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# Socialist Worker

Occupy Wall Street – Occupy Athens – Occupy Dublin...

# OCCUPY EVERYWHERE

**We Are the 99%**

**Join the Global Revolt against Capitalism**

THIS week has seen a most astounding revolt against global capitalism.

On Saturday 15 October over one million people in 950 cities across 82 countries joined together with the Occupy Wall Street movement.

The crisis of capitalism is global and now workers and activists across the world are fighting back together.

In cities from Auckland to San Francisco people took to the streets, many of them engaging in city-square occupations like that in Wall Street and Egypt's Tahrir square.

This was the largest day of globally coordinated action since the 15 February protests against the war in Iraq.

Over 200,000 people took to the streets of Rome and up to 100,000 filled Times Square on Saturday night.

In Ireland, about 1,500 people participated in a demonstration in support of Occupy Dame Street and in a march to the Merrion hotel where the Troika were staying.

Among the groups represented were the Tara Mines Pensioners, Hospital Campaigners from Blanchardstown and Loughlinstown, trade unionists from SIPTU, Mandate and Unite and a whole host of community and voluntary sector activists.

Speaking outside the IMF/EU headquarters, Richard Boyd Barrett TD told *Socialist Worker* that: "These attacks are part of a worldwide attempt to make ordinary people pay for the crimes of the wealthy - but all around the world we see resistance emerging.

"This is exactly what we need and I would urge all of your readers to go along to the Pre-Budget protest on 26 November and to support the Occupy Dame Street movement."

Jim Brennan from the Tara Mines



Occupational and Pension Group spoke about the ongoing plight of pensioners in poverty, stating that "the new pension levy is supposed to be 0.6% but it actually means a 10% cut in our take home pensions.

"Added to the universal social change and the household charges

this pushes Irish pensioners into life threatening poverty.

"The government is trampling on ordinary people's rights and I call on them to rethink their strategy for bailing out the bankers."

This was the sentiment expressed by numerous people interviewed by

*Socialist Worker* and it came in a week when the Troika are pushing for between €3.6 and €4.4 billion in yet more cut backs.

Whilst the ruling classes are united in their determination to save their system, their political representatives are busy imposing more and more austerity.

But ordinary people are no longer taking these attacks lying down.

And the tactic of occupying a public space and turning it into an open general assembly has become the template for the new rebellion.

The Occupy Dame Street movement stands as a defiant symbol of resistance, and that is why it should be supported enthusiastically by every socialist. But the left must also argue for linking the 'squares' with the 'factories'.

The Occupy Movement already poses problems for capital.

But if it can fuse the energy of the street with the power of organised labour then a real challenge to capitalist rule can be developed.

The distinct contribution of socialists should be to urge the movement to look towards organised workers as the key force for social change.

In a week when Aviva can casually announce the axing of 950 jobs shouldn't there be a call to Occupy Aviva to put some manners on these ruthless employers.

In fact, every time a community centre is being closed or a bus service is being run down, shouldn't the same message go out: Occupy!

The time has come to bring the energy of the streets back into normal life of work and community where the bonds of capitalist oppression are repeatedly forged.

We are the 99% and like working people across the world we must now argue for occupations everywhere.

18-20 November 2011

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FESTIVAL

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# Students Union calls protest for 16 November



By IAN Mc DONNELL

AMIDST speculation that the registration fee will be increased to €5000 in the budget, the USI have declared a protest in Dublin on 16 November.

This marks the beginning of a campaign entitled 'freeze the fees, save the grant'.

While the USI's call for a protest on the 16th should be supported and built for.

Students should be aware that its intended effect will be to allow students to 'let off some steam', after which USI officials will return to making meaningless 'recommendations' to Labour & Fine Gael politicians.

The only effective

way to reverse the government's agenda to re-introduce third level fees is through concerted mass mobilization. The USI have the capacity to bring thousands onto the streets on a weekly basis, shut down cities across the country & force the government to stand down.

Unfortunately, those in leading positions within the USI are afraid to rock the boat for fear of the implications it may have for their political careers.

Therefore it falls upon the left to engage with the student unions, organize protests on campus and create a climate that pressurises the USI leadership into abandoning its conservative strategy.

# Striking nurses keep up their fight



By NIAMH MCDONALD

STRIKING nurses from Limerick hospital protested outside the Dail earlier this month, voicing their anger at government cutbacks that are already having a detrimental effect on patients care and health and safety.

One A&E nurse informed *Socialist Worker* that she was in "genuine fear of patient's safety".

"The conditions patients must endure are inadequate to say the least, it is common

place to have elderly patients on trolleys for over 48hrs, also parents and sick children are lying on the floor in the corridor waiting for beds.

"We requested a meeting with James Reilly but he refused so we decided to bring our voices to him."

Kerry McAuliffe (INMO) speaking at the demo commented "We are here to highlight patient safety.

"Nurses are the true patient advocates as we witness the brunt of these cuts and

their ongoing effects on patient's lives that are being put at serious risk."

Limerick Mid Western Regional hospital is in no way unique. Loughlinstown Hospital A&E is also on Reilly's hit list, even though it is the only A&E service available to the people of South Dublin and Wicklow.

The nurses in Limerick are taking the lead in what is essentially a fight over life and death.

People Power can save our hospitals. Portlaoise regional

hospital A&E was saved by 5000 people getting onto the streets and demanding its retention.

Mass resistance and strikes are the only way to stop this government from taking away our right to a decent healthcare system.

A protest is organised to save the A&E in Loughlinstown, assembling at the Ballybrack Shopping Centre on October 29th at 2pm.

Please come and demonstrate your support.

# A message of support to the Aviva workers from Socialist Worker



By CHRIS BOYD

AVIVA have just announced they are to axe 950 jobs in Ireland.

This according to Igal Mayer (CEO) is so Aviva Europe can be more "competitive".

But Aviva Europe's operating profits in this year alone are €525 million (up 21% from last year).

Whilst Mayer's compensation is not reported, its undoubtedly in the region of the CEO of Aviva plc, Andrew Moss' salary of £2.5 million

It's absolutely disgraceful that these well healed bosses are using the crisis as an excuse to increase their bottom line.

If they are so worried about competitiveness then why aren't they severely cutting their compensation and bonuses?

They didn't make that €525 million in profit this year. You, the Aviva workers, did!

But you CAN fight for your jobs!

Strikes and occupations are the best way to do this.

When workers occupy and withdraw their labour bosses stop making profits and lose control over valuable assets. This is their worst nightmare as it shows their weakness.

It also puts pressure on the government to step in and do something.

This week in the Dail, Enda Kenny stood up and said that there is nothing he can do even though a bailed out bank AIB has a 30% stake in Aviva.

As a party of fellow white and blue collar workers including union members and shop stewards, Socialist Worker recommends that Aviva workers meet to discuss their options in fighting the bosses.

Then decide what actions you will take democratically.

If you don't have a shop steward you can elect a representative to tell your union officer what your demands are; to be present during any negotiations and to report back to workers the minutes of any meetings.

United and determined Aviva workers can win!

Members of the Socialist Workers Party will be there to assist in any way we can.

# Over 200 attend anti-household charges meeting in Donegal

By LIAM WHYTE

ON Saturday 8 October a meeting was held in the Dore Centre Gweedore in the heart of the Donegal gaeltacht.

The meeting was held in accordance with similar meetings across the country against the recently announced austerity taxes, including water charges, household charges and the septic tank inspection charge.

Speakers included Joe Higgins T.D. of the Socialist party and Thomas Pringle an Independent T.D. from southwest Donegal.

The huge crowd heard Pringle explain how our public water scheme was lined up to be sold to private multi-nationals which will inevitably lead to water rates and more financial hardship for householders across the country.

Joe Higgins then explained how a similar campaign was fought in Dublin in the mid 1990's which through a long stubborn battle brought success and an abolishment of the water charges.

After a question and answers session, the crowd unanimously and enthusiastically came to an agreement that a CANT PAY WONT PAY strategy was needed to fight the unjust taxes.

It has emerged that since the meeting, committees have set up all over Donegal including Ardara, Donegal Town, Raphoe, Carrigart Downings Letterkenney and Irishwomen.

This must now be replicated across the country in a show of defiance against the governments' on-going austerity.

# Housing chaos – the government has no answers

By JIMMY SMYTH

TWO recent events have highlighted the shocking state of housing in Ireland.

Firstly, the occupants of Priory Hall in Donaghmede, Dublin had to evacuate their homes as they were unsafe and a fire hazard.

One resident Stephanie Meehan, explained: "The problems started as soon as we moved in. We were flooded numerous times, the window sills had to be replaced, there's mould growing on the outside... I could go on, but I'll start to rant."

A judge ordered the developers and Dublin City Council (DCC) to pay for the accommodation costs of the evacuees (many of whom are staying in a hotel) while repairs were carried out.

While NAMA has suggested 332 properties to house the residents, it has done so on the basis that DCC negotiates a payment with the owners.

The second event was the publishing of the much



A Priory Hall resident moving belongings.

Image: Eamonn Farrell/Photocall Ireland

anticipated Keane Report proposing solutions to mortgage arrears.

The report sets out the scale of the problem. There are 55,000 mortgage accounts in arrears of 3 months-plus and the numbers in arrears over six months have doubled since 2009.

Despite the promises made by FG and Labour during the election campaign, all the schemes proposed ensure the banks will receive

their money.

Astonishingly the report has as one of its guiding principles: "There are unsustainable situations and unfortunately it is inevitable that people will lose their homes".

This is hardly surprising given that the working group was chaired by an accountant from KPMG and included three representatives from the central bank and one from both AIB and EBS.

These events show how

reliance on a private housing market has so badly failed to provide decent, affordable housing for all in our society.

As a first step in reversing this position we need to increase the amount of housing under democratic control through our local authorities.

But this will take a battle, with grass-roots campaigning.

For more on the Keane Report see: [www.swp.ie](http://www.swp.ie)

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## WHAT THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY STANDS FOR

Capitalism is wrecking the lives of millions and endangering the planet.  
 A new society can only be constructed when the workers take control of the wealth and plan its production and distribution for human need and not profit.  
**REVOLUTION**  
 The present system cannot be patched up or reformed. The courts, the army and police exist to defend the interests of the wealthy.  
 To destroy capitalism, we need to remove the present state structures and create a workers' state based on much

greater political and economic democracy.  
**AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND WAR**  
 War is a constant feature of capitalism today as the imperialist powers try to dominate the earth.  
 The "War on Terror/ism" is a crude device to attack any country which threatens US military, strategic or economic dominance.  
**END RACISM AND OPPRESSION**  
 We oppose all forms of oppression and racism. This divides and weakens the

working class.  
 We are for full social, economic and political equality for women.  
 We oppose immigration controls which are always racist.  
**FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH**  
 We stand for workers unity against the Assembly politicians and Cameron government.  
 Like great socialist James Connolly, we believe that partition has brought about a 'carnival of reaction'  
 We want to see an Irish workers republic where all

workers gain.  
 Our flag is neither green nor orange but red!  
**FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY**  
 To win socialism socialists need to organise in a revolutionary party.  
 This party needs to argue against right-wing ideas and for overthrowing the system.  
 We call for co-operation between left-wing parties and the formation of a strong socialist bloc.  
 We stand for fighting trade unions and for independent rank and file action.

## Join the Socialists

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# Greek workers continue resistance



By WILL SHANNON

ENRAGED Greek workers have continued their struggle against EU / IMF austerity this week in a massive display of defiance.

In the largest demonstration since the end of the military junta, half a million workers, pensioners and students flooded the streets of the Greek capital Athens on Wednesday 19 October.

The Occupy movement has reached its highest point of resistance in Greece and a two day general strike brought the entire country to a standstill on Wednesday and Thursday just as austerity measures were passed into law.

The PASOK government (the Greek Labour party) have continued to sell out their supporters with massive cuts in public

services, wages and increased taxes on workers and the poor.

As well as this, PASOK are introducing laws that will make it easier to fire workers and ban municipal workers from striking.

While the government claim these cuts are necessary to avoid a default, it is becoming more and more certain that default is inevitable.

PASOK attempts to stir up racial hatred to deflect the massive anger at the establishment have failed.

They pointed to the fact that many poor illegal immigrants are recruited to work as scab rubbish collectors.

But immigrant groups send solidarity to workers on strike at the same time as strikers and workers display anti-racist messages.

Militancy has swept

across the country as various workplaces have been occupied.

Occupations have proved to be a useful tool in the fight against the austerity measures.

Government departments have been occupied to prevent IMF delegations reaching their meeting places or cuts to be implemented.

Occupied hospitals refuse to collect the new patient levy that hits the sick and vulnerable.

These initiatives from below are what terrifies the ruling class and what is ultimately needed to make the rich pay for their own crisis.

This story is far from over, and as the Troika attempt to impose their will, Greek workers are showing that heroic resistance is the best way to fight for a better society.

# Victory for campaigners against fascist speaker in Trinity College

By MADELINE JOHANSSAN

THE Philosophical Society in Trinity College were forced to withdraw their invitation to fascist BNP leader Nick Griffin to speak on 'This house believes immigration has gone too far' after pressure from campaigners.

Students, staff, lecturers and anti-racism campaigners collectively and individually highlighted the danger his visit would pose for many people on campus and in the wider society.

A large number of student societies and anti racism groups took part in an e-mail campaign, and over 40 students participated in a public meeting with the aim of organising a protest against fascism on the night of the debate.

Many have emphasised the great reputation of TCD as a welcoming place for international students, and how



this would be tarnished by the presence of someone who is a convicted holocaust denier and has called for violence against 'non-whites'.

More importantly, the objection to his invitation was on the grounds of the dangers it poses for migrants and LGBT people in Ireland at a time when racist and homophobic attacks are on the increase.

Only last Wednesday a Polish family was attacked in Co Antrim, and a pipe bomb was placed at their house.

The BNP have previously attempted to organise in the Republic and if they are successful was can expect to see an increase in violence towards minorities.

The invitation to TCD would have given them an opportunity to organise, with many ordinary people forced to live with the consequences of this.

This is not a question of freedom of speech or academic debate, but of the right of migrants and minorities to live in safety.

Socialist Worker welcomes the fact that the Philosophical Society has taken on board the concerns of ordinary students, migrants and anti racism activists.

The withdrawal of the invitation is a victory for the united efforts of campaigners and for the large majority of people in Ireland who want to live in an open, diverse and free society.

# Reflections on Egypt's Bloody Sunday

By RICHARD BOYD BARRETT (People Before Profit TD).



IT was with both sadness and anger that I heard of the terrible events of Sunday 9 October in Cairo, when over twenty Coptic Christian protesters were killed by the armed forces of the Egyptian State.

As an elected deputy (TD) in the Irish Parliament (The Dail) it was impossible not to recall the events of another Bloody Sunday – the one that occurred in the city of Derry in Northern Ireland on Sunday 30 January 1972, when 13 unarmed citizens were shot and killed by the British Army for the 'crime' of demanding their basic democratic and civil rights.

In the case of the Irish Bloody Sunday it took 38 years of campaigning before the truth about that massacre was acknowledged by the British Government (on 15 June 2010, as a result of the twelve year long Saville Inquiry).

There must be no repetition of this policy of cover up and denial in relation to the



Egyptian Bloody Sunday.

Rather the Egyptian Government should accept its responsibility and resign forthwith, and there should be an immediate open, democratic inquiry to establish the truth of what took place and hold the guilty to account.

We in Ireland have long experience of the suffering and bitterness caused by sectarian and religious conflict.

Egypt must not go down this path.

We know also that sectarianism, like racism, is always a weapon of reaction and counter-revolution.

That it is invariably used to

divide the people and deprive them of their rights.

In Ireland Protestant was set against Catholic, in Egypt the attempt is made to set Muslim against Christian, and in many parts of Europe it is Muslims who are the chosen scapegoats.

In all these cases all genuine democrats have a duty to resist the tactics of divide and rule and defend the unity of the people.

In Ireland many of us followed with admiration and joy the magnificent and heroic revolution of the Egyptian people against the hated Mubarak regime.

This great revolution has inspired freedom loving people throughout the Middle East and throughout the world.

This revolution must continue, it must develop, it must move forward to achieve full democracy and full social justice for all.

On no account should it allow itself to be diverted into the abyss of sectarian conflict.

Also see a letter by Eamonn McCann (chairman of the Bloody Sunday Trust) @ <http://www.arabawy.org/2011/10/18/socialists-trotskyists-solidarity-from-irelands-bloody-sunday-to-egypts>.

# Biggest strike action for a generation

By JAMES O' TOOLE

THE global movement against austerity takes a significant step forward on 30 November with millions of workers in the UK expected to down tools in opposition to Tory's plans to attack their pensions.

This will be the biggest strike in the UK since the general strike of 1926.

Workers are furious at the idea that they should work into their retirement in order to bail out gamblers and speculators.

This movement is highly determined and they are angry not only about the threat to public sector pensions, the entire cuts agenda is disputed.

Tory ministers are currently gloating over their parliamentary victory against opposition to their plans to sell off, and scrap, the NHS.

But with students set to hit the streets of London on 9 November, the Tories face a rising tide of popular outrage on a number of fronts.

Unison, Unite and



a number of other key unions have been hosting meetings to prepare workers for action and build the 'biggest strike ever'. According to Mark Serwotka, General Secretary of the PCSU, workers "are not going to stand by and allow the Tories and Lib Dems to attack our right to education, attack our welfare state and drive hundred of thousands of

us onto the dole queues."

A 'unite the resistance' conference is planned for 19 November to bring together trade union activists from many public sector and private sector workplaces in order to coordinate and build the greatest possible support for the 30th.

Here in Ireland it is easy to think we are an exception to the massive struggles erupting

elsewhere.

But our union leaders can't suffocate struggle forever, with strikes in the UK and the North and the obvious similarity of issues sparking the movement of opposition.

It is vital that we build a rank and file opposition to our union leader's paralysis. If workers in the UK and in the North can fight then so can we.

# Indian workers continue Suzuki occupation

By JAMES O' TOOLE

Seven thousand workers in Suzuki's Indian plant have been in occupation since 7 October.

Workers have continued their fight despite the full power of the Indian State and hired thugs being directed against them.

On 9 October a contractor opened fire on

unarmed workers in an attempt to terrorise them back to work.

Suzuki is a massive corporation with international reach and multi-million dollar profits.

Workers at factories owned by Suzuki Powertrain India Ltd., Suzuki Castings Ltd. and Suzuki Motorcycle India Pvt. Ltd. also went on strike in solidarity.



Brian O'Boyle's, *Capitalism in Crisis: The Socialist Solution to Market Madness*, €3.00 +€1 p&p from Socialist Worker Books, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

# Working class struggle in the North: 1907

by MATT COLLINS

WE are expected to assume sectarianism as the natural order of life in the North with any attempt to construct working-class politics considered an inherently futile and irrelevant project.

There is however a hidden history that tells a different story. It is a history of strikes and struggles and of moments of unity between Catholic and Protestant workers which posed an alternative to the politics of division.

For a short period in 1907, Belfast saw the emergence of great class struggle and working class unity.

The Belfast Dock Strike of 1907 stands as one of the most impressive and inspiring moments in the sortied history of the class in Ireland.

The Belfast of the early 20th Century was a burgeoning city, at the industrial heart of the British Empire, and with an ever growing and increasingly exploited working class.

The interests of Empire and industry were inextricably linked to the politics of Unionism and this in turn was supported by vast numbers of Protestants from industrialists to workers.

The all-protestant alliance was however an uneasy one.

In January of 1907, Jim Larkin arrived on the docks of Belfast. Amidst the simmering tensions between workers and bosses, Larkin set out to organise the cities 3,000 dockers. Anger at the grim conditions on the docks was rife as workers endured long hours, low wages and a culture of casual employment.

Within a month of Larkin's arrival the vast majority of dockers were union members and galvanised by Larkin's fiery radicalism they began to prepare for action. The response of Belfast's employing class was unforgiving.

They locked out the workers in an attempt to crush the Union. This harsh move backfired and a wave of strikes began to spread.

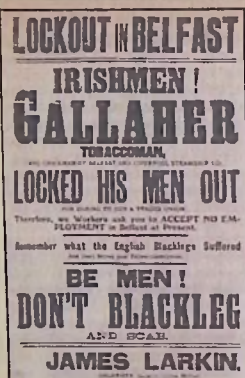
By the summer of 1907 thousands were on strike and militancy reached a heightened level.

On 26 July the Belfast District Trades Council called a mass rally which erupted into a general strike. The smell of Revolution was in the air and the bosses where worried.

The 200,000 strong demonstration passed through both Catholic and

Protestant areas, and in an incredible show of support, hundreds of police mutinied, threatening to tip the balance of power within the city. Under pressure, the state moved to play the sectarian card in an attempt to divide the movement. Local press labelled the strike a "Nationalist uprising," whilst thousands of troops and loyal police were deployed into Catholic West Belfast in an attempt to whip up sectarian tension.

During the strike the forces of bourgeois reaction from both sides of the sectarian divide came out against the workers. Unionist politicians, the Catholic Church and the various captains of industry all lined up to



attack the strike. This onslaught alone was not enough to break the strike however.

Ultimately it was the actions of the trade union leadership which brought the strike to its end. Fearful that the militancy in Belfast could spread to Britain, the union leadership, under James Sexton, intervened to cut a deal.

The union leadership preferred negotiation and stability over the unpredictability of strike action.

They put an end to the solidarity actions thus depriving the strike of the solidarity needed to continue. Left isolated, the strike was forced to come to an end.

Despite the defeat of the strike the actions of Larkin and the dockers showed the potential of workers struggle in challenging sectarianism. Larkin's politics related to the immediate interests of the workers, promoting self action and solidarity through organisation.

Yet when the level of militancy decreased they had built no political organisation capable of learning the lessons of the strike and building for the future. We should learn the lessons of 1907 but also celebrate it.

It was a window into another world, where the bonds of solidarity between people became more important than the flags of convenience used to divide us. For this it should be remembered.

# Occupy Ev

*As the global resistance against capitalism Michael Wallace takes a look at*



**A** wave of resistance to the greed and inequality of capitalism continues to sweep around the world.

This year has witnessed millions of people pouring out onto the streets to confront the bankers, speculators and political dictators.

Now the 'Occupy Wall Street' movement has gone global, with an international day of protest against an economic system that enriches the top 1% at the expense of the bottom 99%.

This remarkable development is a result of 30 years of global neoliberal attacks on workers.

Neoliberalism means freedom for capital to go where it pleases. This allows bosses to move factories, threatening staff with job losses and forcing them to compete with workers in the Third World.

Public services were reduced allowing the rich to pay fewer taxes.

Workers' rights were undermined leading to greater exploitation.

To attract this capital, governments reduced corporation taxes while attacking trade unions through privatisation and wage suppression.

All this allowed the neoliberals to modestly increase profits.

However, squeezing wages led to falling demand as workers were unable to purchase the fruits of their own exploitation.

Capital found it difficult to find customers and so it resorted to lending cheap credit.

Growing bank power, rampant

speculation, corruption and rising debt have been the result.

Neoliberals sustained their system through a massive pyramid scheme that constantly created financial bubbles.

A vast transfer of wealth created a chasm between the 1% at the top and the rest of us.

While one in six US citizens lives in poverty, the 400 richest Americans control \$1.53 trillion.

The top 5% own 70% of US wealth; the bottom 30% owns just 4%.

This income gap hasn't been this wide since 1928 (the last time capitalism was in such deep crisis).

The pyramid scheme eventually collapsed in 2008, and since then the rich have been forcing the working class to pay for the destruction they caused by attacking their already dwindling living standards.

Now people everywhere have had enough.

After thirty years of benefiting from globalisation, capital now faces a truly global protest movement.

## A truly global protest movement

**M**illions around the world have joined the fight to end the tyranny of financial markets and the capitalist state.

Last Saturday over a million people protested in 950 cities across 82 countries.

Anger is growing everywhere

and nowhere is this more dramatic than at the system's very epicentre: Wall Street.

On the eve of the mass day of protest, billionaire mayor of NY, Michael Bloomberg issued orders to evict protesters from Liberty Plaza.

Over 3000 people, including trades' unionists, gathered at 6am to defend the peaceful occupation.

Confronted with determined

the government and the ECB.

While the assets of Italy's 14 billionaires increased to €45 billion, eight million Italians live in poverty and youth unemployment is at 30%. Berlusconi's answer (who is worth €7.8 billion) is to slash €15 billion and to give €92 billion to prop up the Italian banking elite.

Now the Italian working class is fighting back!

In Greece, thousands gathered



resistance, Bloomberg and his police thugs backed off.

This sent an inspiring signal that people power had prevailed over the bankers.

The following day 100,000 protested in Times Square.

On 15 October protests also erupted across Europe.

In Italy, trades' unions helped mobilise over 200,000 to the 'Occupy Rome' demonstration.

Police used tear gas and water cannon on crowds of people, angry at the brutal austerity of

in Athens to show solidarity with the occupy movement.

With default inevitable, austerity demanded by the EU/IMF has left the Greek economy in tatters. It is expected to shrink by 5.5% in 2011.

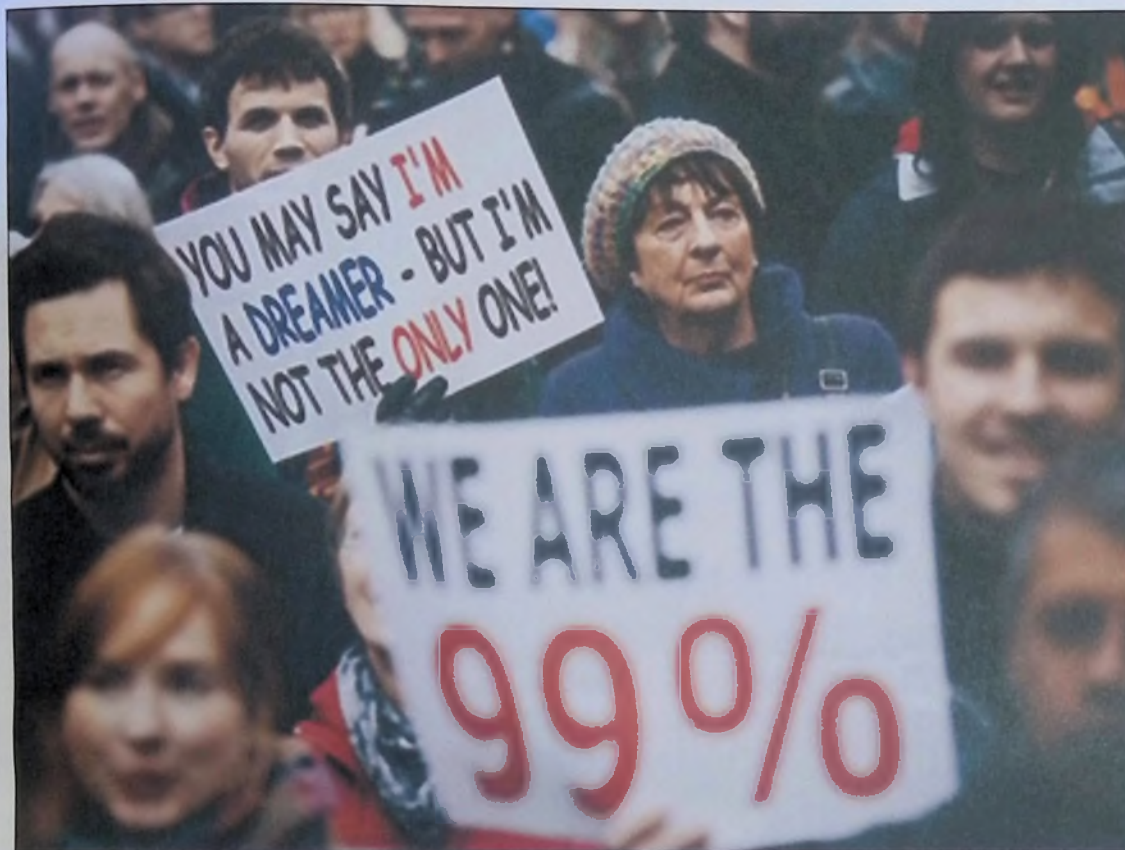
Almost 25% of the population live in poverty with 800,000 out of work.

Greek debt is set to hit 194% of GDP in 2012.

A 48-hour general strike has been called in response to €8.8 billion euro cuts and crushing austerity measures in the 2012

# Everywhere!

Capitalism intensifies, socialist activist, the historic protests of 15 October



budget.

"Their whole system is rotting, that's why they take measures against us," said Michael Aggelopoulos, a ramp worker at Athens International Airport.

"We have no other choice but to strike and protest.

Only with a massive response can we stop them."

Spain saw the largest turnout yet on 15 October as 500,000 Real Democracy Now protesters occupied Madrid against bank bailouts and austerity.

The country has 21% unemployment and one in two young people are out of work.

Activists have vowed to occupy public buildings to free up spaces for common use as their next strategy.

In Germany, 40,000 took to the streets, including 6000 protesting and camping under the shadow of the ECB headquarters in Frankfurt.

In Britain, thousands pledged to Occupy London.

Hundreds are now on the steps of St. Paul's Cathedral, having been prevented from setting up camp outside the London Stock Exchange.

Dani from Portsmouth said, "The government is just a front for the rich now, it doesn't work for the people. We need things like this to show people that there's enough of us to fight back."

Tory Chancellor George Osborne forced through the largest cuts to public spending since the Second World War (£83 billion) last year.

However, austerity has proven disastrous as unemployment hit its highest levels since 1994: 2.57 million and youth unemployment soared to a staggering 991,000.

While the Bank of England pumps another £75 billion into banks, economic growth will shrivel to just 0.7% in 2012.

The British working class has also had enough!

Almost three million workers

Front, Loughlinstown Hospital Campaign and Against Cuts in Education (ACE) - took part, as did members of SIPTU, Unite and Mandate.

There was also an Occupy Dame Street demo against banker greed.

Despite being just one week old, this movement has grown remarkably quickly.

This is an exciting new development in the struggle against

Andrea Dockerty Byrne said: "These cuts are disgusting and they are destroying mine and other children's futures. When your child is diagnosed with autism, the one thing that keeps you going is that they will have an SNA to help them. Now they don't even have that. We need to protest for those who are too vulnerable to help themselves."

## Capitalism in decline

We are living through a most serious crisis of the capitalist system.

This has given rise to resistance and struggle across the globe.

The capitalist class has been able to dig itself out of past crises through increasing production and exploitation, military spending and war, massive bank bailouts and wage cutting.

But this crisis is different: central banks around the world have poured \$20 trillion into attempts to resuscitate capitalism...and failed miserably.

And they have run out of time!

As the anti-capitalist movement has gone global, we have entered a new phase of struggle.

Humanity now has real hopes to liberate itself from the oppression and cruelty of capitalism.

Let's hope the Occupy Everywhere Movement can lead to a socialist alternative in which the wealth and resources are returned to the people.



will take part in a general strike on 30 November, the largest single-day of strike action since the 1926 General Strike.

## Occupy Dublin

In Dublin, almost a thousand people took part in the Enough Campaign protest against the bank bailouts and austerity of FG/Labour and the EU/IME.

A number of community groups and campaigns - such as People Before Profit, Tara Mines Pensioners, Save our Sea

the ruling class and their servants and bullies in the government and EU/IME.

Speaking at the Enough protest, Richard Boyd Barrett TD said: "These attacks are part of a worldwide attempt to make ordinary people pay for the crimes of the wealthy, but all around the world we see resistance emerging. This is exactly what we need and I would urge all of your readers to go along to the Pre-Budget protest on 26 November."

Expressing the sentiment of millions of ordinary people

## Class politics needed to build the Occupy movement



by DONAL MAC PHEARRAIGH

THE new Occupy Everywhere global movement is a magnificent example of the creativity and energy of the movement against capitalism. The slogan 'We are the 99%' captures the inclusive spirit of a movement that is drawing to itself all those who want to see a better world.

The success of this movement lies in its ability to 'join the dots' of struggle. Everyone feels their issue is addressed and has a space to be heard. We need to continue to attract people into the movement, but there are some issues to be contended with.

### The unions and the movement

A crucial debate surrounds how to relate to trade unions. The anger at the passivity and collaboration of the union leaders in implementing the EU-IMF deal is understandable, but refusing to make links with trade unionists is a mistake.

You have to distinguish between the trade union leaders - full time officials, and ordinary union members.

Many trade unionists are as angry and frustrated at the union leadership as the Occupy protestors. Banning union banners simply plays into the hands of the leadership. They are happy to keep the union movement passive.

But we need the power of organised labour to defeat the government. The general strikes in Greece this month shows the power of organised workers.

By withdrawing their labour workers can bring capitalism to its knees.

Many young protestors have never seen a large strike by workers, never mind a general strike. It is no surprise then that they do not automatically look to the power of workers organised in trade unions.

It is up to other activists, and leftwing political parties, to bring the experience of previous class struggles and point to examples like the strikes in Greece to show where our power lies.

In the US the occupiers have made vibrant links

with the trade union movement. Trade unions played a crucial role in stopping an effort to evict OWS. Unions called on workers to stop by Liberty Plaza to show their support. Thousands answered the call, leaving the cops and city authorities powerless to remove the occupiers.

### Class politics brings clarity not division

Some fear attempts to co-opt the movement by political parties. Others argue that raising politics at all divides the movement into 'left' and 'right' and that we should simply talk about a 'peoples movement'.

Calling for 'No politics' is understandable in a country where all political parties implement the same EU-IMF policies no matter what they promise before they get elected. FG-Labour is the same as FF-Greens, whilst Sinn Fein is implementing the same austerity in the North.

But 'No politics' glosses over the political differences that already exist in the movement. 'Right' and 'Left' simply means those who are for or against capitalism.

The more 'left' you are the more anti-capitalist.

The 1% who owns the wealth also owns the main media outlets. They use this influence to shape political debates in the country, and this influence also extends into the protest movement.

This influence can be seen in the debates over whether to protest and use civil disobedience or simply wait for the next election, whether to support strikes by workers or whether to exclude the unions.

Banning leftwing political literature makes it easier for the capitalist press to win more influence. We need to counter their arguments and attempts to divide the movement. We need more creativity, more ideas, more debate... not less.

To get rid of this horrible system once and for all we need a movement of 'people power' linking with workers' power.

We need to bring the occupy movement from the squares into the neighbourhoods and from there into every school, college and workplace.

# The Eurozone's band of warring nations

As the Eurozone debt crisis comes to a head, socialist author, Kieran Allen, looks at the latest attempts by Europe's rulers to foist their debts onto workers and each other.

## Systemic crisis in the Eurozone

Over the weekend the EU elite have been meeting to hammer out a 'comprehensive solution' to the Eurozone debt crisis.

They have every reason to be afraid.

A confidential report leaked to the Financial Times revealed that Greece will need €250 billion in bail out loans by the end of the decade.

That is more than twice what was originally thought and is totally unsustainable.

The Greek sovereign debt is only the tip of a very dangerous iceberg.

Growth rates in global capitalism have been increasingly reliant on asset price bubbles for the past two decades.

The hyping up of speculation in house prices, for example, gave a stimulus to countries like Ireland, Spain and the US.

When these bubble burst, banks went to their local states to demand 're-capitalisation'.

But this only transferred the problem of private debt onto the public purse.

To make matters worse, the very same banks that were saved by states purchased government bonds and began speculating on their yields.

At the slightest sign of trouble in Spain or Ireland, for example, they moved their money out of those bonds and began a game of blackmail.

The idea was to make profits on government weaknesses and between July 2010 and July 2011, this pushed interest rates on Irish government bonds up from 5.32 per cent to 12.45.

No wonder that the profits of many global corporations recovered sharply with the recession.

They used fear among workers to downsize and demand 'more for less'.

And their financial arms were able to extract super interest rates and make speculative gains by manipulating bond markets.

However, there was one fatal error in all of this frenzied activity.

Nouriel Roubini, one of the few mainstream economists who predicted the 2008 crash, put his finger on it when he told the *Wall Street Journal* in August that:

"Karl Marx had it right. At some point capitalism can self-destruct itself."

"That's because you cannot keep on shifting income from labour to capital without creating excess capacity and a lack of aggregate demand."

"We thought that markets work. They are not working."

The very dynamic of capitalism is to squeeze more out of workers – but the greater its success, the more it creates a problem of excess capital that cannot find profitable outlets.

Austerity also chokes off the very sources of growth and makes it harder to pay off state debts because tax revenues shrink.



Austerity has meant that the Greek government debt, for example, stands at a ratio of 145% of GDP, while Italy stands at 119% and Ireland at 96%.

Everyone now knows that the Greek debts cannot be paid and that the bankers who lent that debt – including private Greek bankers – will have to take a haircut of around 60%.

But once that haircut is imposed it may trigger insurance cover claims – known as credit default swaps – which are provided by large finance houses.

And when one domino falls, the financial vultures that have a stake in Italian or Irish debt will get nervous and start demanding even more payment.

If the banks fail they will once again come back to taxpayers.

This will once again see governments forced to try to stem

the tide.

But this time the problems may spread from Greek sovereign debt to Greek banks and from here to European banks and European governments.

This is referred to as the problem of contagion.

## The Capitalist Solution

For three years the EU elite have been united on the idea that workers must pay for the crisis.

But they are divided on who among themselves must take a hit.

Their plans for workers are summed up in the Euro Plus pact which was pushed through the EU in early October – with barely a murmur from Irish politicians.

Under the guise of 'economic

governance' countries will be strictly monitored and then fined if they do not cut their overall debt levels to less than 60% of GDP.

In the Irish case the fine would amount to about €700 million yet the MEPs of Fine Gael and Fianna Fail did not vote against it.

The purpose of this threat is to push EU states into savage cut-backs and conform even more strictly to neoliberal dogmas that have already helped to trigger the global crash.

But the EU Plus pact goes even further in setting up a scorecard which will pit the performance of EU countries against each other on a variety of issues.

One of those will be wages and 'flexibility'.

The EU will then be able to exert pressure to change the nature of collective bargaining

at a central level or press for the removal of measures which would index wages to rising prices.

These plans show how the elite want to use the Eurozone crisis to deepen attacks on workers and reduce the limited democratic input people currently have.

## Divided they rule

But even as they plan this new round of attacks, the EU elite have never been more divided.

Although they agree that workers should pay, they fight each other like tigers when one set of capitalists' appear to carry a bigger burden than their rivals.

The French state is facing massive losses because its banks took a higher proportion of Greek debt than many others.

They have decided to play a game of poker with Germany to

pressurise them to create a bigger Euro fund that could be used to bail out all banks.

The European Financial and Stability Fund (EFSF) currently has €440 billion but nearly €200 billion has been used up in Greek, Irish and Portugal bail outs.

(The bail outs were of course for bankers who had holdings in the debts of these countries – rather than the local populations).

Moreover €230 billion of the fund comes from Italy and Spain – two key troubled countries who might end up lending to themselves.

This means it can really only lend around €250 billion into a problem that could need up to €2 trillion.

This – along with the fear that it might lose its triple AAA rating – explains why the French state wants a bigger fund that could be 'leveraged' up through extra borrowings so that it could reach the €2,000 to €3,000 billion they claim is needed.

One plan they are working on, for example, is to give bondholders of state debt a guarantee that they could access the fund if the value of their bonds fall due to concerns over risk taking.

In other words, they want a massive safety net to protect the speculators who are already causing chaos.

Germany has more resources than any other state in Europe but it has little interest in shoring up French banks or the bond markets of weaker EU countries.

Its message to its fellow capitalists' is 'pay your own way out of the mess'.

However, the French and other states also know that a break-up of the Euro would spell disaster for Germany.

The hidden deal behind the formation of the Euro currency was that easy credit would be made available to the peripheral countries to enable them to buy German manufactured goods.

Currently 60% of Germany exports are sold in the Eurozone.

A break up of the euro would lead to devaluation of currencies in the peripheral countries and this would make German exports much dearer.

All of this shows the problems that the ruling classes face but what should workers do?

## Step up the revolt from below

Divisions among the ruling class have always acted as the stimulus to revolt.

Already a tsunami of opposition to the system is brewing.

The crucial thing is to take the energy of the street protests and link them to the workplaces.

That will mean encouraging workers to break from the dreary defeatism that is being promoted by the union leaders.

One thing is already clear, though.

We have entered a long term systemic crisis where the compliance of millions of workers to the dictates of capitalism will be questioned as never before.

# The bank that went bang

*Anglo Republic: Inside the Bank that Broke Ireland*, by Simon Carswell

**Reviewed by Sinead Kennedy.**

SIMON Carswell's *Anglo Republic: Inside the Bank that Broke Ireland* is a highly readable and complex story of the Anglo disaster.

Carswell argues that the key to Anglo's success was its 'relationship model' banking.

Unlike other banks, its key people were not the board or the shareholders but its borrowers (who were often large shareholders too).

Lending decisions were made quickly, without much paperwork and into property development, as its most profitable market.

As the Irish property bubble grew, so too did Anglo.

By November 2007 the bank had a total loan book of €69bn - 25 per cent of which was to property developers.

It was also highly profitable for all those involved.

In 2007, it was 'the best bank in the world', ranked by shareholder profits.

One of the book's most fascinating threads fol-



Disgraced Banker - Sean Fitzpatrick

lows insurance mogul Seán Quinn.

Quinn was not only one of Anglo's biggest borrowers, owing €2.9 billion that he could not pay back; he also controlled nearly 30 per cent of the bank's share capital.

If Anglo had been an American bank the authorities would have been notified when Quinn amassed a 5% share and he would have been prohibited from receiving loans from the bank.

This never happened in Ireland and Carswell lays much of the blame at the door of the Irish Financial Services Regulatory Authority.

He argues that the Financial Regulator, the government and the Central Bank failed to see the trouble

brewing at Anglo.

This is true.

But the reason Carswell offers - that they were simply too tight as drinking and golfing buddies, and too wedded to the Celtic Tiger mythology - is insufficient and points to a wider problem with the book.

Carswell sees the Anglo collapse as a particularly Irish tragedy and divorces it from the wider crisis of capitalism.

Anglo could only run its model because of neoliberal capital flows and yet Carswell prefers to focus on personalities and individual failings.

Nor is there much in the book about Ireland's real power network - between bankers, developers, capital-

ists' and politicians.

No criminal charges have been filed against Fitzpatrick or any other Anglo official.

Meanwhile, the Irish State's reckless 'saving' of Anglo-Irish bank, has cost taxpayers €30 billion.

This money will never be recovered, and in order to pay for the banker's mistakes, ordinary people will be forced to bear painful austerity for years to come.

Why is this acceptable? Apparently, we all partied too much and we all made money in the good times! This is clearly nonsense and for all of its useful analysis this book is not the place to really understand the greatest robbery of Irish people in the history of the State.



# New forms of racism

Review of 'The Crises of Multiculturalism' by Alana Lentin and Gavan Titley

**Reviewed by Madeline Johansson**

THE publication of this book comes at a time when several European leaders have cried out about the 'death' or 'failure' of multiculturalism.

In October 2010 the German Chancellor Angela Merkel claimed that multiculturalism had 'utterly failed' in Germany, and in February of this year, British Prime Minister David Cameron delivered a speech where he condemned multicultural policies.

This new book discusses the use of the term 'multiculturalism' as something definite and argues that multiculturalism has a very distinct meaning in particular national circumstances.

The authors usefully link claims of 'failed multiculturalism' to what masquerades as liberal arguments about gender equality, freedom of speech and 'Western values', but is really a new form of racism, directed, for the most part, against Muslims.

In the post 9/11 'war on terror' era,

Islamophobia has played the part of scapegoating and justifying the horrific wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, which a majority of European countries have taken part in.

In addition, Lentin and Titley argue that the rise of neo-liberal economic policies since the 1980's has played a part in shaping this new racism where some migrants are accepted and welcomed whilst others are not.

Those who are deemed economically useful at a certain point in time are encouraged to migrate, while those who are deemed useless for the economy are discouraged and even deported.

This situation was very clear during the Celtic Tiger when migrants from Europe, the USA and Australia were encouraged to come here and seek employment while the government were deporting asylum seekers.

'The Crises of Multiculturalism' takes on the argument of 'failing' multiculturalism brilliantly and is an important contribution to the anti racist movement both in Ireland and the rest of Europe.

Gavan Titley will be speaking on the topic of multiculturalism at this year's Marxism festival and I would encourage everyone to buy this book.



## MARXISM WEEKEND 2011

18-20 November  
Aisling Hotel, Dublin  
(opp. Hueston Stn.)

FRIDAY 18.11.2011

6PM TO 7.15  
7.30 TO 9PM

CAN PARLIAMENT BRING SOCIALISM?  
Cllr Gino Kenny, Dublin Mid West

CLIMATE CHANGE... IS IT TOO LATE?  
Owen McCormack, bus Trade Unionist

HOW DID MARX BECOME A MARXIST?  
Helena McNeill

MARXISM 2011 OPENING RALLY: FROM CRISIS TO REVOLUTION!  
Panel of speakers including Richard Boyd Barrett TD, Alex Callinicos, Panos Garganos, Wassim Wagdy and more...

SAT 19.11.2011

10AM TO 11.15	CAN WE JUST CANCEL THE DEBT? Kieran Allen, Marxist Author	HOW THE IMF RUINED AFRICA Luke Bukha, Anti Racism Network	POLICING, FORTRESS EUROPE: COP SHOWS FROM WALLANDER TO SPIRAL Seamus Sweeney DCU	EDUCATION AND CLASS INEQUALITY Nicola Curry, ULA election candidate	LEON TROTSKY YEARS OF EXILE Malt Collins
11.45AM TO 1PM	THE CRISIS OF MULTI CULTURALISM Gavan Titley, Author	THE MEDIA AND CONTROL THE IDEAS OF CHOMSKY Sinead Kennedy, lecturer NUIM	FROM 1968 TO 2011 STUDENTS AND STRUGGLE Karl Gill, student	DO WE NEED REVOLUTIONARY NEWSPAPERS IN TWITTER ERA? Peader O Grady, SW editor	WHERE DO CONSPIRACY THEORIES COME FROM? John Molyneux
2PM TO 3.15	DEBATE: THE FUTURE OF THE LEFT Panel of speakers	CLASS WAR IN GREECE Panos Garganos Prominent Greek Revolutionary	THE MYTHS OF SWEDEN'S WELFARE SYSTEM Madeleine Johansson	ART AND REVOLUTION David Brancaleone Limerick University lecturer	WHAT IS NEO LIBERALISM? William Shannon
3.45 TO 5PM	EGYPT: 21ST CENTURY REVOLUTION R Boyd Barrett TD & Wassim Wagdy, Socialist, Egypt	ZOMBIE CAPITALISM... MARX AND CRISIS Brian O'Boyle, Economics lecturer	LENIN'S POLITICAL THOUGHT James O'Toole, chair of Right To Work Campaign	ORANGE ORDER: THE POLITICS OF DIVISION Sean Mitchell	IS HUMAN NATURE GREEDY? Dave O'Farrell
7PM TO 8.30	CAN CHINA SAVE THE WORLD ECONOMY? Alex Callinicos, Marxist Author	WORKERS IN IRELAND'S REVOLUTION: 1916 TO 1923 Conor Kostick, Author	FOOD, OBESITY AND CLASS Aileen Kennedy	MARXISM AND ANARCHISM: STRATEGIES FOR CHANGE Ian McDonnell	CUBA... AN ISLAND OF SOCIALISM? Leah Speight

SUN 20.11.2011

10AM TO 11.15	WILL THE EURO SURVIVE THE EUROZONE CRISIS? Alex Callinicos and panel	DECADE OF ISLAMOPHOBIA 2001 TO 2011 Memet Uludag, anti-war activist	THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND Brian Kelly, QUB lecturer	THE FIRE LAST TIME IRELAND IN THE 1960S John Lyons, ULA election candidate	A REBELS GUIDE TO ROSA LUXEMBURG Niamh Mc Donald
11.45AM TO 1PM	MEAT MARKET... FEMALE FLESH UNDER CAPITALISM Laurie Penny, Author & Cllr M. Halpin	CAN TWITTER SPARK A REVOLUTION? Donal Mac Fhearraigh	CITY IN REVOLT: THE LESSONS OF DUBLIN 1913 Cllr Brid Smith	CRISIS AND REVOLT: LESSONS OF THE 1930S Kieran Allen, Marxist Author	PUTTING RED INTO RAINBOW MARXISM & LGBT STRUGGLE Kiran Emrich
2PM TO 3.15	THE HORRID HISTORY OF HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION Eamonn McCann	AFTER OSLO: IS FASCISM A THREAT AGAIN? Sara O'Rourke	WHY DO WORKERS SUPPORT THE LABOUR PARTY? William Cunningham	VYGOTSKY... LEARNING AND LANGUAGE Mamie Holborow, author on language	THE MASK OF ANARCHY REVOLUTIONARY SHELLEY Paul O'Brien
3.45PM TO 4.45	BEYOND ORANGE & GREEN BUILDING THE LEFT IN NORTH Gerry Carroll, People B4 Profit, Belfast	ISRAEL, CAN WE SMASH THE APARTHEID STATE? Claudia Saba & Cllr. Hugh Lewis	HEGEL, MARX: WHAT IS DIALECTIC LOGIC? John Molyneux, Marxist author	IS WOMEN'S OPPRESSION 'NATURAL'? Goretti Horgan, Derry anti-poverty activist	WHY DO WE NEED A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY? Vanessa O'Sullivan

5PM TO 6PM

CLOSING RALLY: BRINGING THE FIRE HOME  
Panel of speakers

# Socialist Worker

## Occupy Belfast - Occupy Derry....

# OCCUPY EVERYWHERE



## Link the squares to workers struggle

## All roads lead to 30 November

### Global Resistance

The world has been set alight by a spark of resistance to austerity and inequality. The Occupy movement, which started off in Wall Street has spread to more than 900 cities across the globe.

This is a fantastic new, vibrant and exciting movement encompassing the '99%' against the corporations and bankers-the greedy '1%'.

Forever the establishment have told us to accept the boundaries of the system and the demands of the markets.

But the Occupy movement has illustrated that millions of us want a different world which doesn't put profit and greed before the 99% of ordinary people.

It has challenged the inequality at the heart of capitalism and frightened our rulers who thought they would plain sail through the recession.

### Occupy Belfast

Activists in Belfast have followed the lead of occupy movements around the world. After a protest outside 'Invest Northern Ireland' where demonstrators demanded 'Tax the 1%, Invest in the 99%' people decided to continue the resistance by setting up 'Occupy Belfast'.

Tents were set up and a camp was established in 'Writers Square' in Belfast City Centre. Activists have been camping out in heavy wind and rain to make the point that the bankers and wealthy should pay back the money they owe to us.

Support at the camp has been immense-with many trade unionists, workers and students coming down to show their support and solidarity.

Nearby residents are also giving tea and food to protesters at the site.

People in Northern Ireland are feeling the wrath of the global economic crisis like every-



one else. Figures released have revealed 4,000 public sector jobs have 'gone' in the last year alone.

This comes just before the impact of the cuts really starts to hit people.

Stormont is prescribing more of the same medicine for people - cuts and slashing of services whilst billions are lost through tax evasion by the rich every single year.

This is why the movement is striking such a cord with ordinary people and resistance to austerity is also growing in the unions.

The Unison strike in October was the biggest in years.

This has fed into the optimism of the occupy movement and now hopefully this will lead us into a massive day of action on 30 November. At every opportunity we must deepen the resistance by showing that there is another way.

### Linking the occupations with workers struggle

Ballots for strike action on 30 November are set to close at the start of the month. Despite a rotten media campaign against striking workers, many people now see striking as the only way of defeating the cuts.

We therefore need to link everything into

30 November. It has to be a day of resistance for everyone on our side. Where everyone hit by the cuts and fed up at the greed of those at the top has the chance to stand alongside hundreds of thousands of people to call for scrapping of government austerity.

There is an alternative to more unemployment, higher energy bills and service cuts, but only if we can convince people of their own power.

Part of this means ensuring we have a huge turnout on 30 Nov to support workers who are striking to defend our jobs, services and pensions.

As capitalism gets ever more brutal, occupations and strikes are the only way to get a better world for the 99%.

### IT STARTED IN TUNISIA

It has spread all over the world

2 Countries are free  
1 country is finishing a civil war

There are protests all over the world

Just because something is not on the news doesn't mean it isn't happening

# WE ARE THE 99%

If YOU want political CHANGE in the UK and Northern Ireland join us at

@OccupyBelfast  
occupybelfast@gmail.com

**Inside Page Four - In the run up to the major strikes on 30 November, Matt Collins begins a three part series on workers struggle in the North, looking first at the great dockers' strike of 1907.**