

Socialist **Worker**

www.socialist.ca

\$2 | no. 567 | October 2014



NO WAR NO WARMING

STOP THE WAR ON IRAQ

****stop bombing Iraq *stop arming Saudi Arabia
*shut down the tar sands *end military spending
*support veterans and war resisters *help refugees
*divert military spending to jobs/services *stop Harper***

Indigenous sovereignty

Page 2

Audrey Huntley exposes Harper's "action plan" on indigenous women, and **Valerie Lannon** looks at the new "partnership"

Climate justice

Page 3

Peter Hogarth reports from the People's Climate March

Socialists in action

Page 3

Parry Singh Mudar reports on a recent talk by Seattle socialist and councillor **Kshama Sawant**

Civil liberties

Page 5

Craig Frayne recalls the October Crisis of 1970 and how **Pierre Trudeau** suppressed civil liberties

Iraq War

Page 6-7

What's behind ISIS, why does Harper want war, and what are alternatives?

Social Democracy

Page 8

Chris Rogers looks at the failure of the NDP's right-wing populism in New Brunswick, and **Alex Hunsberger** discusses the looming repeat in Toronto

Disability Pride

Page 11

Melissa Graham discusses the Toronto Disability Pride March

Labour against austerity

Page 11

Octavian Cadabeschi explains how Toronto restaurant workers won, and **Carolyn Egan** tells the lessons of Alma Steelworkers



CPMA No. 58554253-99
ISSN No. 0836-7094

Facts & figures

19
number of people beheaded in Western-backed Saudi Arabia in August alone

69
percentage of people in Canada who agree with decision not to join 2003 Iraq War

70
percentage active-duty soldiers who oppose sending combat troops to Iraq according to a recent Military Times Poll

1600
Number of US troops already in Iraq before the bombing began

\$2000
amount conservative mayoral candidate John Tory gave to Rob Ford’s campaign last year

40,000
number of people who marched last year at what was then the largest climate march in US history

400,000
number of people who marched last month in New York at the People’s Climate March

1 million
number of Iraqis killed by the 2003 invasion

1.5 million
number of Iraqis killed by sanctions in the 1990s

\$10 billion
amount of weapons sold by Canada to Saudi Arabia this year

\$36 billion
amount of health care funds Harper is cutting by ending transfer payments

\$490 billion
amount Harper is pledging to the Canadian military over the next 20 years, as part of “Canada First Defence Strategy”

In their own words

“The price is worth it”
US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, in 1996 in response to the question “We have heard that half a million children have died [in Iraq from US sanctions]. I mean, that’s more children than died in Hiroshima. And, you know, is the price worth it?”

“We don’t do body counts”
US General Tommy Franks, 2003, on the casualties of US war

“We are the Canadian forces, and our job is to be able to kill people”
Canadian general Rick Hiller in 2009, explaining the role of the military

““This is not a short term — I think the president said three years. I agree with that — three years, maybe longer. ”
US General Ray Odierno, September 2014, on the endless war on Iraq.



Interview: Harper’s ‘action plan’

While continuing to dismiss widespread calls for a national inquiry for missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls, the Harper government announced a \$25 million “action plan”—proposing to develop community safety plans, projects to “break intergenerational cycles of violence and abuse,” and work with Indigenous men to denounce violence against women.

As Audrey Huntley, co-founder of No More Silence, explained to CBC: “It feels to me like it’s really laying the blame on the aboriginal community and completely ignoring stranger violence. Yes, there is violence going on in our communities and on reserves, but also many of the women who are killed or who go missing, go missing in big cities. We need to engage Canadian society in why aboriginal women aren’t valued. That’s really what it comes down to. They’re not valued when it comes to the police investigating their cases, they’re not valued by that child welfare system and they’re

not valued by their foster families, so really it’s a very deep systemic problem.” *Socialist Worker* followed-up with an interview with Audrey Huntley:

1) What is the \$25 million plan?
From my understanding these are not new monies but rather existing funds that are being shuffled around and most of it is going into existing programs and policing.

2) What real action is needed to bring justice?
I think many of our community members are demanding a national inquiry because they want to see some recognition of the severity of the issue by those in positions of authority and power to make changes. Family members feel not only the terrible pain of the loss of a loved one but in addition they suffer from the societal indifference around the issue and the crass dismissal of their concerns by the federal government. Some positive action that would make Indigenous women less vulnerable in the immediate would

include providing safe transportation in remote communities. A bus on the highway of tears was one of the recommendations of the Missing Women Inquiry in BC that still hasn’t been implemented. In the long term it will take real decolonization in order for the killing to stop. As for an inquiry there needs to be clarity as to what an inquiry would actually entail. Many family members simply want closed or idle cases to be reopened or want a review of the police investigation as opposed to research into the root causes of the violence which has already been done and that we know lie in ongoing settler colonialism.

3) Why is the Harper government so resistant?
It is not in the interest of the Harper government for the depth and extent of this issue to be revealed. The Harper government’s main agenda revolves around resource extraction and Indigenous people are in the way. The Harper and other settler governments will continue to implement genocidal policies that aim

to eliminate Indigenous peoples as they stand between them and land and resources.

4) Can you discuss that various ways Indigenous women are organizing, like No More Silence?
No More Silence continues to organize ceremony on February 14th as an act of public mourning and to support family and community members. Over the past year or so we have partnered with Native Youth Sexual Health Network and Families of Sister in Spirit to create a community data base—more information about that can be found here.

5) How can non-Indigenous communities be allies?
Responsible allies need to call the government out on their genocidal policies as well as educate themselves on the history of this country. Allies can also help in concrete ways by volunteering their time or donating funds to community-led initiatives that do not look to the state for funding or solutions. All my relations.

How ‘new’ will the Partnership be?

by VALERIE LANNON

The launch of “Canadians for a New Partnership” (CNP) took place September 4, 2014 amidst much media fanfare.
The press conference featured a number of well known, former political leaders including former Assembly of First Nations Grand Chief Ovide Mercredi and former Prime Ministers Paul Martin (Liberals) and Joe Clark (Conservatives).

Why a new partnership is needed
The stated purpose of the partnership is to “build the strong economy and values-based society that will benefit this and future generations.” The mission statement says that to reach this vision, “We will establish and support a broad-based, inclusive, leadership initiative to engage Canadians in dialogue and relationship building aimed at building a new partnership between First Peoples and other Canadians. This initiative holds the promise of better living conditions, education, and economic

opportunities for First Peoples, which must be the tangible results of that new partnership.”(see www.cfnp.ca)
Stephen Kakfwi, former premier of the Northwest Territories and President of the NWT Dene Nation, is credited with initiating this partnership. Indigenous supporters include Elders, community leaders and activists like Chelsea Vowel (Idle No More) and Cindy Blackstock (First Nations Child and Family Caring Society, currently involved in a human rights case regarding lack of funding for on reserve child and family services).
Funding is from social service foundations, some universities, and the Northwest Territories government. The main activity to build partnership will be to hold lectures and discussions.

What difference will this make?
Any effort to have non-Indigenous people understand and respect treaties and the right of self-determination for

Indigenous peoples is to be applauded. The upcoming release of the report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which will document the personal stories and impacts of residential schools, will provide a great opportunity to build on the desire by a growing number of people in Canada and Quebec to ensure justice for Indigenous peoples.
The CNP website information makes reference to “respect for treaty rights”, and the main focus appears to be on education and jobs. But the question should always be: under whose control? There is nothing about justice for missing and murdered Indigenous women, or for stopping dangerous resource extraction where treaties or land claims are in place.
While Paul Martin and Joe Clark may have had personal epiphanies about the rights of Indigenous peoples and the role that non-Indigenous allies can play in ensuring justice, their past actions in government completely

undermined such fairness. Lectures and discussions groups might be a starting point for people just beginning to learn about the history of both injustice against and resistance by Indigenous peoples. But if there is no change to practice, i.e. in active solidarity with self-determination struggles, then the CNP will be just a talk shop.
We can be more impressed with grass roots efforts at outreach and reconciliation e.g. by Idle No More, faith communities, trade unions, and the climate justice movement.

What to look for
It will be up to Indigenous communities to define success for this partnership. We could look for things like the number of Indigenous participants, statements by Indigenous participants that they control the agenda, and improvements in alliances and joint actions. In the meantime, we should continue to actively show solidarity with current Indigenous struggles and not wait for the CNP.

Reproductive justice day of action

by MAUREEN ASLIN

Reproductive Justice: Equal Access Now!
In advance of the New Brunswick provincial elections, activists across Canada joined a Pan Canadian Day of Action demanding reproductive justice and equal access to abortion, particularly in the Maritimes, where people are demanding the repeal of NB’s regulation 84-20, which limits basic reproductive healthcare in contravention to the Canada Health Act.
Rallies in Halifax, Charlottetown, Vancouver, Montreal, Guelph, and Sackville, Fredericton and other cities called for solidarity with women in NB and PEI and those in rural and northern communities that do not have access to abortions.

Toronto rally/march
In Toronto at Ryerson University’s Lake Devo, speakers gathered beside a giant coat hanger, symbolic of the unsafe abortions women need to resort to when legal, safe healthcare is not available.
Jordana Greenblatt of OCAC stated “This is a major disparity in terms of access. It’s a violation of the Canada Health Act, which the federal government refuses to enforce. And it is truly shameful.”

Marie Clarke Walker, Exec VP, Canadian Labour Congress asked “Who the hell is Stephen Harper and his government and the right wing to tell me, my daughter, my granddaughter and you what the hell they can do with their own bodies? It’s outright classism and racism - we’ve said to the marginalized women in this country that you can’t have what is rightfully yours.”
Speaker after speaker noted their incredulity to be at yet another rally, in the year 2014, demanding what was legislated over 25 years ago as a basic healthcare to which all women in Canada are entitled.
Afterwards there was a spirited march to Yonge & Dundas. Marchers carrying placards and the giant coat hanger crisscrossed the intersection in a “scramble for access.”

The struggle continues
In post-election NB, Brian Gallant the Premier-elect, is assembling a committee to look at how to make it easier for women to have abortions, in an attempt to appease social conservatives and sidestepping the obvious remedy of an outright repeal of regulation 84-20.

Socialist Worker

e-mail: **reports@socialist.ca**
web: **www.socialist.ca**
lphone: **416.972.6391**

All correspondence to:
Socialist Worker
P.O. Box 339, Station E
Toronto, ON M6H 4E3

Published every four weeks in
Toronto by the International Socialists. Printed
in Hamilton at a union shop; member of the
Canadian Magazine Publisher's Association
/ Canadian Publications Mail Agreement No.
58554253-99, Post Office Department, Ottawa
/ ISSN 0836-7094 / Return postage guaranteed



The real climate leaders

Socialist Worker’s Peter Hogarth found the real climate leaders: at the People’s Climate March.

Naomi Klein, author of **This Changes Everything: Capitalism vs the Climate**

“The problem is not carbon, it’s capitalism...the real climate leaders are not in the UN, they’re in the streets...we will not win unless we confront this brutal logic of market fundamentalism. Unless we radically reshape the priorities of the economy we have. There are no non-radical options left on the table.”

Olga Bautista, candidate for Chicago city council

“My ward in South Chicago has 50 percent higher cancer rates and the highest rates of child asthma in the city. BP, the Koch brothers and other companies pollute our lakes, rivers, our air, our communities and its time they pay up or get out.”

Jacqui Patterson, Environmental program director for the NAACP

“We know what an alternative can look like; we need a universally implemented living wage, an end to the proliferation of militarism. We need to deconstruct the prison industrial complex. We need to stop the exploitation of natural resources that are the basis of human life. We need to move to zero waste, we need a transportation system that is accessible to all. We need

sovereignty for Indigenous people. We need green energy. And we know how we can get there. We need a commitment to bottom-up organizing, self transformation and democracy.”

Stanley Sturgill, retired underground coal miner from Kentucky

“I’m a 61 year old Kentucky coal miner. I’ve got black lung because of my work. I’m marching today because I want to build a bright future for my family, my Appalachians and the world. I have a vision where me and my fellow Appalachians can make a living without harming ourselves, our communities and our environment. We are our own best hope for an alternative.”

Mari Rose Taruc, Asian Pacific Environmental Network (Oakland)

“We’re tired of Chevron blowing smoke in our communities. We were tired of waiting for our leaders, so we installed solar panels on our buildings like the Asian Pacific Community Centre. Think of all that we’ve done on our own, now it’s the world leaders turn to act. But we know that solutions won’t come from world leaders but by the grassroots action of our communities and movements.”

Bill Aristovoulus, superintendent in an energy efficient building, member of SEIU

largely determined by those not in discussion with whom their actions will largely effect, but the idea of studying the proposed effects is ignored. Stephen Harper’s anti-climate science stance clearly demonstrates this ineffective brand of decision making.

“People are hungry for change” was one of Sawant’s key points, and the People’s Climate March is a recent example. Emissions have drastically increased in the last 20 years, and Sawant said the problem has been that too much faith entrusted in world leaders who have failed the environmental movement conference after conference.

Sawant explained that the key ingredients of debate, discussion,

“I’m marching for my kids to have a sustainable green future and because I know that working people can play a role in creating that future. I’m marching to let our leaders know that working people like myself can be a part of the solution.”

Elizabeth Yeampierre, the executive director of Uprose, who helped lead a community response to Hurricane Sandy

“We’re here because we’ve had two tornadoes in Brooklyn. We’ve been swamped by Hurricane Sandy, the waste and debris washes up in our communities. We are creating climate justice every day, we won’t accept false solutions and we demand action.”

Noelene Nabulivou of Fiji, Diverse Voices and Action for Equality

“The truth is that we are suffering now, our communities are already dealing with all kinds of economic, social and ecological damage because of the actions of the few, and the impacts on the world majority, indigenous peoples, and people from small island states, among others, are many and immediate. We need urgent national, regional and global action, and this march is to let everyone know, that the time is now!”

Kimberly Sheppherd, fifth generation Appalachian mother

“I’m here because we want a just

transition for our people. We want clean air, clean water. We want sustainable jobs.”

Widaian Kalsakau, from the Pacific island nation of Vanuatu

“Everyone needs to take leadership, everyone needs to take ownership. Everyone needs to come forth and be bold and ambitious about their carbon emissions. Climate change is exposing a lot of physical and social impacts in our country. In some of the low-lying Pacific islands it is an existential threat, by 2050 they could be obliterated from the map.”

Linda, National Domestic Workers Alliance

“We are migrant workers. We are fighting for comprehensive immigration reform so that 2 million undocumented workers here can have immigration status. Climate change has really affected our country. The Philippines is a tropical country that has storms every year, but not of the magnitude of the recent superstorms like Haiyan and Yolanda. Just this year there is another typhoon. Areas that historically were not affected by typhoons are now being hit by them. Super typhoons destroy our farming villages and crops. The people who depend on those crops lose their livelihood and they send their children, their mothers out of the country to earn money and send it back home.”

Ghana and Canada: struggles linked

by YUSUR AL-BAHRANI

“The bourgeoisie is the same everywhere and the proletariat is the same everywhere,” said Kwesi Pratt Junior, the editor of the Ghanaian socialist publication *The Insight*. Emancipation of the working class is the essence of socialism whether in Ghana, Canada or anywhere else in the world.

Neo-liberalism, colonialism and imperialism

Although the situation might be different in Ghana, socialists in Canada seem to be facing the same challenge: neo-liberalism.

“Although people form united fronts around several shared struggles, socialists swim against the stream. The people are not to be blamed for that, but the system that shackles the minds is the problem. It is a history of struggles, imperialism and colonialism that has destructively affected Ghana and several other nations in the region,” said Pratt.

Imperialism was and remains the problem. Decades ago, Kwame Nkrumah wrote in his book *Africa Must Unite*: “It [imperialism] controls our economies. It operates on a world-wide scale in combinations of many different kinds: economic, political, cultural, educational, military; and through intelligence and information services.”

Following Ghana’s independence from British colonialism, Nkrumah was the first president and prime minister. He was a revolutionary pan-Africanist leader, and was overthrown in 1966 by a Western-backed coup. “Nkrumah was overthrown by CIA and other Western intelligence,” said Pratt. “After the 1960s, we needed to regroup and reorganize. We reorganized, but there are hurdles that we need to overcome,” added Pratt.

The revolutionary paper and organization

The newspaper or the publication is the heart of every revolutionary socialist organization. *The Insight* is one of the media outlets that play a great role in getting people involved in political dialogue and spreading progressive leftist ideas.

“It filled the vacuum that can’t be filled by any existing newspaper,” said Pratt. *The Insight* is a daily that not only publishes reports, news and articles, but advertises and informs the readers about socialist events. It acts as an organizer too.

When asked to give advice on where to sell a revolutionary newspaper, he answered: “The paper is to be sold everywhere: at the church, at the mosque, at university, at work.”

Weekly meetings and reaching to the people is also a major part of organizing socialists. Weekly meetings are held and events often take place in the same space where journalists and reporters write for *The Insight*.

Solidarity

“The struggles in Ghana and Canada are the same,” said Pratt.

“The same multinational companies that steal our resources in Ghana, sponsor politicians in North America.”

Seattle socialists shows what’s possible

by PARRY SINGH MUDHAR

On September 28, Seattle City Council member and Socialist activist Dr. Kshama Sawant gave a chilling speech discussing the failures of capitalism and bridged ideas on how to build a socialist movement in Vancouver.

Sawant spoke from experience about an effective form of organizing: putting the needs of the community in view, that has not been seen in our Canadian mainstream political spectrum. Firstly, clear ideas come from mass debate, study, and analysis to determine their legitimacy; only then should the question of leadership be discussed.

Not only is mainstream politics

and analysis must be thoroughly processed for real change to occur.

For the Seattle branch of Left Alternative, their analysis led them to the decision that an electoral campaign was the best use of resources and time with a goal of establishing a standard for working class campaigns. And although not all left wing activist groups will agree on all topics, communications and support is vital. This was evident in the fight for Seattle’s \$15 minimum wage success.

The fight for the working class can’t be played along with the ruling classes rules. As Sawant stated, “I didn’t go to McDonalds and ask what’s ok for you.” Instead, systematic change must be established

to work for the people not against them.

Interestingly, Sawant takes the average wage of the people she represents rather than the full salary received by a council member.

For her, the economic divide between union leadership and its members is clear: “if we had left it to the labor leaders, we wouldn’t have gotten anything.”

With every group putting their effort into the fight for socialism, a cohesive group willing to hold through their victories and defeats is necessary. As Sawant explained, “Winning isn’t automatic, you have to fight to win.”

Capitalism & disability

Politicians shamelessly used Helen Keller’s life as an illustration of how anyone can overcome their limitations through hard work and determination. In other words, if you have a disability and don’t succeed the fault is your own, not due to any discrimination or lack of access.

But she herself rejected this facile positioning of herself as a shining example of the “good” disabled person. Keller was able to attend college and became a gifted public speaker, writer and activist, joining the US Socialist Party in 1909 and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in 1912.

She was able to attend school, partly because of her middle class background and the fact that she had wealthy benefactors. Keller came to see that not everyone had the same opportunities:

“I had once believed that we are all masters of our fate - that we could mould our lives into any form we pleased... But as I went more and more about the country I learned that I had spoken with assurance on a subject I knew little about. I forgot that I owed my success partly to the advantages of my birth and environment. Now, however, I learned that the power to rise in the world is not within the reach of everyone.”

Keller also saw how quickly the mainstream media and politicians abandoned her as their poster child for disability when she became more politically outspoken. A newspaper editor who had previously fawned over Keller as an example of courage and perseverance changed his tune when she began to identify herself with radical causes, writing that her “mistakes sprung out of the manifest limitations of her development”.

Keller didn’t hesitate to expose his hypocrisy: “The compliments he paid me were so generous that I blush to remember them. But now that I have come out for socialism he reminds me and the public that I am blind and deaf and especially liable to error.”

Keller’s work with other blind individuals also led her to question the assumption that disability was largely an affliction entirely outside human control:

“I was appointed on a commission to investigate the conditions of the blind. For the first time I, who had thought blindness a misfortune beyond human control, found that too much of it was traceable to wrong industrial conditions, often caused by the selfishness and greed of employers.”

Of course this doesn’t mean that all forms of disability are the result of industrial accidents or workplace injuries, but if we look at the pattern of disability, it is very often related to questions of class, environment and lack of access to necessary resources.

There are many diseases that can result in various forms of disability that could be avoided if the necessary resources were provided. The problem under capitalism is that these resources are not forthcoming because of the way the economic system funnels money only into profit-making ventures.

One of the leading debilitating illnesses worldwide is that of depression. And although depression is a complicated illness which can have a physiological basis or be related to chemical imbalances in the brain, in some instances, it is also no doubt related to the extreme alienation, poverty and isolation experienced by many of us in this system. This alienation also results in violence, either state-centered violence as in war, or interpersonal violence, turned against ourselves or others in our immediate circle, which in turn is the cause of various forms of disability.

The Disability movement

As with other oppressions under capitalism, the self-organization of people with disabilities has been responsible for many of the reforms that attempt to improve conditions for people living with disabilities.

Often this legislation ends up benefiting, not just those living with disabilities, but others in society as well. In Ontario it was a blind lawyer who fought, along with other disability rights activists, so that stops on subways, streetcars and buses would be spoken out loud for people with low or no vision. This also helps others using public transit, making it easier for people whose first language is not English or people who may not be familiar with the city, to navigate the system.

The disability rights movement was often inspired by other movements for change. In the US, for example, it was related to the anti-Vietnam war movement, since many soldiers returned home with various kinds of disabilities. Ron Kovic, whose struggle was brought to the screen in Oliver Stone’s movie *Born on the 4th of July*, is an example of a working class soldier who was radicalized by his experience in Vietnam and went on to speak out against the war and in favour of support for disabled veterans.

Many of us will experience some kind of disability throughout our lives, whether it is part of the natural process of aging or through an unforeseen accident at work, or, as for many people living in places that are bombed by Western forces, through the destruction of war.

It’s critically important that we support the struggles of people with disabilities, just as solidarity in the case of the fight against racism or sexism are struggles, not just for those affected by the particular form of discrimination, but for all of us who have an interest in building a new society that will truly be, to paraphrase Marx, from each according to their abilities, to each according to their needs.

INTERNATIONAL



Independance: Scotland, Quebec, First Nations

by JESSE MCLAREN

The Scottish referendum raised debates about the politics and strategies of independence, both abroad and at home.

But there’s a contradiction in Canada: as *The Toronto Star* reported, “A 2012 Forum Research poll showed that 49 per cent of Canadians supported Scottish independence, compared to only 19 per cent who said they were in favour of Quebec independence.” The figures supporting indigenous sovereignty are unlikely to be higher, though these figures could have changed through the Quebec student strike and Idle No More.

Quebec oppression

People across the political spectrum have denied similarities between Scotland and Quebec, claiming Scotland has been oppressed but Quebec has not.

As a blogger wrote for rabble.ca claimed “Maybe most importantly Quebec’s cultural distinctions haven’t been undermined by Canada to the extent that Scotland’s have been by the U.K. The Gaelic and Scots languages, folk music and even the physical population of the Highlands have suffered greatly under the Union.”

This ignores a long history of oppression. The conquest of New France in the 18th century saw British occupiers support French elites to maintain Quebec as a semi-feudal state until the 19th century. During WWI, a war to defend the British Empire, the Canadian state sent troops to crush anti-conscription protests in Quebec. Québécois workers were used as a supply of cheap labour, and until the 1970s English bosses and the English language dominated the workplace. The Canadian state responded

to the Quiet Revolution with mass repression, including using the War Measures Act to round up hundreds of activists. Quebec was excluded from the Canadian constitution in 1982, and has had its right to independence restricted through the Clarity Act

Resistance to this long history of oppression has made Quebec home to the largest protests across the country—from the anti-war demos that kept Canada out of Iraq in 2003, to the Quebec student strike that stopped a tuition hike and toppled the government.

Two strategies for independence

But parties like the BQ and PQ, which have dominated national aspirations, reduce sovereignty down to exchanging the Canadian flag for the Québécois flag—while maintaining the capitalist state and capitalist corporations.

The collapse of the BQ in the last federal election showed voters were disillusioned with its strategy of independence, and the defeat of the PQ and its project of Islamophobia and racism showed a welcome loss for right-wing ethnic nationalism. But NDP stalwart Stephen Lewis wrongly interpreted the Orange Wave as a “repudiation of sovereignty,” and NDP leader Tom Mulcair announced the NDP will run provincial candidates in Quebec.

This would put it in competition with the most exciting political party across the country: Québec solidaire—a party of the ballot box and the streets. For QS, independence is not an end in itself, but a means to achieve social, economic and ecological justice

Canada: prison-house of nations

Facing demands for Quebec self-determination, the Canadian state and its supporters fall back on their supposed concern for Indigenous peoples. As *National Post* columnist Andrew Coyne wrote, “Pray for a ‘No’ vote in Scotland’s referendum, for Canada’s sake”: “There’s no Scottish equivalent to the Crees, the Mohawks, or the Inuit in Quebec: distinct sub-sub-national populations, with their own territorial claims...But of course all of these distinctions would be lost in the propaganda rush that would follow, should Scotland secede.”

This is hypocritical and cynical. Canada is founded on the oppression of Quebec and Indigenous peoples, and dividing oppressed groups against each other has been a central tactic of the Canadian state. There would be no difference to Indigenous peoples if Quebec became sovereign in the narrow capitalist sense advocated by the BQ or PQ. But the broader project of Quebec sovereignty as a project towards social, economic and ecological justice is not contradictory to Indigenous peoples. As Indigenous activist Ellen Gabriel wrote, “The only party who tries to address Aboriginal issues is Québec Solidaire and I applaud their efforts.”

While Canadians can cheer the near victory of the Yes vote in Scotland and the ongoing movements that rallied behind it, we need to work to support self-determination for Quebec and Indigenous peoples against the Canadian prison-house of nations.

NFL violence, misogyny and capitalism

by ALEX KERNER

When Kansas City Chief’s Linebacker Jovan Belcher killed his girlfriend and then himself in 2012, sports media woke up to the issue of domestic violence and athletes.

The world of professional sports in general, and American football in particular, was exposing the fruit of hyper-masculine attitudes toward women and partners that are so prevalent in sports culture.

Despite the particular brutal way Belcher’s actions and own death went down, officials at the National Football League did nothing of any consequence, ignoring the fact that violence against women was something the league had to take seriously.

Ray Rice and Roger Goodel

Things came to head over the last off season when a video leaked of Baltimore Raven star running back Ray Rice violently dragging his unconscious then-fiancé, Janay Palmer, out of an elevator.

There was enough public pressure on the league to do something about Rice, but when league Commissioner Roger Goodel handed out a meager

two game suspension the shouts of outrage were staggering.

Then all shit hit the fan and the leagues hypocrisy on this issue was fully exposed. TMZ, the gossip website, leaked the full video of what happened between Rice and Palmer, a gruesome clip of Rice punching Palmer unconscious. The Ravens quickly cut Rice and the league suspended him indefinitely.

Quickly grew the chorus that Goodell resign for his handling of the situation, having been either negligent or having intentionally hidden evidence, not wanting to hurt the profit margins of the league and one of its teams by exposing this event.

Misogyny and capitalism

The narrative of events, as outrageous as it sounds, is not surprising. Football culture, from the pro ranks to the high school teams, is also one filled with incidents of misogyny and rape.

Only two years ago, the dramatic events at Steubenville High School, where football team members were tried and convicted of raping a sixteen year old, shocked the world. Last year, Florida State University star

Quarterback Jameis Winstan marched his way to a national championship and Heisman trophy under the shadow of allegations of a sexual assault allegation.

Despite the obvious problem, professional sports are a multi-billion dollar industry and teams depend on their star athletes bringing in the fans and the money. Even with the NFL actively trying to win over female fans, they would rather sweep these stories under the carpet and hope they go away.

This is another example of how the profit frenzy that makes up professional sports destroys the fun of watching the game. The league has been fine with the ultra masculinized attitudes that make their players more aggressive on the playing field and help their teams be successful. But if those attitudes help normalize violence against women and children the league tries to deny any form of accountability.

Mobilization from fans is the only thing that will ever move the entrenched sense of entitlement of those who run professional sports.

The October crisis: Pierre Trudeau and the suppression of civil liberties

On the anniversary of the 1970 October crisis, Craig Frayne looks at Trudeau, the War Measures Act, and the ongoing struggle for civil liberties

“Every government in this country is well aware of the existence of deep and important social problems... there is available everywhere in Canada an effective mechanism to change governments by peaceful means.”

Those were Pierre Trudeau’s words on October 16, 1970 in a televised statement justifying using the War Measures Act (later the Emergencies Act, 1988), supposedly to confront members of the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ).

Trudeau hypocrisy

Trudeau, as a student years earlier, wrote a “Letter from London” chastising the use of the War Measures Act by the MacKenzie King government, which acted “outside the bounds of Common Law and in violation of justice, without due process, adequate defense, known punishment, nor with judgement independent of the executive branch.”

In a display of liberal hypocrisy that would rival today’s politicians, Trudeau’s words eloquently describe his own government’s actions in October 1970.

Within days of the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ) kidnapping British Trade Commissioner James Cross and Quebec Labour Minister Pierre Laport, military were patrolling the streets and habeas corpus suspended, permitting the arbitrary arrest and detainment of anyone suspected of FLQ ties.

While Trudeau is falsely praised as a champion of charter rights, his defence of the War Measures Act provides a different story: “There are a lot of bleeding hearts around who just don’t like to see people with helmets and guns. All I can say is, go on and bleed, but it is more important to keep law and order in this society than to be worried about weak-kneed people who don’t like the looks of a soldier’s helmet... So long as there is a power in here which is challenging the elected representative of the people I think that power must be stopped and I think it’s only, I repeat, weak-kneed bleeding hearts who are afraid to take these measures.”

A reporter asked, “At any cost? How far would you go with that? How far would you extend that?” His infamous answer: “Well, just watch me.”

Civil liberties and national liberation

While the Act was in effect, 465 people were arrested and hundreds jailed without charge. Only two were actually convicted of FLQ ties and none provided information leading to the kidnappers.

Indeed, many had nothing to do with the FLQ. A 2010 Radio Canada investigation revealed Quebec police had “at most 60 names” of FLQ sympathizers, so the RCMP (under political pressure to bolster numbers to justify such extreme measures) added hundreds to the list, likely from their PROFUNC arrest list of over 60,000 suspected communists and sympathizers.

As then NDP leader Tommy Douglas remarked, they were



“using a sledgehammer to crack a peanut.” But perhaps such state action against civilians is not intended to simply uphold “rule of law” or “public safety,” but for control.

Trudeau’s use of the War Measure Act had little to do with capturing the kidnappers. Since 1962, when the FLQ were deemed a possible terrorist threat by the RCMP, they and other separatist movements were seen through the lens of Cold War anticommunism, in the same vein as “national liberation struggles”.

The use of the War Measures Act in 1970 (which had overwhelming approval in English Canada) can perhaps be seen in the context of McCarthyesque ideological hysteria against those deemed an ideological threat, in Quebec and beyond. As *Montreal Gazette* columnist Don MacPherson wrote, “Many Quebecers remain convinced... the Trudeau government applied the War Measures Act not only to deal with the crisis...but as a psychological ploy to halt the rise of the Quebec nationalist movement.”

State repression

It is commonly said the October Crisis is unique in that the War Measures Act was used in a time

of peace. This, however, misses the purpose and function of such extra-constitutional executive powers in Canada and other western democracies: namely, to ensure conformity when dissent and debate is most dangerous to state power, albeit most necessary.

The peacetime distinction of the October Crisis neglects the idea of perpetual war, whereby imperialist states need an enemy, internal or external, to legitimize their own use (or threat) of force.

To understand this function, we can look to when the War Measures Act, 1914 was first passed in the imperialist jingoism of World War I. In Canada, the War Measures Act was used to declare foreigners “enemy aliens,” to intern over 8,600 mostly Ukrainians, and make it illegal to hold meetings, or publish in a foreign language.

The War Measures Act would later be used during and after WWII—against communists and socialists; to intern Japanese Canadians; to control wartime strikes and lockouts; to enforce conscription; and censor the wartime press.

Civil liberties today

Much has changed since, and these events are seen as unfortunate aspects of history. However,

the precedent is perhaps more relevant than ever.

We are in a new paradigm, where the implications of information and surveillance technology on civil liberties may not even be comprehended.

For example, the NSA revelations (and Canada’s response) are truly frightening in a context where those in power have routinely employed extreme measures to collect dossiers on, infiltrate, and detain anyone deemed a threat to established power.

Events surrounding the Toronto G20 showed how today, executive branches in Canada infiltrate and entrap those exercising their democratic and constitutional rights. Leaked information, such as that from Stratfor shows how corporations now employ surveillance technology and state informants to monitor and silence critics.

Events like the October Crisis, and other temporary suspensions of civil liberties by the state, are now overshadowed by ongoing and routine violations of constitutional rights that transcend national boundaries.

As long as capitalism exists it will be policed by a repressive capitalist state, both of which need to be overthrown.

STOP THE LATEST WAR ON IRAQ

Iraq, imperialism and resistance

Imperial powers have repeatedly bombed and invaded Iraq, in order to control its oil. The 2003 invasion never really ended: thousands of US “defense contractors” remained. But to assess the latest bombing campaign its useful to look at the last major war.

In 2002 it was clear the US wanted to attack Iraq. The neo-conservative wing of the US establishment called for war in its “Project for a New American Century” document; it listed as “adversaries” Iraq, as well as Libya, Syria, Iran and North Korea.

The Project for a New American Century
But it also listed “rivals” such as China and Europe: “There are, however, potentially powers states dissatisfied with the current situation and eager to change, if they can, in directions that endanger the relatively peaceful, prosperous and free condition the world enjoys today. Up to now, they have been deterred by the capability and global presence of American military power. But as that power declines, relatively and absolutely, the happy conditions that follow from it will inevitably be undermined.”

In other words, the US was projecting military power to compensate for relative economic decline and the emergence of rivals in Europe and Asia. As Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice argued, “If the collapse of the Soviet Union and 9/11 bookend a major shift in international politics, then this is a period not just of grave danger, but of enormous economic opportunity. Before the clay is dry again, America and our friends and allies must move decisively to take advantage of these new opportunities.”

In 2001 the US (and Canada) invaded Afghanistan, and in 2002 it was clear the next target was Iraq.

Protest and resistance

But an unprecedented anti-war movement and resistance in Afghanistan and Iraq caused a quagmire for the US. The pinnacle of protest was February 15, 2003 when up to 30 million people around the world marched against war on Iraq. As *The New York Times* observed: “the huge anti-war demonstrations around the world this weekend are reminders that there may still be two superpowers on the planet: the United States and world public opinion.”

In Canada the anti-war movement began during the anti-globalization protests against the G8 in Calgary, in the summer of 2002. A meeting of about 70 people decided to organize coordinated demonstrations on Hiroshima Day in August, and this led to anti-war coalitions across the country. In September campuses set up anti-war coalitions, and in January Toronto hosted a student anti-war conference that mobilized for a day of action in January.

Similar protests were happening around the world, including the European Social Forum that called for a day of action February 15—a call that was picked up by the Cairo conference and World Social Forum in Brazil.



IRAQ: AN IMPERIAL HISTORY

1920: British mandate
* after WWI Britain takes Iraq and pioneers aerial bombing to quell Iraqi resistance

1941: Anglo-Iraqi War
* to re-establish control Britain invades and bombs again

1980 - 1988: Iran-Iraq War
* after Iranian revolution, Iraq invades
* US arms Saddam Hussein, including chemical weapons used on Kurds/Iranians
* US also sells arms to Iran and uses profits to support terrorist Contras in Nicaragua
* 1 million killed

1990 - 1991: Gulf War
* US attacks Iraq after former ally Hussein invades Kuwait
* 20,000 killed and countless poisoned with depleted uranium

1991 - 2003: UN sanctions
* after Gulf War, UN imposes sanctions
* 1.5 million killed, including 500,000 children
* US/UK also impose “no-fly zones” that pave way for war

2003 - 2011: Iraq War
* US launches “shock and awe” war, killing 1 million people
* US occupation imposes Parliament along ethnic lines and arms sectarian death squads



2014: US bombs Iraq
* US war in Iraq and arms sales to sectarian forces in Syria leads to emergence of ISIS
* US launches yet another war on Iraq

Quiz: Bush or Obama?

Can you tell which US president said the following quotes—George Bush justifying the 2003 invasion of Iraq, or Barack Obama justifying the 2014 bombing of Iraq?

- “Coalition forces have begun striking selected targets”
- “America will be joined by a broad coalition”
- “In this conflict, America faces an enemy who has no regard for conventions of war or rules of morality.”
- “We have no ambition in Iraq, except to remove a threat and restore control of that country to its own people.”
- “We come to Iraq with respect for its citizens, for their great civilization and for the religious faiths they practice.”
- “If you threaten America, you will find no safe haven.”
- “Our own safety—our own security—depends upon our willingness to do what it takes to defend this nation.”
- “Our armies do not come into your cities and lands as conquerors or enemies, but as liberators.”

Answers:
1. Bush 2. Obama 3. Bush 4. Bush 5. Bush 6. Obama 7. Obama 8. British Lieutenant General Maude in 1917



Stopping Harper’s long awaited Iraq War

As hundreds of thousands of people across Canada marched against the Iraq War in 2003, Harper demanded war. The mass movement stopped Canada from officially participating in the war, but Harper’s support has continued.

After first copying the Australian Prime Minister’s speech supporting the invasion, Harper wrote to *The Wall Street Journal* that Canada not joining the war was “a serious mistake. For the first time in history, the Canadian government has not stood beside its key British and American allies in their time of need.” Harper vowed that “in our hearts and minds, we will be with our allies and friends,” and has worked since then to support US war in Iraq—first indirectly and now directly.

Iraq Slaughter + Intervention in Syria = ISIS

In 2003 we were told there was no option but war to stop Saddam Hussein and liberate Iraqis. This ignored the role of the West in supporting the dictator, and the capacity of Iraqis to fight for their own liberation. The only “weapons of mass destruction” were those of the West—from sanctions that killed more than 1 million people before the invasion, to war that killed more than 1 million people after the invasion. The US leveled Fallujah, tortured in Abu Ghraib, massacred in Baghdad, raped and killed in Mahmudiya, and armed sectarian death squads as a strategy to divide and conquer—planting the seeds for ISIS to grow.

The Arab Spring showed that people in the region can fight for their own liberation, and their greatest obstacle is Western military intervention. The West highjacked the Libyan revolution, supported Israel and counter-revolution in Egypt, and armed Saudi Arabia and other dictatorships. While the Saudi dictatorship beheaded 19 people last August, it is immune from criticism because it does the West’s dirty work—repressing resistance in Bahrain and arming extremist groups in Syria, which have now spread into Iraq as ISIS. Canada has been part of this process: joining the bombing of Libya, supporting the new Egyptian dictatorship, selling \$10 billion in weapons to Saudi Arabia, and unconditionally supporting Israel.

“Canada continues to condemn the repugnant killing of innocent civilians, including women and children,” said Foreign Affairs Minister John Baird, justifying the latest bombing of Iraq. Where was that condemnation when the US was killing a million Iraqis, or when Israel was killing thousands of Palestinians? Where’s the condemnation of the West’s role, via Saudi Arabia, of creating ISIS, or the condemnation of the impact of bombing? As Phillis Bennis wrote, “the airstrikes defeat the important goal of ending popular support for ISIS, and instead actually serve to strengthen the extremist organization.”

The war on soldiers, refugees and the planet

While Harper was forced to admit the 2003 Iraq War was “absolutely an error,” he has refused to support the troops who came to the same conclusion. For ten years Iraq War resisters have come to Canada instead of committing war crimes in Iraq. For that they have the support of international law, a majority of Canadians, two motions in Parliament, ten court decisions, and the legacy of welcoming Vietnam War resisters (both volunteers and conscripts). But the Harper government has ignored the courts, scapegoated war resisters for a refugee backlog

the government created, flagged resisters as “criminally inadmissible,” deported resisters to be jailed in the US, and re-written Canadian history and a government website regarding Vietnam War resisters.

The attack on US Iraq War resisters parallels the campaign against Canadian veterans, and against refugees fleeing war zones. While Harper has wasted millions celebrating the war of 1812 and pledged half a trillion dollars to militarism, he has cut veteran disability pensions in the midst of a surge of suicides, restricted the arrival of Syrian refugees and cut refugee health. As a recent Federal Court ruled, “The 2012 modifications to the potentially jeopardize the health, the safety and indeed the very lives, of these innocent and vulnerable children in a manner that shocks the conscience and outrages Canadian standards of decency...I have found as a fact that lives are being put at risk.”

If Iraqis fleeing ISIS try to make it to Canada, they will encounter barriers accessing healthcare, barriers to citizenship for them and their children, and unsafe working conditions—like the Iraqi refugee who fell to his death six weeks ago from a scaffold in Toronto.

Iraq is still dealing with the depleted uranium fired in civilian areas in 2003, which will contaminate the country for generations, and another round of bombings will make things worse. The US military is the largest consumer of oil in the world, and a new bombing campaign will add to global carbon emissions and increase demand for Canada’s tar sands—which are killing local indigenous communities.

Alternatives

Years of Harper’s rule have dropped his popularity, making an uncertain military intervention risky. Like the war in Afghanistan, he is using extensions to mask the duration, and euphemisms to mask its nature. As Thomas Walkom wrote, the government promise of no boots on the ground is “a curious pledge in that it left open the question of where exactly Canadian troops operating there will place their feet.” Like the early days in the lead up to the last Iraq War, the Liberals support Harper and the NDP is unsure. But like those days, this can change with popular pressure. The memory of the 2003 anti-war movement and the Arab Spring is not gone, and while there is currently confusion around Iraq there’s been a surge in solidarity with Palestinians and Indigenous communities here—which can reorient people to the imperial threat to Iraq.

Harper wants to bury the memory of Iraq, ignore the needs of refugees and find an outlet for tar sands and military spending—through a war that will further inflame the region and the climate. Alternatives include

- * Don’t bomb Iraq, support Iraqi self-determination
- * Stop arming and supporting repressive regimes like Saudi Arabia
- * Stop the tar sands that fuel wars and devastate Indigenous communities
- * Support US Iraq War resisters and Canadian veterans healing from past wars
- * Support refugees access to status, healthcare, and good jobs
- * Divert the \$490 billion in military spending into social, economic and ecological alternatives.

New Brunswick election
another lesson for the NDP

by CHRIS ROGERS

Due to a computer glitch with the automated voting machines used in the New Brunswick election it was a long time getting the final results. That's what you get for depending on a private company to count your ballots for you.

When the results did finally come in the Liberals had won a majority with 27 seats, conservatives 21 and the green party 1. One of the seemingly surprising things about the election is that the NDP was not able to make a breakthrough and win any seats in the legislature even though they had their highest percentage of the vote ever with 13 per cent. The Green Party was able to make a breakthrough with only 6 per cent of the vote.

The main reason that the NDP was yet again unable to make a breakthrough is that under the leadership of Dominic Cardy the party moved to the right—a tactic that has failed in other provinces, such as Ontario and BC.

Fracking and tar sands

The biggest issue of the election was if the government would allow fracking for natural gas. I was this issue that allowed the Liberals to carry the election, as most people in the province oppose fracking. The Liberals saying they would impose a moratorium on fracking, “until the science proved it was safe.” The problem was that the NDP held essentially the same position. They could not even hold that position as the campaign went on, to the point where people where not sure where the NDP stood on the issue by the time election day arrived.

Another important environmental issue that the NDP failed on is the Energy East pipeline. This is a pipeline that will bring hundreds of thousands of barrels of oil a day from the tar sands to the Irving oil refinery in Saint John. The NDP unquestioningly supported this pipeline that will bring dirty tar sands oil to New Brunswick. Although it is supported by all the parties, except the Green Party. There was not a word about renewable energy sources in the NDP’s program.

Reproductive justice

Another issue that the NDP let the Liberals take their left flank was the issue of abortion. Although the NDP said that they would rescind the policy that requires two doctors to certify that an abortion was medically necessary, that is all they said was needed to give access to abortion.

The Liberals on the other hand said that they would study all barriers to access and make sure all women in New Brunswick had access to abortion services. Not that the Liberals should be trusted to carry through with this promise without continued pressure with them. Also the Liberals are not promising to fund private abortion clinics, or expanding where they will be available, which is currently only at two hospitals in the province, making it difficult to physically access the service.

Right-wing populism fails again

Economically the NDP promoted a right wing populist program. Cardy would emphasize that all his promises were based on the need to balance the books. He also called for the eliminating taxes for small businesses. Cardy also spent a lot of time talking to business groups, while the only time he associated with labour during the campaign was when he campaigned at a labour day picnic.

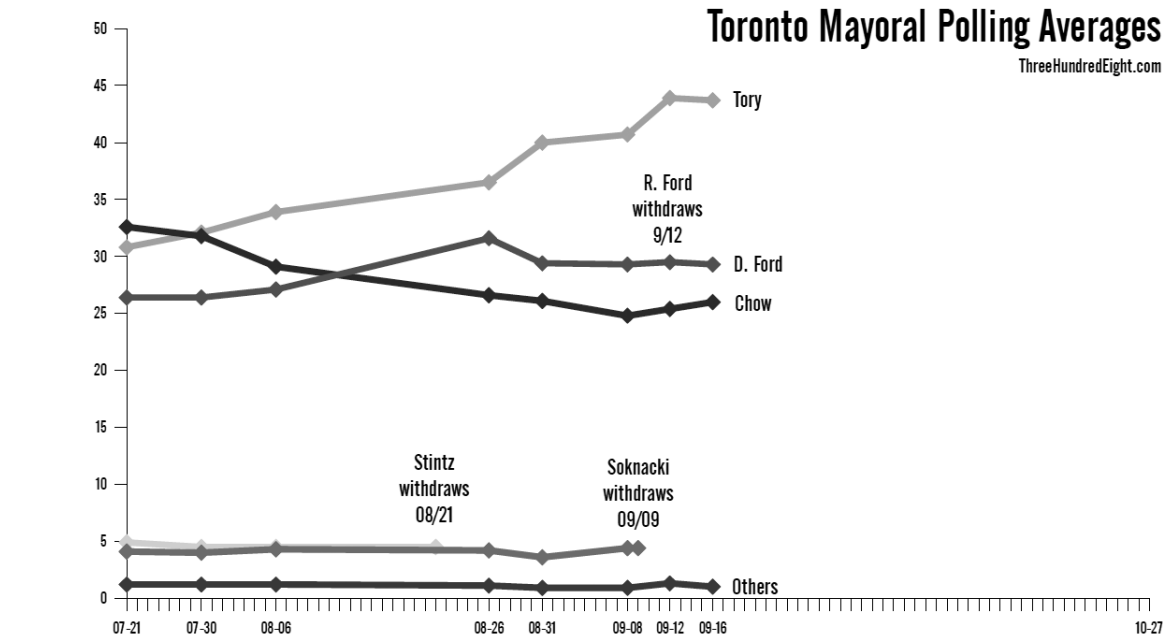
Another thing that Cardy did that drew the party to the right was to bring in people from other parties. The first high profile candidate was Kelly Lamrock who was education minister under the former Liberal government, not to mention the main person involved in the sellout of the New Brunswick student movement in the mid 1990s. Other high profile candidates were Tories Bev Harrison and Charles Doucet. Both of whom said that they had switched because the NDP under Cardy fit in with their beliefs.

The good news is that Dominic Cardy has resigned as leader of the party. Activists in the party hope this provides the opportunity take back the party from the right wing. The problem is that right now the most likely candidate for the next leader is Kelly Lamrock. He would continue the right wing shift of the party.

Regardless of who won the election it will be the social movements and labour in New Brunswick who will be the ones who bring about change on the streets, not a bunch of talking heads in the legislature.



ANALYSIS



Who is John Tory, why is Olivia Chow losing, and what can we do?

by ALEX HUNSBERGER

When Olivia Chow entered the Toronto mayoral race she was the frontrunner, carrying the hope of an alternative to Rob Ford’s austerity agenda. But since then she has progressively fallen in the polls, now lagging far behind John Tory and battling for second place with Doug Ford, who has taken his ailing brother Rob’s place in the race. What happened?

Rob Ford was elected four years ago following a populist campaign that channeled visceral anger about the consequences of austerity in a right-wing direction, promising to cut property taxes by eliminating waste at City Hall—or “gravy,” as he called it. Soon people discovered that the “gravy” he wanted to cut was public jobs and services.

A series of deputations, demonstrations and a library worker’s strike during Ford’s first year undermined his support and caused rivals to emerge, though in the past year protests have waned while the media have focused on his personal troubles.

Tory has tried to sell himself as a moderate consensus candidate who will avoid the extremes of both the left and the right while successfully defeating the Fords at the ballot box. But make no mistake about it—John is a Tory.

Tory’s right-wing past

Born into an elite family connected to Bay Street, Tory had all the resources and connections he needed to set himself up for a life of repeatedly flipping through the revolving door between business and political leadership.

Trained as a lawyer, he spent time as a senior operative in the Ontario Progressive-Conservative (PC) Party before heading back to private practice with the family law firm.

Moving to the federal level, he held a series of key leadership positions in Brian Mulroney’s hard-right PC government, including campaign manager in the party’s disastrous 1993 defeat.

He shuffled back to the private sector, taking on a lucrative position as CEO of Rogers Media, later moving to head the monopolistic Rogers Cable.

Having helped elect conservative Mel Lastman mayor of Toronto, Tory ran for mayor in 2003 but lost to NDPer David Miller.

Tory then moved to the provincial level, winning the leadership of the Ontario PC Party. Tory lost his own seat to Liberal Kathleen Wynne, and then lost a subsequent by-election, resulting in his resignation as leader.

A New Tory?

In recent years, Tory has been most closely associated with his advocacy for public transit expansion as head of Toronto CivicAction Alliance from 2010 until earlier this year.

Some mistake this as a sharp move to the left by Tory, but in fact this

is reflective of a shift of opinion in the business community in favour of transit expansion.

Tory would like to sweep under the rug that he supported both Rob and Doug Ford during the last municipal election: Tory donated \$2000 to Rob’s campaign and \$300 to Doug’s. Though the extent of Rob Ford’s personal problems was not clear at the time, his racism, sexism, homophobia, and extremely regressive views on nearly all matters were well known.

On the campaign trail, while claiming to be a moderate, Tory continually returns to traditional conservative themes, playing up his anti-tax, pro-development credentials, while constantly insinuating Chow is a financially irresponsible NDPer. Tory has been relatively silent on questions of social and economic inequality, preferring to focus on how he can lower property taxes and privatize public services.

The business and political establishment is certainly impressed, offering Tory its financial and infrastructural backing. With many leading Conservatives tired of the antics of the Fords, they are joining with key Liberals to unite behind Tory as the candidate who can continue Rob Ford’s policies but with a more controlled and polished image.

The unity of Conservatives and Liberals against social democrat Chow should not come as a surprise—where social democrats are electorally competitive the pro-business forces tend to unite in a “free market” coalition.

If we really understand where John Tory stands—that is, as a conservative who differs from the Ford brothers only cosmetically—what should progressives?

Chow following Horwath’s path to defeat

Chow began with a lead based on the hope she would offer an alternative to Ford and his austerity agenda, with the support of the city’s trade union and activist communities. Her army of campaign volunteers is made up of people of all ages who are looking for a more equitable and environmentally sustainable city whose leadership reflects the diversity and concerns of the population.

As an article on socialist.ca argued in March, “There’s a clear desire for an alternative to Ford’s agenda, expressed through rallies, deputations and strikes. More recently there have also been other resistance movements in the city—from Idle No More and sanctuary city, to the \$14/hr minimum wage and opposition to Line 9. All this provides a clear left-wing platform of economic, social and climate justice—which a left-wing candidate could use to amplify the movements outside City Hall.

“But despite Olivia Chow’s record and link with movements, it’s not clear her campaign will reflect them.

Instead it is emphasizing her ‘track record of promoting small businesses’ and that she ‘balanced budgets with (right-wing) Mayor Mel Lastman.’”

Chow’s embrace of the right’s rhetoric has blurred what should be a clear contrast between her and Tory, and allowed Tory to portray himself as the main alternative to the Fords, given his lead in the polls.

Chow has followed the misguided strategic path set by the Ontario NDP in the recent provincial election in which the party moved sharply to the centre and was decimated in the City of Toronto as traditional NDP volunteers and voters stayed home out of disappointment at the lack of social justice focus. Anger with the NDP’s rightward shift also led some on the left to vote Liberal out of frustration, much as some of now considering voting for Tory.

If Chow does not change course soon, it seems unlikely she will be able to regain her lead in the polls. If she loses it will not be because voters have shifted right and prefer a repeat of Ford’s policies, but because there was no left alternative on offer. Chow must clearly show voters how she differs from Tory—by raising real alternatives—lest they buy his logic of voting for him to stop (Doug) Ford.

Needed: a left alternative, now and after the election

In Seattle, avowed socialist Kshama Sawant won a city-wide council election by focusing on the fight for a \$15 minimum wage that has since been successful. Even business-based parties and candidates are correctly reading the popular mood—from Ontario Liberal Premier Kathleen Wynne who claimed to offer a left alternative to Tim Hudak’s hard-right PCs, to New York City mayor Bill de Blasio who ended more than a decade of Republican rule on a platform focused on tackling inequality.

The left should put pressure on Chow and left-leaning council candidates to embrace an agenda focusing on social justice, good jobs and improved public services that can stand in contrast to Tory’s prescription for more of the same with a new face. Chow has a golden opportunity to paint Doug Ford and John Tory as tweedledee and tweedledum—two millionaire conservatives who offer nothing but more austerity and privatization.

Advocating for green jobs and against Line 9, against privatization and for better, more affordable, democratic public transit, more affordable housing and tenant protections, and improved community facilities are all demands that could form the basis for a more equitable and sustainable vision for the city.

It’s these movements outside City Hall that best fought against Ford, and that will need to continue fighting regardless of who wins the election.

THIS CHANGES EVERYTHING CAPITALISM vs THE CLIMATE

BOOK

REVIEW by JESSE MCLAREN

***This Changes Everything: Capitalism vs the Climate* is a must-read guide to the climate justice movement.**

It summarizes the science of climate change, the extractivist industries driving it, the system to which they are connected, and the growing resistance.

Climate change

This Changes Everything warns of the severe consequences of climate change, the industries (like tar sands, fracking, and mountaintop removal) that are pushing us to the precipice, and the racism and profiteering that accompany it. Klein shows that the proposed capitalist solutions—from industries like nuclear power, market schemes like carbon offsets, technology like geoengineering, or faith in the 1%—only compound the problem.

Faced with a capitalist climate change, she debunks simplistic solutions—whether it’s calling for individual lifestyle changes while ignoring the socioeconomic conditions that constrain choice, claiming there aren’t enough resources while billions have gone to corporate bailouts, or blaming China and India while ignoring Western corporations profiting from the exploitation of their workers.

This is not only a critique of the system that produces climate change but of the record of the mainstream environmental movement in challenging it. Klein outlines the coopting of the earlier environmental movement, “what had been a rabble of hippies became a movement of lawyers, lobbyists, and UN summit hoppers” who presented climate change “as a narrow technical problem with no end of

profitable solutions within the market system.”

The failure of mainstream environmentalism has eliminated gradual and incremental options: “We are left with a stark choice: allow climate disruption to change everything about our world, or change pretty much everything about our economy to avoid that fate. But we need to be very clear: because of our decades of collective denial, no gradual, incremental options are now available to us.”

This Changes Everything is an urgent call for mass action, connecting the increasing climate disasters to the radical transformation needed to stop them. As Klein explains in her poetic style, climate change is “a civilizational wake-up call. A powerful message—spoken in the language of fires, floods, droughts, and extinctions—telling us that we need an entirely new economic model and a new way of sharing this planet.”

Movement change

This Changes Everything profiles the rising climate justice movements, introducing readers to campaigns and activists around the world, and showing concrete and inspiring examples of how people are organizing. “All of this has changed so rapidly as I have been writing that I had had to race to keep up. Yes, ice sheets are melting faster than the models projected, but resistance is beginning to boil.”

Klein profiles the Indigenous communities leading the climate justice movement, from the Ogoni people in Nigeria to the Athabasca Chipewyan First Nation at ground zero of the tar sands. Contrasting the lack of solidar-

ity to the Mi’kmaq blockade at Burnt Church 15 years ago with the broad support for the Mi’kmaq blockade at Elsipogtog last year, she describes the sea change that the movement is producing.

Arguing that “exploited workers and an exploited planet are, it turn out, a package deal,” Klein shares lessons from the Northern Cheyenne in building community-run solar panels, and explains how that the technology for renewables exists and provides an alternative both for front-line Indigenous communities defending their land and for non-Indigenous workers needing jobs.

Naomi Klein changes

As a great theorist for the movements, Naomi Klein has both influenced and been influenced by movements against globalization, war and climate change..

No Logo reflected the anti-globalization movement’s challenge of corporations, but it left open the question of the state.

Influenced by the movement against the Iraq War, *The Shock Doctrine* shows how states unleash violence on behalf of corporations. But it blamed the “neoliberal ideology” of Milton Friedman for “deregulating” capitalism.

Influenced by the Indigenous-led climate justice movement, *This Changes Everything* ultimately roots the climate crisis in colonialism and capitalism.

This is an excerpt of a longer review originally published on rabble.ca

where the struggle allows people both to form strong bonds and to exhibit their idiosyncratic and singular personalities.

Music is also woven throughout the movie, from Pete Seeger to Billy Bragg. There is a very moving scene at the miner’s hall when one of the miner’s wives begins singing Bread and Roses. Other women join in and eventually the whole hall is on their feet, men and women together.

One of the main threads of *Pride* has to do with how struggle can actually change those involved. The women, mostly miners’ wives, find their voices and their strength through the organizing they do. There’s also a moving scene when one of the miners makes a speech in a gay bar to thank the LGBT community for supporting them.

Though the miners are defeated, they come to London with their union banners and lead the Gay Pride March, alongside the activists in LGSM. The next Labour Party conference passed *Pride* has a lot of lessons and inspiration for activists who want to take on today’s ‘Margaret Thatchers’, in whatever country we find ourselves.

LEFT JAB

John Bell

Franklin my dear, I don’t give a damn

“For more than a century this has been a great Canadian story.... It’s been the subject of scientists and historians and writers and singers. And so I think we have a really important day in mapping together the history of our country,” crowed Stephen Harper.

Harper could hardly contain his glee at the “discovery” of the remains of the Franklin expedition, lost in 1845/6. He ascribed the discovery to scientists and modern equipment.

Too bad he didn’t give credit to reports of local Inuit that led to the discovery. As early as 1847 Inuit hunters reported the fate and location of the Franklin ships to John Rae, the Scottish explorer charged with finding the expedition.

In all likelihood it will also turn out that another part of Inuit lore will be confirmed, that Franklin’s men died out from starvation and cannibalism, and from refusing the assistance of Indigenous people.

So this great Canadian mystery wasn’t much of a mystery, and not at all “Canadian”. It is an interesting historical find, shedding light on the history of British imperial zeal. So why the personal intervention of Stephen Harper?

Colonization

The search for a Northwest Passage shipping route from the Atlantic to the Pacific was no dispassionate scientific venture. It was part of a scramble to claim, colonize and economically exploit new territories. And at the heart of that scramble was competition with other imperial interests, including Tsarist Russia.

Today there is a new scramble for empire in the Arctic. Thanks to global warming, the impassible sea ice that doomed Franklin is fast disappearing. Resources long out of reach, under frozen tundra and under Arctic sea ice, will become accessible. That most are the same resources—fossil fuels—that created catastrophic climate change in the first place is an irony that does not cause Stephen Harper to lose sleep.

Canada is not alone in extending its reach in the Arctic, nor are the Tories the only government to rattle the sabre in the north. Who can forget how Canada and Denmark almost went to war over Hans Island in 2005, under the Chrétien government. The tiny barren rock halfway between Greenland and Ellesmere Island was claimed by both nations. The Danish Foreign Minister raised the Danish flag on the island. The Liberals responded by sending two warships to visit the island. Bloodshed was narrowly averted, possibly because the press in both countries treated it as a joke and negotiations continued until 2012, with no real agreement.

The Cold War style maneuvering between Canada and Russia is less comical. On September 19, front pages reported that Canadian warplanes had confronted Russian counterparts in Canadian airspace. This was an exaggeration, if not an outright lie, but one that suited the purposes of Stephen Harper, posing as NATO tough guy against Russian involvement

in Ukraine’s civil war.

International law dictates how far any nation’s airspace and maritime boundaries extend. Canada is trying to assert claim to areas of the Arctic that lie outside those boundaries. In the air they call it the “Air Defence Identification Zone”, but fancy title or not, it is international air space and Russian planes routinely fly there.

But because it serves Harper’s goals of militarism and sub-imperial ambition, the non-story was plastered across the news.

Similarly, Harper wants to turn the story about the Franklin expedition into an adventure yarn that at once glorifies the “adventurers” of the old British Empire and the intrepid discoverers and scientists of the public/private partnership that will examine the Franklin wrecks.

Harper is not alone trying to put a gloss on the murderous history of the British Empire and of the Canadian state. He is (in)famous for stating at the 2009 G8 summit that “Canada has no history of colonialism.” Indigenous people, who faced cultural and actual genocidal policies from both Britain and then Canada, beg to differ.

Only two years ago, it was revealed that as the British Empire disintegrated and nations won their independence, the records of brutality and murderous colonial rule were destroyed in massive bonfires around the world. According to a Guardian article:

“Detailed instructions were issued over methods of destruction, in order to erase all evidence of the purge. When documents were burned, ‘the waste should be reduced to ash and the ashes broken up’, while any that were being dumped at sea must be ‘packed in weighted crates and dumped in very deep and current-free water at maximum practicable distance from the coast.’”

Hardly the actions of an empire supposed to spreading the virtues of “civilization” throughout the world.

As for Franklin’s doomed expedition, nothing better illustrates the arrogance of imperialism. The Inuit could have told them their survival was impossible without the aid and guidance of the Indigenous population. But no....

Due to their Arctic isolation, the Inuit fared better from their brush with the British Empire than did other peoples. Now that the Canadian state and its corporate partners are set to invade, the dangers are far worse.

On his most recent trip to Nunavut, Harper reiterated his position that there is no need for an inquiry into the fate of murdered and missing aboriginal women and girls: “We should not view this as a sociological phenomenon. We should view it as crime.”

Meanwhile the government still refuses to make public thousands of documents related to the Residential Schools. Perhaps they will take a cue from the old British Empire, and reduce them to ash or send them to the ocean’s depths.

Corporate exploitation, environmental disasters and cold war tensions: these are the gifts Harper brings to the Arctic.

MOVIE

The meaning of solidarity

Pride

Directed by Matthew Warchus

Reviewed by Faline Bobier

Pride has been described as a ‘feelgood’ movie and it is definitely that, but so much more. It’s a timely movie to be coming out now when so many of us need to be reminded of the power and necessity of solidarity.

Pride tells the real life story of LGSM (Lesbians and Gays Support the Miners), a group that was co-founded by two activists in the London gay community, Mark Ashton and Mike Jackson.

Ashton, a communist, argues with those around him that, in spite of what some may think, the LGBT community and the miners have a lot in common. They are both hounded and attacked by the police, the tabloids and some in the general public. He argues that the gay community has been getting a bit of a respite from constant police harassment because the cops are too busy attacking the miners.

LGSM starts out modestly with a handful of activists taking up collections at the 1984 Gay Pride march

for the striking miners. They try to approach the miners through official union channels in order to donate the money they are collecting, but are met with embarrassed silence, avoidance or phone hang-ups.

Frustrated that they are getting nowhere they pick a mining community at random, a small Welsh mining town, and contact the community’s strike support committee directly. It is made up mainly of miners’ wives.

The film follows the development of the relationship between the activists in LGSM and the Welsh mining community. It is not without its bumps; the movie doesn’t try and skirt around the homophobia that exists.

Change through struggle

But through determination and unwillingness to give up on both sides a real solidarity is forged. Mark Ashton stands out as one of the acknowledged leaders of the movement but the great thing about *Pride* is how much it is a film not about individual heroism, but about how much ordinary people can achieve when they band together.

The cast, true to the spirit of the story of *Pride*, is really an ensemble

WHERE WE STAND

The dead-end of capitalism

The capitalist system is based on violence, oppression and brutal exploitation. It creates hunger beside plenty, it threatens our sustenance through unsafe and unsustainable farming, and kills the earth itself with pollution and unsustainable extraction of oil, minerals, animals, trees, and water. Capitalism leads to imperialism and war. Saving ourselves and the planet depends on finding an alternative.

A system that is killing the planet

Capitalist profits depend on extracting the world's blood and bone. The devastating impact of capital's assault on the planet affect the world's most vulnerable populations and threaten the long-term meaningful existence of humanity. Capitalism cannot regulate the catastrophic effects of climate change. We stand for climate justice, including the concept of "just transition" for affected workers.

Socialism and workers' power

Any alternative to capitalism must involve replacing the system from the bottom up through radical collective action. Central to that struggle is the workplace, where capitalism reaps its profits off our backs.

Capitalist monopolies control the earth's resources, but workers everywhere actually create the wealth. A new socialist society can only be constructed when workers collectively seize control of that wealth and plan its production and distribution to satisfy human needs, not corporate profits—to respect the environment, not pollute and destroy it.

Oppression

Within capitalist society different groups suffer from specific forms of oppression. Attacks on oppressed groups are used to divide workers and weaken solidarity. We oppose racism and imperialism. We oppose all immigration controls. We support the right of people of colour and other oppressed groups to organize in their own defence. We are for real, social, economic and political equality for women. We are for an end to all forms of discrimination and homophobia against lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgendered people.

We oppose environmental racism. We oppose discrimination on the basis of religion, ability and age.

Canada, Quebec, Indigenous Peoples

Canada is not a "colony" of the United States, but an imperialist country in its own right that participates in the exploitation of much of the world. The Canadian state was founded through the repression of Indigenous peoples and the people of Quebec.

We support the struggles for self-determination of Quebec and Indigenous peoples up to and including the right to independence. In particular, we recognize Indigenous peoples' original and primary right to decide their fate and that of their lands, heritage, and traditions. Socialists in Quebec, and in all oppressed nations, work to give the struggle against national oppression an internationalist and working class content.

Internationalism

The struggle for socialism is part of a worldwide struggle. We campaign for solidarity with workers in other countries. We oppose everything that turns workers from one country against those from other countries. We support all genuine national liberation movements.

The 1917 revolution in Russia was an inspiration for the oppressed everywhere. But it was defeated when workers' revolutions elsewhere were defeated. A Stalinist counter-revolution, which killed millions, created a new form of capitalist exploitation based on state ownership and control. In Eastern Europe, China and other countries, a similar system was later established by Stalinist, not socialist, parties. We support the struggle of workers in these countries against both private and state capitalism.

Elections and democracy

Elections can be an opportunity to give voice to the struggle for social change. But under capitalism, they can't change the system. The structures of the present parliament, army, police and judiciary protect the ruling class against the workers. These structures cannot be simply taken over and used by the working class. The working class needs real democracy, and that requires an entirely different kind of state—a workers' state based upon councils of workers' delegates.

Reform and revolution

Every day, there are battles between exploiter and exploited, oppressor and oppressed, to reform the system—to improve living conditions. These struggles are crucial in the fight for a new world. To further these struggles, we work within the trade unions and orient to building a rank and file movement that strengthens workers' unity and solidarity.

But the fight for reforms will not, in itself, bring about fundamental social change. The present system cannot be fixed or reformed as the NDP and many trade union leaders say. Nor can the system regulate itself to prevent environmental destruction and climate injustice. It has to be overthrown. That will require the mass action of workers themselves.

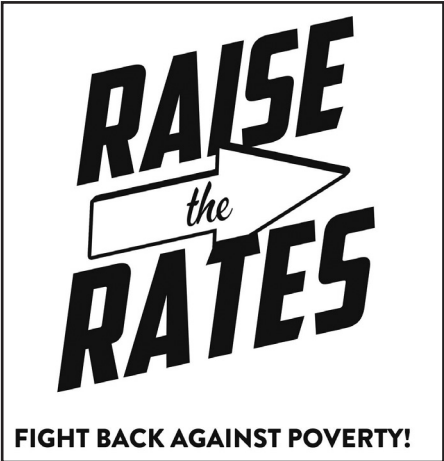
The Revolutionary Party

To achieve socialism the leading activists in the working class have to be organized into a revolutionary socialist party. The party must be a party of action, and it must be democratic. We are an organization of activists committed to helping in the construction of such a party through ongoing activity in the mass organizations of the working class and in the daily struggles of workers and the oppressed.

If these ideas make sense to you, help us in this project and join the International Socialists.



Activist calendar
movement events



Raise the Rates Week of Action
Monday October 13 to Friday October 17
cities across Ontario
raisetherates.ca



Toronto Disability Pride March
Saturday October 4 @ 1pm
Queen's Park Circle
99 Welesley Street, Toronto
facebook: 4th Annual Toronto Disability Pride March



**York Federation of Students
Activist Assembly**
Wednesday October 29, 8:30am to 10pm
http://www.yfs.ca

International Socialist events



Marxism
UBC: Mondays 12pm in IK Barber
Learning Centre room 315
Langara: Wednesdays 11:30pm
contact vancouver-socialists@gmail.com



What would socialism look like?
Wednesday October 15, 7:30pm.
The Winking Judge
25 Augusta Street, Hamilton



Strategy and Tactics for Resistance and Revolution
Wednesday October 29, 7pm-9pm.
The Daily Grind Cafe
601 Somerset St W at Percy, Ottawa

Fight on every front:
join the International Socialists

Do you oppose exploitation, war, oppression and climate chaos?

Do you want to be part of building resistance movements to all these symptoms of capitalism, towards a revolutionary transformation of society?

Then join the I.S. today!

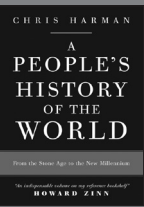
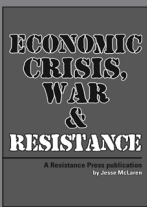
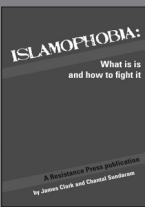
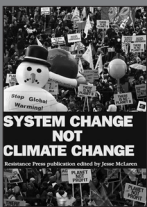
We have branches in Vancouver, Hamilton, Toronto, Ottawa, and members across the country.

email reports@socialist.ca
or visit www.socialist.ca



OPEN SATURDAYS, 12-3pm

427 Bloor Street West, suite 202, Toronto ; 416-972-6391; www.facebook.com/resistancepress



RESTAURANT WORKERS

The Ontario Labour Relations Board ruled in favour of laid-off workers at Richtree restaurant in the Eaton Centre in Toronto, who ratified at new contract in September.

Richtree claimed it was no longer obligated to its unionized workers, members of Unite Here Local 75, after shutting the restaurant down and then moving to another part of the mall and reopening with non-union workers.

The OLRB rejected the claim that the layoffs were justified because the restaurant had changed its address, a victory for workers—some who worked for Richtree for 25 years.

Socialist Worker spoke to Octavian Cadabeschi, who organized labour movement solidarity for Richtree workers, about how this victory was achieved.

“I can say with certainty that every aspect of the campaign was responsible for this victory. This company was initially completely unwilling to negotiate, and it took a major fight just to get them to sit down at the table, much less agree to more or less everything the union was asking for.

“The court challenges are important, but labour struggles are won by organised, mobilised workers taking action, not court cases alone.

UNITE HERE has had a long history of rank-and-file organising and taking the fight into the workplace and onto the streets, and in these neoliberal times, UNITE HERE has actually raised the standard of hospitality workers to that of unionised industrial workers. If you fight, you win. But it has to be a real fight.”

RADICAL READING CAFE

by ELEANOR RILEY

It was an interesting night in Ottawa for the International Socialists Radical Reading Café.

Seven activists of diverse experience with socialism met to discuss “Money, alienation, and the commodification of everything,” and a few select Marxist readings.

The discussion ranged globally, touching on topics like meaningful solidarity and the need for an international radical organization in the struggle against capitalism. Members shared their stories about fighting oppression and complacency in their lives, and brought up the important fact of remembering the humanity of others, even those actively opposed to meaningful change. It was agreed that there are many commonalities between anarchism and socialism, especially the need to fight authoritarianism impulses in non-hierarchical structures. Those who were more conversant with Marx explained in detail some of the concepts of alienation in an accessible way, and provided some recommended reading for further inquiry.

TORONTO DISABILITY PRIDE MARCH



by MELISSA GRAHAM

We’re still here, and we’re still marching.

The fourth annual Toronto Disability Pride March is taking place on Saturday, October 4, 2014 from 1:00 pm to 4:00 pm, starting at Queen’s Park and ending at Ryerson’s School of Disability Studies, 99 Gerrard St. East. The purpose of the march is to raise awareness of the issues facing disabled people in our community. Those issues are not limited to each individual’s daily challenges, but rather are compounded when we other systemic barriers such as class, race, gender, age, sexual identity, ethnic origin, poverty, etc. place a bigger and more oppressive barrier to us as a whole.

Starting at 1:00 pm, at Queen’s Park, speakers will address the marchers. We

have some great speakers lined up: Onar Usar (York University), David Meyers (Ethno-Racial people with Disabilities Coalition of Ontario), Charles Silverman (Ryerson University/OCAD), Kevin Jackson (TDPM organizer), Melissa Graham (TDPM organizer), and Kathryn Church (Ryerson University).

Far too often the issues faced by disabled people are dealt with behind closed doors. When housing is built, social assistance rates are cut, or public services are put in place we are often the last to know. But this march isn’t just about those things that we would often identify as barriers, it is about being recognized as a community with shared struggles.

With Toronto’s municipal

elections on the horizon, and disabled people fighting against austerity and oppression around the world, this is a critical time for solidarity, visibility and action. Like many movements our struggles have remained the same over the last four years of marching, but we are seeing incremental changes. Slowly people are waking up, and rising to the call for action. Like ADAPT in United States, and Disabled People Against Cuts in the UK, we will show the ruling class that disabled people and their allies are a powerful force that will not be silenced in the name of austerity.

Please join us on Saturday October 4 at 1:00 PM in Queen’s Park, Toronto.

BC teachers’ strike: lessons learned

by TARA EHRCKE

Longest teacher strike in BC history

Despite the outcome, perhaps the most incredible thing about this strike was the resolve of teachers.

Teachers understood clearly the severity of the issues at hand and the need for extended pressure in the context of a government that campaigned on and implements neo-liberal reforms.

Teachers should be rightly proud of taking a stand and making a personal sacrifice to do so. And union leaders should take careful note that workers in British Columbia are willing to take action to stop concession bargaining and instead fight to win improvement.

The length of the strike is also important for its knock on effect. Periods of history where labour makes gains are marked by frequent strikes and by more strike days. Not every one of these strikes results in victory. But the cumulative impact changes the balance of power. Employers get nervous if they believe the risk is high. And this in turn impacts the outcome of bargaining.

The outcome

I do not believe this strike was a victory. On the major issue, return of class size and composition limits, we failed.

On wages, the government did shift slightly. In spring they removed the requirement for sick day accumulation limits to pay for wages. They also shifted the timing to put more increases front loaded.

But overall, the wages remain below inflation and so this is a concessionary contract in that respect. Teachers’ buying power will go down over the life of the contract.

The small increases to elementary preparation time are a genuine win, and this was a much better way to bargain the funds from the grievance settlement.

Solidarity?

Many teachers reluctantly voted yes because they felt a longer strike could significantly impact parent solidarity and the sympathy of the public.

This may or may not be the case. Many vocal supporters were clear to indicate that support would continue regardless of the vote and that they were behind teachers in fighting for better classroom conditions.

It is also the case that every public sector strike faces a conundrum - instead of monetary pressure on the employer, a strike creates public inconvenience.

The widespread, organized support of parents and the continued support in

polling was one of the great victories of this strike. This, more than anything else, pressured the government.

The test now will be to ensure that the teacher/parent bonds that have been forged deepen and strengthen. Ultimately this will be required to win back smaller classes.

Many individual union members showed great commitment. They came to our picket lines, they wrote letters, they rallied. Like parents, many actively organized in support.

The labour leadership, five weeks into the strike, offered interest free loans to teachers and the BCTF. While loans and donations are appreciated, what we need is collective pressure. BC now has a long and sad history of the union movement failing to step in with solidarity strikes when they are most needed.

The failure of the BC Federation of Labour to mobilize with us is a continuation of the trend that sees joint labour action moribund. Labour can and must work to support one another if we are to muster the strength needed to stop concession bargaining and regain what we have lost.

This is shared from the blog Staffroom Confidential: www.staffroomconfidential.com

STICKING WITH THE UNION

Carolyn Egan

Labour solidarity at Peoples’ Social Forum

Recently at the People’s Social Forum in Ottawa thousands of young activists joined with trade unionists, environmentalists, and Indigenous peoples to talk about their present and past struggles and how they can work together to defeat the austerity agenda.

There were many who came from Quebec, and one had a real sense of the Francophone reality in this country. There was translation in every session, which gave people the ability to listen and speak in either French or English.

There were many excellent sessions. One that particularly stood out for me was presented by Steelworkers from Alma, Quebec.

Alma Steelworkers

They withstood a long lock out by Rio Tinto in an attempt to impose two tier wages on new hires. The workers spoke in detail about how they had organized both among their fellow workers and their community to present a strong, united front against the employer.

There were many ups and downs with discussion and debates front and centre in the many months they were on the line. They built a strong solidarity in Alma but they also spoke about the support that came to them from across the country and internationally. This was very important because it gave the workers confidence that they were not alone in taking on one of the largest multinationals in the world.

Steelworkers came from US Steel in Hamilton and the from the Steelworkers Toronto Area council to show their support. Twice activists drove the thirteen hours each way to join with their fellow workers on the line. The support from English Canada was greatly appreciated and brought tears to the eyes of many of the locked out workers.

The Alma Steelworkers also marched in Montreal in support of the Quebec students building strong links

with them. They connected their fight with the broader fight against austerity.

They received \$60,000 per month from British Columbia CAW (now Unifor) members at a Rio Tinto facility in Kitimat. This came out of their own wages to support their fellow workers in Quebec. Over 8,000 travelled to a solidarity rally in the small town in the Saguenay to stand up against corporate power. This included workers from South Africa, Australia and the United States who also worked for Rio Tinto.

The fact that these workers won their struggle against overwhelming odds was a very important lesson, particularly the way they won it. Strong rank and file involvement typified the fight and the workers made this absolutely clear.

It wasn’t an accident that they were able to stay strong and reach out to others for the necessary solidarity. A strategic campaign also took place with demonstrations around the world at Rio Tinto workplaces along with a campaign leading up to the Olympics to keep Rio Tinto “Off the Podium” because the medals were to be made by their product.

Lessons

Lessons such as these, when so many workers struggles are defeated, are very important as trade unions, Indigenous peoples and social movements come together to share their experiences at events such as the People’s Social Forum.

As workers, the poor and the oppressed startegize on how best to mobilize and fight, the fact that 800 workers in rural Quebec could take on and defeat a vicious employer is very inspiring.

Victories like these can give both courage and a sense of confidence in these difficult times that workers using their collective power have the capacity to come together and win. Hopefully this is the lesson that will endure.



Socialist Worker

A MOVEMENT RISES

by JESSE MCLAREN

September 21 was the largest climate justice event in history, with 2,600 events organized in 150 countries, including a massive march in New York.

Organizers had hoped for 100,000 people, which would have doubled the march outside the White House last year (previously the largest climate march in US history).

Instead, up to 400,000 people marched on the UN climate change summit to demand action on climate change.

It was a sea of humanity, rising from across the country and around the world. Stretching thirty of New York's long city blocks along Central Park (where horse-drawn carriages had placards reading "another Teamster for green jobs"), the front of the march started moving before noon and by 3pm the back of the march had not yet begun. When the march spread out it covered 80 city blocks.

The mood was festive but also serious. Before 1pm there was a minute of silence, as the hundreds of thousands of people stood with their hands in the air, and then a tidal wave of noise to sound the alarm on the climate crisis.

We need everyone

The motto of the march was "to change everything we need everyone," and the march united all those affected by climate change and fighting back.

The march was led by youth at the centre of climate change and resistance, under the banner "Frontlines of Crisis, Forefront of Change."

This was followed by an indigenous contingent from across Turtle Island, with the banner "Respect Indigenous Peoples' Rights: End CO2onialism."

There were contingents



of students fighting for their futures, and elders defending the next generation.

There were contingents of migrant workers fighting for their rights, and dozens of labour organizations demanding green jobs alternatives.

There were demands for wind and solar, and opposition to nuclear, coal, fracking and arctic drilling; as one placard said, "what happens in the arctic doesn't stay in the arctic."

There was a peace and justice contingent—including

ing a Palestine solidarity contingent, a "stop the wars, stop the warming banner" and a massive balloon by Veterans for Peace explaining the US military is the largest consumer of oil and largest emitter of carbon dioxide.

There were scientist and healthcare organizations, faith organizations and community groups demanding a right to housing.

There were many from outside the US, including from Brazil, Peru, India and Senegal.

Hundreds of people from Canada attended—including one carrying a sign reading "Canada is angry: where is Harper" (Harper boycotted the UN summit)—and there was an anti-tar sands contingent to challenge tar sands and pipelines and demand divestment.

Debates

The march also reflected debates in the movement, with some calling simply for dietary, tax or electoral changes as a climate fix.

But in the days before the march 2,500 people attended a climate convergence conference to discuss system change.

At the closing plenary Naomi Klein spoke about her new book, concluding that "the real climate leaders and in the streets," and that "There are no non-radical options left on the table. Climate change will either change everything about our physical world, or to stop it we will have to change everything about economic and political world."

The march was followed by a "flood Wall Street" event of direction action in the financial district.

The UN climate summit—a gathering of states representing polluting industries and armed with polluting militaries—will be incapable of meeting the needs of the planet and its people.

As the summit began Obama began bombing Syria and is using the Ebola epidemics as an excuse to send thousands more troops to Africa, while Harper wants to send fighter jets to Iraq. These war crimes are also climate crimes.

But the urgency, enthusiasm and confidence of the historic march and the 2,600 other actions that day will send ripples around the world, building a rising movement that will need to achieve system change if we are to stop climate change.

Never miss an issue.

Mail in this form with a cheque or money order made payable to "Socialist Worker". Or complete the form online at www.socialist.ca/subscribe

Prices per year (CAD dollars):

Regular subscription: \$30
U.S.: \$50
Other international: \$60



Name:

Address:

Phone:

E-mail:

Mail to: Socialist Worker, PO Box 339
Station E, Toronto, ON Canada, M6H 4E3
Website: www.socialist.ca / E-mail: reports@socialist.ca

More support needed for postal workers

by VALERIE LANNON

September 21 saw 200 unionists and other supporters rally to say "yes to door to door mail delivery" and "no to cuts at Canada Post." Socialist Worker spoke with a number of those in attendance.

Yasin Kaya, Recording Secretary for CUPE 3903 at York University said the main reason he attended was to oppose Tory attacks to public sector unions. To win, he said labour "has to win over workers who aren't organized and the unemployed."

Ron Walker, UNIFOR 222 in Oshawa (auto plant) said he was there to show solidarity with CUPW and "to protest the Tory government tearing apart our social fabric." To win, "workers have to unite and use demonstrations and civil

disobedience."

One CUPW worker said "the public needs the door to door service, otherwise how will they get their mail in the winter?"

There were several speakers, introduced by the MC who called out to Harper to "keep your bloody hands off the postal workers."

National President of CUPW, Denis Lemelin, emphasized that the Toronto rally was one of several that continue to take place across the country, in an effort to save all public services. "Harper wants to give the post office to the private sector so we need to be in the streets... An election is coming. We deserve a good society so we need to be involved with the election, to save public services."

CLC Vice-President Marie Clark-Walker, who is also with the Coalition

of Black Trade Unionists also opposed Harper, saying "You have tried to silence science, the media, activists and marginalized groups. You are not going to take away my door to door service."

CUPE Ontario President Fred Hahn made an excellent point when he stated "The post office is a public service. I don't care if it's profitable or not." Excellent point. We don't make a special note of whether hospitals and schools are profitable.

The focus on the upcoming federal election was echoed by several speakers including OFL President Sid Ryan, Past President of UAW, Buzz Hargrove and OPSEU Vice President Miles Magner. The speakers emphasized the victory in Ontario of defeating Tim Hudak and "right to work"

laws, which was a result of united action by labour. This victory should serve as a starting point for a similar defeat of Harper and his agenda.

But the focus on the election is beginning to look like an obsession and a substitute for giving confidence to and mobilizing rank and file union members. Workers need to take the most defiant action they can, in the streets and especially in their workplaces. And the rest of us can join them in lobbying our MPs and urging our neighbours to put up window or lawn signs and sign petitions of support.

We can win this fight because the public is with us on this one, even in Tory ridings. So visit your closest CUPW office to pick up support materials. Let's stop Harper now. For information visit savecanadapost.ca.