolated incidents of wanton criminality that are disconnected from their historical precedents and resonances.

So now, as people occupy places all over the world, (951 cities in 82 countries according to Wikipedia), it seems to be the unwritten rule of public figures to avoid as much as possible making the link between the Greek uprisings of 2008-2009, the subsequent insurrections in North Africa and the Middle East and the current Occupation movement. However, it is difficult to avoid the comparison, not least because of the obvious link in tactics between the current wave and January's occupation of Tahrir Square in Cairo.

Beautifully. and perhaps totally

heard the voice of God telling him to “work together, eat bread together, declare all this abroad.” (The New Law of Righteousness, January 1649)

His God was Reason: when a person is tempted “to oppress or deceive his neighbours or to take away his rights and liberties, to beat or abuse him in any kind, Reason moderates this wicked flesh and speaks within, ‘wouldst thou be dealt with so thyself?’” (The Soul's Paradise; summer 1648). This repositioning of God as a spirit that lives in all of us was part of a radical stream at the time, shared by diverse groups who all rejected the established Church and its priests.

Winstanley's social and political observations that are most relevant to us now, and, perhaps even more so, his deeds. The Diggers' Occupation lasted from April 1649 to April 1650. They attempted to create a self-sufficient community of equals, living on some uncultivated land south of London. The idea spread around the country and became a movement. Moderate ‘levellers’ distanced themselves from it. Propaganda, arrests, fines, imprisonments, as well as beatings (one fatal), the uprooting of their crops, smashing of their houses and eventually the burning of their belongings and the cordoning off of the little heath that they

enclosures are the property of the elder brother.” The issues were property, equality and freedom. Their aim, he assured parliament, was “not to meddle with any man's enclosure or property, till it be freely given to us by themselves, but only to improve the commons and waste lands to our best advantage, for the relief of ourselves and others.” The idea that the rich would “freely” give over their land to the poor is perhaps deliberately ridiculous, but Winstanley is simultaneously emphasising both the non-violence, and the revolutionary and global aims of their movement. For the Diggers, England was to “be the first of nations that shall begin to give up their crown and sceptre, their dominion and government into the hands of Jesus Christ”. They argued for a world where authority (sceptre/government) would be removed from any person's hands, private property (crown/dominion) would be abolished and only Jesus-Reason would rule.

The principle he stood by was that “all of us by the righteous law of our creation ought to have food and raiment freely by our righteous labouring of the earth, without working for hire or paying rent one to another.” To Winstanley, employment and property ownership distorted natural equality. To many Diggers, parliament had an obligation to assist the people. The common people joined parliament to fight “the bad government and burdening laws under the late King Charles, who was the last successor of William the Conqueror”. That war was fought “between the King that represented William the Conqueror, and the body of English people that were enslaved”.

Today, we use the elite's rhetoric of “democracy” against their own arguments. In the 17th century, Winstanley could similarly point out Parliament's hypocrisy in freeing themselves from arbitrary royal rule while leaving the people enslaved. Mirroring Parliament's justification of their military coup, Winstanley emphasised the people's right of conquest: “We have given plate, free-quarter and our persons – now unless you and we be besotted with

covetousness, pride and slavish fear of men, it is and will be our wisdom to cast out all these enslaving laws”. A 17th century Parliament elected only by ‘freeholders’ had used the people to fight a freeholders' war; in the 21st century, the people's representatives have used the people's money to pay off the debts of the financial establishment. Winstanley had no illusions about parliamentary rule. He knew that members of the House of Commons “were summoned by the King's writ, and chosen by the freeholders, that are the successors of William the Conqueror's soldiers.” Yet still he asked them to see the truth of how wealth, property and land should be shared and managed, because, if not, God may “be offended and ... and work a deliverance for his waiting

people some other way than by you”. The message: Come quietly or be ready for worse.

Winstanley's address to Cromwell is not altogether different from today's discussions about governmental and financial institutions. Like Winstanley, we ask that they “dispute no further when the truth appears, but be silent and practise it”. All of us who voted for green or left-wing parties or who abstained from voting because of a lack of candidates that seemed qualified to represent us, remain unrepresented. Here we are now, joining together, occupying land, discussing alternatives and asking our government and the corporations, to whom we have given our taxes, and sooner or later if not already, large chunks of our wages and



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coincidentally, the idea of occupation in England brings us back to the occupation of St. George's Hill, Cobham in Surrey by the Diggers or True Levellers in 1649. In a global movement, it is nice to consider the nuances of the local links.

Then, as now, the ruling class were in crisis. The fighting of the Civil War ended with the execution of Charles I and the establishment of Cromwell's republic, but many people were not satisfied with the new order and even less willing to put up with it than they were the old one. “Hard times” were truly hard in the 17th century with starvation-level famine. Today, we demand a return for the trillions of public money given to banks. Back then, perhaps even more urgently than now, the people of the English Revolution wanted something in exchange for the lives and money that had been spend to defeat the King's army.

The Diggers started a commune on an uncultivated piece of common land at St. George's Hill. Gerrard Winstanley, a failed London merchant and son of a Wigan manufacturer,

had been forced onto (with the threat of death and hired goons as 24 hour security guards to prevent their return), ended the occupation.

After the original Diggers' were first arrested for trespassing in July 1649, they were tried without being informed about the charges against them, and without being allowed to defend themselves (because they refused to – or could not afford to – engage a lawyer). In response, Winstanley wrote ‘An Appeal to the House of Commons, Desiring their Answer; Whether the Common-People shall have the quiet enjoyment of the Commons and Waste Lands: or whether they shall be under the will of Lords of Manors still.’

In it, he asks the House of Commons to consider “the equity or not equity of our cause”. The question for Winstanley is not just about their innocence or guilt in their trespass trial but “whether the common people, after all their taxes, free-quarter and loss of blood to recover England from under the Norman yoke, shall have the freedom to improve the commons and waste lands free to themselves, as freely their own as the

our pensions, to listen to the voice of the 99%: Winstanley's “common people”.

There are always lessons to be learned from our past. It is easy to dismiss the Diggers' attempt at protest as unsuccessful – their programme failed, and their occupation lasted for only one year. But now, as we are in the middle of an ongoing protest ourselves, twelve months seem like a daring goal and a good effort by the Diggers. Their cultivation of land and building of homes made their community a more sustainable one than ours, a camp that lives under canvas and relies on food donations. They lived their alternative. Perhaps at present there is not enough emphasis on the inequity of property ownership. We would do well to find spokespeople who can present non-violence as eloquently, persuasively and as threateningly as Winstanley did in his writings.

How will our occupation end? Anti-protest propaganda and occasional arrests are the first tactic. The question is: Will the rich “lords of the manor” pay for violence to have us removed if these tactics fail to weaken us?

# WHAT TOOK US SO LONG?

ANYA SCHIFFRIN

When the global financial crisis started with the collapse of the sub prime mortgage market in the spring of 2007, it became clear that the world economy was facing a severe downturn and that unemployment would rise. At that time, my husband, the economist Joseph E. Stiglitz, remarked that there would likely be protests all over the world. For the last few years we wondered about why there wasn't more outrage and we speculated about where the first protests would take place. But we did not expect that we would be in Cairo just a few days before the historic events in Tahrir Square. We were in Cairo on January 14 when Ben Ali left Tunisia. We saw the excitement and the feeling that Egypt would be next. The government officials we met were nervous and it was clear

that something huge was beginning. Like everyone, we spent the spring and then the summer watching the news and trying to keep up with the hectic pace of events: Ben Ali leaving Tunisia, Mubarak falling, and the spread of protests to Syria, Bahrain and Libya. We heard accounts from of the pressure that austerity was putting on the lives of the people there, and how the collapse of the Greek economy, the budget cuts and shrinking wages was hurting so many.

We went back to Tunisia in May 2011 and heard our friends describe how life had changed. Mixed with the uncertainty of the political situation was great excitement about what was to come and an affirmation of the power of the people. We returned to Egypt in July 2011. On that second trip we had the privilege of spending time with Jawad Nabulsi and his colleagues, commonly referred to as "The Youth." They told us how they had planned the protests, described the scenes in Tahrir Square and spoke of their hopes for Egypt.

Not everyone was optimistic. In Alexandria we met Coptic Christians who were afraid of a new intolerance. Patience had also run out for the military. "It's time for them to leave," an old friend told me, echoing what so many said to us. The economy was in a mess, with tourism falling, unemployment high and politics preventing the government from accepting foreign aid that was needed to build housing and infrastructure. In Athens in July we saw protest and in Madrid we met with Indignados running economics seminars in Retiro Park.

The toll of the economic crisis was almost everywhere and it seemed there was no end in sight. Governments had not done enough to protect people from the pain caused by the collapse of the mortgage market, the pressures on the euro and the widespread joblessness and growing inequality. Instead, governments had been bailing out the banks, pushing austerity and standing by while financial titans continued to take home large bonuses. The demonstrations in London in May against tuition hikes for students seemed like a sign of things to come and as we traveled around Europe and the Middle East, we couldn't understand

why we had not yet seen protests in the US. Then came Occupy Wall Street and another wave of demonstrations around the world. We visited Zuccotti Park where the OWS protests were held and found the same spirit of commitment and enthusiasm and frustration and outrage that we had seen everywhere else in the world. The next morning I decided to edit a book that would tell the story of the global protests of 2011. New Press will be publishing the book in early 2012 and Joe is contributing a chapter.

Gathering the essays in this book put us in touch with many people with a range of experiences. My co-editor, Eamon Kircher Allen, and I spent time online trying to find people who could contribute. We spoke to many friends and acquaintances across the globe and wrote to some of the people who had contacted my husband after our visit with the indignados in Madrid. The voices in this book are not definitive or comprehensive. It's impossible for a few essays to sum up the rich diversity of the protests of 2011. Finding contributors was not always easy. The demonstrators prided themselves on not having leaders so it was often unclear who we should approach. In some parts of the Middle East, there was fear that contributing a named piece would be dangerous. There were Arabs who refused to appear in a book with an Israeli. And many of the most active protesters didn't have time to sit down and write, or weren't sure how best to tell their stories. Many were uncomfortable writing about themselves. They preferred to focus on the causes they fight for. Others don't speak English so we offered editing and translation help. Some were in hiding.

One woman in Bahrain even offered to smuggle a letter from her husband out of the prison where he is being held. At this writing we have essays from someone working on a social audit in Ireland, a student in Greece, Indignados in Madrid, a leftwing economics researcher in Israel, a transparency

activist in Tunisia, a journalist in Cairo and a number of people who have been involved in OWS. We have roped in friends to help and we are spending our days editing their contributions.

The similarities in the stories we have been told are apparent. The problems of foreclosures and joblessness, the struggle against inequality and government austerity came up again and again. The reliance on social media and Facebook was a recurring theme, as was the struggle against police brutality. The inspiration of Tahrir Square infused many of the essays we received and so did the hope that the events of 2011 had truly changed the world. Many of the protesters are optimistic and determined. But some are perplexed and don't understand why governments have not responded to the problems they outline in such detail. We don't have many answers in this book. But I hope that these essays we are publishing will at least begin to explain why there is so much anger and frustration, and how it surfaced in 2011. If nothing else, the voices of these courageous and civic-minded individuals will convey the spirit that is behind so much of the unrest.



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## THE OCCUPIED TIMES PICKS OVER THE CARCASS OF THE EUROZONE WITH MATT LYNN: COLUMNIST FOR BLOOMBERG NEWS AND MARKETWATCH, THRILLER WRITER, AND AUTHOR OF ‘BUST: GREECE, THE EURO AND THE SOVEREIGN DEBT CRISIS’.

**OCCUPIED TIMES:** So Matt, is there any life left in the euro?  
**MATT LYNN:** It's game over. There might be some parallel, theoretical universe where the euro survives, but not this one. The imbalances in the system are too great, and the political response too incompetent. The Greek economy is imploding, inflicting terrible suffering on ordinary people. There is a limit to how much austerity can be imposed to save what is, after all, just a monetary system.

course – Ireland was one of the most competitive economies in the world until it joined the single currency.  
**OT:** What went wrong in Greece?  
**ML:** They joined the euro! The Greek establishment thought joining the euro would modernise the economy. But they were wrong. It just led to a debt-fuelled boom and a crippling trade deficit.  
**OT:** Lucas Papademos and Mario Monti: what's with the technocrat takeover?  
**ML:** It is a point of desperation. Democracy is not compatible with policies the euro demands. Personally, if offered the choice between being able to elect my Prime Minister and staying in the euro I'd take the elections. I suspect most Greeks and Italians will agree in time.  
**OT:** So the technocrats can't save us?  
**ML:** Remember that these are the technocrats who got us into this mess. They create a botched monetary union, then didn't bother to enforce the rules.  
**OT:** Can you spot any silver linings in the crisis?  
**ML:** Europe has been on a centralising path for a long time, but it actually works best when power is decentralised. Once the euro implodes, the EU will loosen its grip in other areas, and that will be a good thing.  
**OT:** In the meantime, are austerity measures the answer?  
**ML:** Over the medium term, all the developed countries need to reduce their debt levels. But that is as much about personal and corporate debt as government debt. Austerity alone in the euro-zone won't work. Countries need to devalue and reform. If they aren't allowed to devalue there isn't any hope of them ever coming out of recession.  
**OT:** What do you make of the Occupation protests?  
**ML:** I can understand them. The global economy has become too financialised, by which I mean dominated by the capital markets. Where I have a problem with them is that the protests are concentrating on symptoms rather than causes. Some bankers may be greedy and selfish, but so are many people. The interesting question is why they have become so important to the system.  
**OT:** If you had a slogan on a banner, what would it be?  
**ML:** Avoid slogans. There's nothing sensible to be said on a banner.  
**OT:** What angers you most about the world's economic system?

**ML:** The endless parade of G-20, G-8, IMF, Davos summits, etc. It is just posturing by politicians. None of these bodies have the ability to fix anything.  
**OT:** What's your message to OccupyLSX?  
**ML:** Develop some answers. It is no good just being angry. You have to put forward some alternatives.  
**OT:** Ok, so you're Chancellor for a day, what do you do?  
**ML:** I'd cut corporation tax to 10%, making it the lowest rate in Europe. The only way out of this mess is to grow, and we can only do that by encouraging businesses to come here. It would be expensive, but you'd just have to cut public spending to afford it. Unless we can get the economy growing again, the outlook is bleak, and if that involves some sacrifices, so be it.  
**OT:** And what would you do with the banking sector?  
**ML:** We should certainly split up the UK banks. Their retail and investment banking operations should be separated out, and investment banks should be responsible only to their shareholders. Then if they went bust, it would be their problem, but not anyone else's.  
**OT:** Avoiding more bailouts...  
**ML:** The bail-outs were a necessary evil. There was no point in letting the banks go bust because they would have taken ordinary people down with them.  
**OT:** So what's in store for the UK over the next few months?  
**ML:** I think its going to be tough. I'm working on a book at the moment called 'The Long Depression: The Slump of 2008 to 2031' which compares this recession to the long recession of the 19th century, which ran from 1873 to 1896. Most immediately, the euro crisis is a huge threat. It may well implode, and even if it doesn't it will struggle for years, hitting confidence, and restricting credit. On top of that we have our own debt crisis, and a steady decline of confidence in the dollar, which is gradually being eclipsed as a reserve currency. So all in all, it couldn't be much worse. That said, even in the long depression of the 19th century, some countries and industries were growing, so it is important not to be defeatist.  
**OT:** Finally, and most importantly, what's your favourite sandwich?  
**ML:** Steak with mustard and mayonnaise.  
*More from Matt on his website: [www.mattlynn.co.uk](http://www.mattlynn.co.uk).*

## THE CRIMINALITY OF THE FINANCIAL SECTOR

HARRY SHUTT

BY DISSIDENT ECONOMIST HARRY SHUTT, AUTHOR OF THE DECLINE OF CAPITALISM, AND MEMBER OF THE ECONOMICS WORKING GROUP.

Many supporters of the Occupy movement identify the need for more effective regulation of financial institutions as one of their central demands. At the same time, the response of governments to the myriad abuses and ethical failures of the financial sector has been to call for new regulation or legislation, which in the UK resulted in the Independent Commission on Banking under Sir John Vickers.

However, such re-regulation of the sector would fail to address the accumulating pressures on global markets that lie behind the rising tide of abuse since the 1970s. Also, it ignores a still more fundamental flaw in the existing régime: the weakness of law enforcement. The enactment of new laws or regulations designed to prevent wrongdoing can only help restore the confidence of the public if the public can believe that the authorities will uphold the law with integrity. Sadly the record of the recent past gives little grounds for any such belief.

In the UK, perhaps the most spectacular case of failure to enforce existing laws surrounds the “sub-prime” mortgage boom during much of the last decade, which is the single most important factor behind the catastrophic global insolvency of the banking industry. The massive accumulation of bad debts could hardly have occurred without the systematic resort to mortgage fraud perpetrated by the financial sector.

As in the US, the principal mechanism involved was the provision of mortgages to individuals lacking the capacity to service the debt. To achieve this, mortgage providers routinely incited borrowers to overstate their incomes (often by 100 per cent or more) on application forms – despite knowing this was a criminal offence. The prevalence of this practice was exposed by the BBC Money Programme in 2003, and again in 2004, yet no action was taken by the authorities. It can be argued that

not only the prosecuting authorities but the regulators – including both the Financial Services Authority and the Bank of England (led then as now by Governor Mervyn King) – were knowing accessories to criminality.

Official complicity in the violation of existing laws happens all the time, particularly in the US. For example, there was the failure of the Securities and Exchange Commission (the public regulator) to take any action against mega-fraudster Bernard Madoff until after his giant Ponzi scheme went bust in 2008 – even though a whistle-blower repeatedly drew attention to the obvious fraudulence of his business model for years before its collapse. And there was the pressure put on Ken Lewis (CEO of Bank of America) in 2008 by Treasury Secretary Hank Paulson (former CEO of Goldman Sachs) to recommend to BoA shareholders a takeover of Merrill Lynch without disclosing the huge scale of Merrill's losses – in breach of his fiduciary obligations.

It's become common practice in the US, when corporations are indicted for malpractice, for courts to allow them to pay a fine without admitting wrongdoing. The result is effectively to give management personal immunity from prosecution. And given that fine payments come out of shareholders' funds, the only deterrent against taking risks in violation of the law is the possible loss of their jobs.

Such signs of the growing breakdown of the rule of law – supposedly a cornerstone of modern civilisation – are not confined to the financial sector. One of the most extreme examples was the conviction this year of a Pennsylvania federal judge for accepting payments from operators of private correctional facilities (but paid for by the public authorities) in return for sentencing juveniles to periods of judicial detention – and for the most trivial offences, such as insolence to their school teachers.

I believe systemic change must include removing the incentives to greed presently incorporated in company law: pre-eminent among these is the effective obligation on company management to give priority to maximisation of returns to shareholders – who are in turn protected by a blanket right to limited liability. If such a change were to be implemented it would be seen to undermine the whole basis of the capitalist model as it has existed since around 1860.

If the rights of shareholders as owners were to be compromised by a requirement to give equal weight to those of the rest of the community (including employees, consumers and taxpayers) it might well lead many investors to decide against continuing to risk their funds. If this led society to turn away from the dehumanising worship of the golden calf of profit and the compulsive pursuit of perpetual unattainable growth (needed to facilitate the continuous expansion of profits) how many people would now regret such a transformation?

*More from Harry at [harryshutt.com](http://harryshutt.com)*





# THE DISASTROUS SUCCESS OF FRACTIONAL RESERVE BANKING

JASPER TOMLINSON

If indeed the time has now arrived to seek monetary justice and to harness public indignation at usurious banking practice, then it is also time to seek a better

understanding of how it all went so suddenly wrong and what is to be done about it.

The current procedure – where commercial banks create around 97% of all money in use – emerged several hundred years ago when the goldsmiths started issuing receipts for gold that had been deposited for safe keeping. The goldsmiths came to understand that issued receipts could exceed actual deposits – this was the origin of the current system, known as fractional reserve banking. The paper receipts became a convenient form of currency.

Currently, only a small amount of money (about 3%) are coins and banknotes issued by the national central bank in conjunction with the Treasury. Commercial banks are licensed – after depositing some money from customers or from their own funds as security at the national central bank – to create the money supply as repayable debt. The security deposit is only a small fraction (between 3% and 10%) of the money they create as debt for customers taking out loans.

National central banks, as distinct from commercial banks, are characterised by usually doing what the government requests. In the UK the central bank is the wholly government owned Bank of England. The central bank in the USA, the Federal Reserve Bank, is privately owned. Major issues raised by the bankers' activities have to

do with exploitation, with the widening gap between haves and have-nots, and the unfairness of the licence granted to the commercial banks – matters begging for huge indignation and unrelenting protest.

In a process that sped up since Margaret Thatcher deregulated some of the financial sector, there has been a global rush to disaster. The commercial banks' spectacular failure has been described by John Lanchester. In his recent book, "Whoops!", he asserts that the credit crunch was based on a prevailing climate (defined by a post-cold war victory party of free market capitalism), a nasty problem (sub-prime mortgages), a Nobel Prize-winning mistake (the mathematical model of risk) and a failure (that of the regulators).

The power of today's banks derives largely from their power to create money. Money is created by banks in the form of debt, and it disappears again when that debt is repaid. When a consumer approaches a bank to ask for a loan, the bank does not actually have a stockpile of money from which to draw cash. Instead, the money is created as needed. Throughout the process, no money is printed. The only thing that changes are numbers on computer screens. Accountancy rules for banks permit this magic by double-entry book keeping, where amounts of money that are virtually created are entered simultaneously as both assets and as liabilities. The effect of this is that banks can lend out sums of money that vastly exceed the actual resources they own.

For banks, this is profitable business. They can charge interest on debts created from nothing – a usurious practice that would, if unlicensed, amount to fraud. There are



several ways for debtors to pay back the interest. It can come from further loans (which simply perpetuates the cycle of indebtedness). It can come from the real economy, thereby transferring money from the productive economy to the financial sector. And it can derive from unsustainable asset inflation. Here is what that means: Assume that someone buys a house with a market price of £100,000 by using a mortgage plan. By the time the mortgage principal is repaid, total interest might amount to another £100,000. And the house has very likely reached an inflated market value of £200,000. For the national and for the global economy this unsustainable asset inflation is the slippery slope to ruin.

Taken together, the creation of money and the interest charged on debt separated banks from traditional service institutions. If we can remove from them the licence to both create money and charge interest on it banks can become no more threatening than a grocery store or a bus service. The controversial questions – from bankers' bonuses to the separation of investment banking and deposit/consumer banking – arise because of fractional reserve banking.

Yet banking practices were not only bad for economic growth and for consumers – they also destabilized the financial sector itself. The result of fractional reserve banking and deregulation was that commercial banks could amass "toxic" (i.e. high-risk) assets and over-extend

themselves significantly. Since their security deposits were only a fraction of their liabilities, a market crash could quickly drain a bank's actual assets and force it into default. One example: If a bank's leverage is 35 then only 1/35th of the equity (less than 3%) has to be seen as valueless for the bank to become insolvent. Average 2008 leverage in US banks was 35, in Europe 45 and 18 in Canada (where there were no bank bailouts).

Yet what is the alternative? The first simple step for ending fractional reserve banking is to enable the Bank of England to emerge as sole creator of money – as repayable debt – and to distribute it, interest free, for the benefit of the whole economy in terms of socially useful investment. Investment can go to infrastructural projects (such as hospitals, roads, bridges, or clean power), manufacturing and to consumers. It can sustain employment in the productive economy, rather than transfer money from the productive sector into the financial sector.

To achieve this first step, the government must be persuaded to make it happen. The further, less formidable, task is to arrange for the banks and other financial institutions to administer these loans along the lines given above. For other borrowers ineligible within these guidelines commercial banks would either own the funds they lend out, or take deposits from informed and willing depositors. In either case, they would not lend out more money

than the total sum of assets under their control. It would be prohibited to charge interest on loans created by the national central bank. While alternative providers of loans could still charge interest, their packages would become less attractive by comparison. In effect, money created by fractional reserve banking either would be prohibited, be crowded out or be allowed to fade away as the new interest-free funds were distributed.

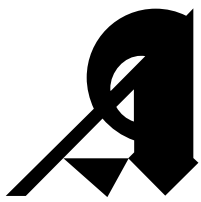
Yet there is an unhappy divide among proponents of money reform: Who is supposed to control the creation and spending of money? National banks – or strictly regulated privately-owned banks? Ben Dyson, of Positive Money, writes on his website that "... [Stephen] Zarlenga has researched around 3000 years of monetary history to find out what has really worked, leading him to conclude that the only real solution is publicly-created, debt-free money...". Apart from the problem of attaching a meaning to "debt-free" money – possibly an oxymoron – the underlying message is that government needs to be trusted with creating money and spending it into the economy. This policy is supported by the slogan 'spend not lend' and happens to be prohibited by European Treaty obligations. Many may be reluctant to put so much faith in government...

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# 'CARING CAPITALISM' – A CONTRADICTION IN TERMS?

EMMA FORDHAM



Ask ten people – occupiers, bankers, journalists, company directors – not whether they agree with capitalism but instead “What is Capitalism?”. The ten different answers proffered suggest that the ‘are we anti-capitalist?’ question is moot.

Those who identify with the anti-capitalist label describe capitalism as necessarily exploitative. They see it as a system in which fat-cats callously use and abuse the labour of subordinates to further their own greed and gains.

status in just the same way that a small business owner would. When governments use tax-payers’ money in bail-outs, capitalism is transformed into ‘corporate socialism’. This is a system so ludicrous that it’s little wonder people are camping on cold city streets across Europe and the U.S. Put simply, this is a system whereby the wealthiest 1%, drunk on their own power and greed, crash economies leading to suffering for everyone except themselves... then insist we prop them up so that they can carry on lording it over us (and our governments).

There are very few people who truly believe this is okay. Those who do must surely be members of the self-serving

via provision of loans. It enables people to make money simply by having money, to become wealthy without work. It rides on a ‘something for nothing’ culture (which, strangely, is what the Occupy movement is often falsely represented as wanting). Promotion of high-interest loans to the poverty-stricken is the most crass and socially destructive end of the usury spectrum. The complex gambling inherent in today’s institutions of high finance is also all about using money to beget money – and as we’ve recently experienced, the gamblers risk not their own livelihoods but ours.

So, we could regulate to minimise the excesses of usury and high-finance gambling. What else could we do to address financial injustice and economic crisis? Something all occupiers would agree on is that a tinkering with the current system – shoe-horning in a few extra regulations – is not enough. Radical overhaul is required. If we can find a way to join forces not only with unions, students and public sector workers but also with small business owners and entrepreneurs, we might have a serious chance of achieving this. Taking a majority of the self-avowed capitalists with us into a better future... that must be the goal. So what are these capitalists thinking? I asked...

‘Capitalist’ Number One admitted to being “...jaded by a system that awards 50% pay rises to executives who – like bankers, and unlike true entrepreneurs – take no real hit on the downside.” Despite disillusionment he said “I still believe in capitalism as a system for ensuring greater prosperity for all... but what we have is selfish cronyism where cartels of old boys’ networks reward each other for failure.”

‘Capitalist’ Number Two said: “How about obliging individuals and corporations to devote a significant proportion of their resources, energy and profits to serving their communities? Small businesses and individuals would ‘pay back’ on a local scale; the big boys would contribute on an international scale. The penalty for avoidance would be crippling taxation or, ultimately, criminalisation. Harness the energy of the smartest people and put funds where they’re really needed. Imagine the good that Microsoft and others could do, not to mention banks, if obliged to focus

their brainpower and resources on solving (instead of creating) global problems. I’ve even worked out how this could be implemented....”

‘Capitalist’ Number Three sees trade as an essential tenet of humanity but would like all unethical trading to be outlawed. She says we already know how to do this: “Workers’ Co-operatives, Social Enterprises and Community Interest Companies have ethics enshrined in their constitutions that cover environmental and social considerations, workers’ rights and animal rights. Fairtrade regulators, the Soil Association, Radical Routes and other bodies already exist; these could be networked and expanded to oversee businesses and to alert a fearsome inspectorate (something like HMRC but

with more teeth and fewer loopholes) should breaches of ethics be suspected. Fines large enough to act as a serious deterrent would be imposed for a first breach; subsequent breaches if proven to be intentional or due to negligence would result in forced company closure, with assets to be seized and put directly into redressing the problems caused.”

If these kinds of solutions were implemented, would the resulting system still be Capitalism? “You could call it Caring Capitalism”, suggested Capitalist One. The others shook their heads and grimaced. “Let’s skip the ‘isms’,” said Capitalist Three. “Let’s just call it... a collection of Bloody Good Ideas?” “That’ll do,” decided Capitalist Two. “Now can we get on with the revolution?”



Those who identify themselves as capitalists see it as a system which allows trade, social mobility, entrepreneurship and rewards for hard work. They compare it favourably with failed communist systems. They can’t see an alternative unless we go back to the stone-age. Many of these capitalists believe that in recent years capitalism has gone wrong. They agree with the anti-capitalists that a tiny minority have raked in profits without the corresponding hard work and market success that could perhaps justify such riches.

In a pure capitalist system, no bank or business would be ‘too big to fail’. If those in charge made mistakes, they’d lose money and power and

elite, or masochists. Splitting the rest of us into capitalists and anti-capitalists (and assuming that critics of capitalism must necessarily be socialists or communists) is a simple divide-to-rule strategy. We should be making alliances with all those who see that the current system has gone wrong.

Some in the Occupy movement would like to do away with money, to replace it perhaps with a barter system. Others believe that it is not money per se that is the problem – money, after all, is just tokens that allow us to exchange things without having to do a straight swap. Many argue that it is usury that is the root of all evil. Usury – condemned by the early Christian church and by Islamic law – is the begetting of interest



## DEMOCRACY IS DEAD (AND WE HAVE KILLED IT)

NISHMA DOSHI

Lucas Papademos is the new Greek prime minister. He is also the former vice-president of the European Central Bank. A man who would possibly do anything to ensure that Greece remains in the Eurozone, despite public outcry. In Italy, Berlusconi is replaced by an ex-EU Commissioner named Mario Monti. Monti will lead the next government, just after the parliament forced severe welfare cuts on the Italian people. In neither case have the people been given a choice over policy decisions. No democratic vote has been called, and public opposition outside the halls of parliament has been ignored.

If you are familiar with the work of the International Monetary Fund, these practices should not come as a surprise. So-called “structural adjustment” programmes in various “developing” nations have relied on the transfer of economic power from the state to private institutions. Often, these institutions have no interest in the welfare of the

people and are either owned by the families of the ruling elites or by external corporations. Yet according to IMF policy, these developments ought to be welcomed. Miraculously, it seems, they will lead to prosperity and growth even as developing nations lack the necessary foundations or the market infrastructure that would be necessary to sustain neoliberal pipedreams.

The political fallout of the transfer of power and responsibility is enormous. When election time comes around, the government lacks power to ensure that roads will be fixed or that water will be reasonably priced. Even if the people voted against the government, the problems would not be fixed as the ability to provide basic needs has been transferred to the private sector. We are told that as long as elections are held, a democracy is securely in place. In the West, we are even willing to fight for those democracies – and die for them, too. How many have given their

lives so that elections can be held in Iraq and Afghanistan? The question is: Is that what democracy looks like?

Take Britain as an example. Within our narrow understanding of democracy, voters have the choice between a bad party and one that is even worse. We no longer vote for policies or principles, but for political spin. And regardless of what ideas we find persuasive during electoral campaigns, there is no guarantee that the government will stick to its proclaimed principles and fight for the right policies. We saw that very clearly in the case of Liberal Democrats in England. Scores of students had voted for their promise of free tuition, only to see the party abandon its electoral mandate when Cameron pressed for rising fees. Words are just words in an electoral campaign – and voting for them just makes you a fool. Did you actually think that someone would cede power to you, the voter?

The People have no voice in our democracy anymore. Elections have become nothing but a collective ritual that allow us to feel like political agents and sovereign people. The real decisions are made by people in suits, by the companies that can throw the most extravagant parties with the most famous celebrities, by the money barons who can blackmail you with wiretapped phones and lie their way out of it by passing on the blame to their underlings.

Democracy is dead. Democracy remains dead. And we have killed it. We must abandon the idea that the current political system will yield radical solutions and help us climb out of economic crisis. Unless we can enact fundamental change on a political level, this democracy remains democratic in name only.

Of those gathered in cities in around the world, we are the privileged few that can afford to spend our time in spaces discussing where we are going. We are the privileged few who have access to

food and water, who had the opportunity to grow up without dying of perfectly curable diseases or mass starvation. We are the privileged few who can fight a battle that needs to be won. Because of our privileged position, we have a responsibility to ensure that the majority of that 99% is no longer oppressed by the 1%. And we also have to ensure that those who are worse off do not suffer because of our actions. Remember: We are still part of the system. But the time has come to stage a jailbreak.

What is the first step towards a fairer world and a more representative democracy? We have to allow ourselves to dream about it. And then we have to be ready to act on it. We need to collect visions, hopes, dreams and convert them into reality. We need to tackle the true causes of economic injustice: globalisation, class, racism, sexism, class etc.

Democracy is dead. But a brighter future is possible.



# BROKEN SYSTEM, NOT BROKEN PEOPLE

MICHAEL RICHMOND

If there's one conclusion I've come to after five years of suffering from it, it is that mental illness doesn't happen in isolation. We know that 1 in 4 Britons will suffer from a mental disorder in their lifetime. The World Health Organization even predicts depression will be the second most widespread illness in the developed world by 2020. But mental illness is not just statistics or distant "others," far removed from regular human activity. It is all too human. It is dependent on how we order our own individual worlds and how we relate to other human beings. We evolved as a social species and it was largely thanks to our ability to co-operate, to share tasks in small, mobile, co-dependent groups, that we outlasted other early humans. In recent decades political, economic and cultural shifts have made society far less socially interdependent and far more greedy, selfish and acquisitive but this goes against our evolutionary biology. We are not built to go it alone.

Mental illness must not be just a burden for the individual sufferer or their family because it is reflective of our society. The social breakdown, health and wealth inequality, celebrity, consumerism and binge culture that we see all around us affects our mental health. These damaging phenomena are a monument to the unfettered market that has ruled our lives. The economic model that the establishment are desperately trying to prop up is premised on exploiting our worst instincts. The sole purpose of advertising is to harvest the feelings of inadequacy that we are all capable of experiencing, or failing that, to create

brand new voids which, conveniently, can only be filled through the acquisition of the commodity they are peddling. The economist Tim Jackson sums up this central plank of our society best in his book, Prosperity without Growth: 'We are persuaded to spend money we don't have, on things we don't need, to create impressions that won't last, on people we don't care about.'

The policy of 'Care in the Community,' which has been pursued for the last thirty years, does represent a more humane approach compared to the large Victorian asylums. These imposing buildings were conceived of more as quarantines where the uncomfortable truth of "madness," an ever-present throughout human history, was sealed off as an act of segregation. However, despite this move towards inclusiveness and a softening of political language the reality is still too often one of isolation, stigma and neglect if not outright abuse. By accepting that sufferers of mental illness are a part of and not apart from society, we must now accept that aspects of our society are contributing to our dire problems with our mental health. It is also crucial that there is widespread acceptance that mental illness is something that can befall anyone, including investment bank CEOs.

The pervasive neoliberal mantra of 'private good, public bad' has ring-fenced large swathes of the economy as beyond regulation but if the supreme aim of every country is to create an amenable business environment then the wellbeing of its citizens can never be anything more than an afterthought. Instead we're left with reactive government measures in health,

crime, education and environmental policy being largely a thankless struggle to clean up the mess wrought by an economic system that fosters inequality promotes narcissism and propagates that all human meaning resides in the relentless pursuit of material wealth. Too much of healthcare becomes "fire-fighting" when much more should be prevention and care.

I prefer the argument for helping people to lead healthy and meaningful lives, but even those with a solely economic view of humanity must deduce that it costs much more to deal with the effects of these problems than it would to begin to tackle them at root. Research by Kate Pickett and Richard Wilkinson for their book, The Spirit Level, reveals that more unequal societies have higher rates of mental illness and do worse on various other social indicators. They write that mental illness is closely related to status anxiety and so more unequal and callous countries, like ours, leave more people marginalised, more 'losers' and more problems for us all.

Such high levels of mental illness mean this issue can no longer be brushed under the carpet. Is there any issue which touches nearly everyone's lives yet is so ignored or misunderstood by politics and media? Our rates of mental illness demand that we re-examine our attitudes and language towards the concept of 'madness.' #Occupy is teaching us all how interconnected our lives and our struggles are and we're learning that the only way to fight the atomising force of neoliberalism is through solidarity and the reclamation of public space.

THE GREAT DEBATE

# PACIISM

**THIS WEEK WE DEBATE THE PROS AND CONS OF NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE. DOES PASIVISM GIVE US A PSYCHOLOGICAL UPPER HAND OVER AGGRESSIVE POLICE FORCES? OR SHOULD WE BE PREPARED TO USE EVERY TRICK IN THE BOOK AGAINST THOSE WHO HAVE NO QUALMS DOING SO?**

**AGAINST** / N. SANCHEZ-BELL

No social movement has ever acted in a totally homogenous manner. Most non-violent groups have either shared their struggle with others wishing to achieve the same or similar ends by different means, or have become radicalised by increasing oppression, eventually resorting to more extreme tactics.

The suffragettes were initially non-violent, but eventually engaged in property destruction including the burning of churches. The Zapatistas are for the most part non-violent but do fight back against the Mexican army when no other option is left open to them.

Even Gandhi had his 'violent' counterparts in India's fight for independence. The Chauri Chaura incident of 1922 saw a group of initially non-violent protesters turn into an angry mob after police fired into an unarmed crowd. They subsequently burned a chowki (police station) with 23 officers inside it.

It could be posited that such a contrast in methods is needed to remind those in power that they are as vulnerable to ultimate force as other human beings. More aggressive action can render non-violent resistance favorable, and force the powers that be to take the moderates seriously in the hope of avoiding a more militant alternative. By widening the landscape of resistance, forceful action can create a platform from which negotiations can take place.

In the civil rights struggle Martin Luther King's success was achieved in part because he was seen as comparatively 'moderate' when contrasted with Malcolm X, who was willing to 'take arms'. Malcolm X paraphrased Hamlet's famous speech asking whether it was "nobler in the mind of man to suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune in moderation, or to take arms against a sea of troubles, and by opposing, end them".

George Orwell wrote that 'pacifism in the face of fascism is objectively pro fascist', and while we aren't up against the same totalitarian forces he spoke of in the here and now, others elsewhere arguably are.

Of course context is all. Different situations require differing tactics, but just as violence is not always the most effective method, the same can be said of non-violence.

**FOR** / MARTIN EIERMANN

I admit: It can be hard to turn the other cheek, to resist arrest peacefully, to control one's Luddite tendencies and to draw a clear line in the sand that says: This is a movement of non-violence. For some of us this is a principled conviction. For others, it is a tactical decision. Regardless of your motivations, there is no good alternative to non-violence.

The use of force "to maintain public order" is the strongest monopoly of the state. It controls a remarkable repertoire of physical resources and legal powers that can be utilized to quell dissent. The recent arrests under the Public Order Act are telltale signs of the state's willingness to flex its muscle when necessary. Why would we want to engage the police where it is strongest?

Additionally, every instance of violence against the occupy movement thus far has only driven more people into the camps: The mass arrests on Brooklyn Bridge, the forcible eviction of the Oakland camp, the kettling during the recent student demos or the pepper-spraying of peaceful students at UC Davis. Thankfully, public opinion is rather acutely tuned to footage of uniformed weekend warriors beating and dragging peaceful protesters.

The simply fact is that most people reject the old Clausewitzian logic that violence is a legitimate part of the toolkit of politics. In strengthening power, violence undermines authority. The presence of riot police in the streets is the first sign of the failure of the state to address popular grievances. Rather than being an extension of politics by other means, it marks the end of politics. It is the state-level equivalent of an angry child that kicks its toys into a corner and starts pounding the floor. Next comes the crying.

We believe that a vast majority of the population is in agreement with our concerns and criticisms. The state is fighting an uphill battle; we are not. Our task is more simply: Most people do not have to be persuaded about political or economic criticisms. They merely have to be convinced to join the movement. Non-violence is expressive of our convictions and effective as a tactic. Stick to it.

**A debate is scheduled at TentCity University after the GA on Wednesday November 23th for us to carry on this debate in person. See you there!**

THE IRREVERENT REVEREND NEMU

# THE END IS NIGH! OCCUPY!

"The End is Nigh!" Delightful words, written in bold on a sandwich board or screamed out on a street corner in the ecstasy of doom. But what does it mean? Sadly our own Christian enthusiasms are too busy dancing jigs, hoisting enormous crucifixes about and berating strangers to preach about the latter days. Yet there are also exceptions. This relentless reverend does not tire in his evangelism. Once again, oh children of perpetual resistance, let us reoccupy scripture, and rescue the good news from bad translation.

"The End of the World" comes from Matthew 13, and the word translated as "world" is aeon. Aeon means pretty much the same in Greek as it does in English, an epoch or age, such as the Iron Age or the Age of Feudalism. It is a period of time defined by an overarching theme. The Gnostics had a slightly more nuanced take on it, but the simple fact of the matter is that it doesn't mean "world". "There shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth", as Matthew continues but something survives, though it is entirely beyond our imagination. (Rev 21:1)

The translation of aeon is so suspect that it raises questions. In 1611 when the King James Bible was produced, England was gripped by revolutionary fever. Against a background of creeping inflation, the seizure of common lands, the wording of scripture was a serious and political business. A generation before, 5,000 Cornish Catholics chanting "Kill all the Gentlemen!" had perished in a revolt over a new prayer book, and in 1605 another Catholic had failed in his Gunpowder Plot. King James hoped to calm religious unrest by commissioning a standard Bible

for all Englishmen, as simple and non-provocative as possible. Whereas "the end of the world" is beyond the imagination of all but the doomiest, "the end of the aeon" was exactly what many revolutionary Bible-bashers wanted to bring about. Quite obviously, King James rejected the latter translation.

Yet censorship did not help. Thirty-seven years later, James's son lost his throne and his head to apocalyptic revolutionaries. These same men were revolutionaries in other fields, pioneering the scientific method, overthrowing ancient concepts in medicine, in philosophy and in government, disseminating subversive ideas using the new technology of the printing press. The Parliamentary Era had begun, the Age of Feudalism was over, and the aeon drew to a close.

400 years on, parliament has betrayed us. King James was refused his bailout of £600,000 after nearly a year of negotiations, but our government pledged £500 billion to the banks less than 48 hours after the FTSE crashed. The people were never consulted.

The time is ripe for a new form of governance, and the tools are in our hands. Innovative networks span the globe, using new media technologies of Twitter and Livestream to disseminate information and coordinate the very first international occupation. King James shut down parliament, and Mayor Bloomberg shut down the Wall Street occupation, but the End is Nigh today, as it was back in the day.

The question is not whether we can bring down this hideous harlot riding the beast of post-capitalist imperialism; she is quite capable of doing that itself. The

issue is whether we can look beyond our crumbling institutions and imagine something better.

The word "apocalypse" is formed of the Greek apo- (away) and kalyptein (to cover). Contrary to popular belief, and despite the spin-doctors of the chamomile King James Bible, it is not "the end of the world", though it may be the end of the world as you know it. It is the lifting of a veil (velum in Latin, hence re-velation). Whenever something hidden is revealed or some secret dis-covered, there is an apocalypse, whether through the medium of Wikileaks or the Holy Spirit. An individual apocalypse can occur at any time, as it did with Paul's apocalypse on the road to Damascus. It could be when YouTube awakens you to the harsh facts of fractional reserve banking. It could be the glorious revelation that money is not value, as you chew over donated food in the kitchen tent. Or it might be something else entirely.

When enough people lift the veil and remove the cover, something happens on a larger scale, as it did in seventeenth century England and first century Jerusalem. Once again, the smell of a new aeon is in the air. The time is ripe for a real new world order governed by love, wisdom and individual self-mastery.

Or as one of our modern martyrs likes to put it: when all the pennies drop, the pound will fall.

In the name of the Euro, the banks and the International Monetary Fund... Amen  
*Reverend Nemu maintains a ministry at [www.nemusend.co.uk](http://www.nemusend.co.uk). His book, Nemu's End: The History, Psychology and Poetry of the Apocalypse, is sometimes in the Tent City University.*





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