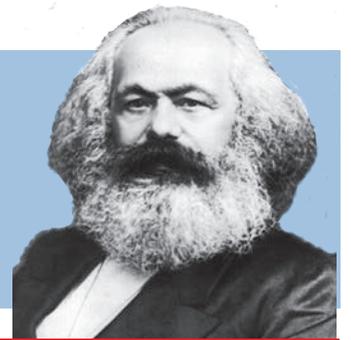




Revolt in France
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of Karl Marx**
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On March 10, 2018 an Indigenous-led protest of 10,000 marched against the Kinder Morgan pipeline in Vancouver.

Photo Zach Embree CC BY NC SA 2.0

Justin Trudeau is planning to spend as much as \$2 billion to prop up the Kinder Morgan Trans-Mountain pipeline. Trudeau is fearful that if he doesn't offer the extra cash, the pipeline may not be built after Kinder Morgan ceased all non-essential work on the site.

This follows a wave of resistance led by Indigenous land defenders in BC who argue that the pipeline will endanger their lands and the natural environment.

They are right. All pipelines spill, and the environmental impacts are devastating. As the debate on this one was raging, another pipeline in northern Alberta, owned by Paramount Resources Limited, was spilling more than 100,000 litres of bitumen into Dene territory.

It is the fourth such spill in that region and follows the massive 9.5 million litre leak that destroyed hundreds of hectares of boreal forest.

This pipeline will spill too. They all do. That's why most Indigenous leaders in the area

are putting themselves on the line to stop this. Their determination is inspirational. According to Grand Chief Stewart Phillip, "There is absolutely no way that we are letting Kinder Morgan expand its archaic and dangerous fossil fuel extraction. Today we proudly stood with land defenders to send a strong message to Kinder Morgan, its investors, and Trudeau – we will not stand down and we will remain united in our opposition. I took action today for my children and grandchildren, and for all future generations."

Trudeau's Standing Rock

This is a headache that will not go away for the Trudeau Liberals. A Standing Rock-style impasse is expected, and it remains to be seen how far the federal authorities will go to clear the pipeline route.

They are not above dirty tricks to get their way on this file. We now know that the Trudeau Liberals worked to rig the consultation process

to make sure that the pipeline was approved.

Avi Lewis from the Leap Manifesto group has been working to let people know about this scandal. "Justin Trudeau rigged the consultation process for the Kinder Morgan pipeline, and there was pressure from high ranking officials "to give cabinet a legally-sound basis to say 'yes'" to the project. No wonder Trudeau is offering the Texas oil company a bailout in the billions - he made his mind up to ram this project through a long, long time ago.", he wrote in an email to supporters.

Activists across Canada have begun to apply pressure. There are rallies and pickets at MP offices throughout the country over the next few weeks to pressure the Liberals to end support for the scheme.

The right-wing is also applying pressure. There has been a recent spate of articles denouncing the protests as foreign-funded conspiracies to undermine the Canadian resource

economy. These articles attempt to appeal to nationalism, but of course fail to remind people that Kinder Morgan itself is a Houston-based energy giant. Indeed, most of the tar sands oil is being shipped overseas and there is considerable investment from oil companies abroad.

And it may end up being worse for Canadians if Kinder Morgan has its way. A former CEO of Kinder Morgan Hal Kvisle has said that it may cost as much as \$10 billion in public money to ensure the project goes ahead. That's equivalent to \$149 million for every Indigenous reserve without the Canadian state that currently is without clean drinking.

Either way, if we are to really address the issue of climate change, we need to be canceling the destructive projects and pushing for a green future without the use of fossil fuels. There is money available to help with the transition. Just ask Trudeau – he seems to have a few billion to spare.

Justice for Marielle Franco

by Sean Purdy, PSOL, São Paulo

On March 14, Marielle Franco, a Rio de Janeiro city councilor for the left-wing Party of Socialism and Freedom (PSOL) and her driver, Anderson Gomes, were brutally executed on a downtown city street as they left a meeting of Black women activists. A long-time activist in poor peoples', Black, LGBT and human rights movements in the city, Marielle was elected to the city council in 2016 with the fifth-highest number of votes.

Marielle's murder shocked Brazil, provoking massive demonstrations of solidarity around the country. It is likely that Marielle's death was ordered by paramilitary militias led by current and ex-police officers who control many of Rio's poor favela communities, organized criminals with connections to right-wing political parties whom she had long criticized. Yet it also highlights the depth of the severe political and economic crisis in the country.

Police brutality

The poor shantytowns (favelas) in all of Brazil's major cities have long suffered from the absence of basic water and sanitation services, hospitals and schools as well as the organized violence of drug traffickers and, especially, the police. The police in Brazil regularly murder poor and Black people with impunity. Between 2009 and 2016, Brazilian police forces killed an average of seven people per day, making it one of the most violent in



Toronto vigil calls for justice

the world.

Just one month before Marielle's murder, the illegitimate federal government of Michel Temer ordered a wide scale military intervention in Rio, sending in thousands of troops to supposedly solve the problem of public safety in the city. Marielle and PSOL have been firm opponents against intervention.

Marielle, born and raised in the favela community of Maré in Rio de Janeiro, first became active politically in the early 2000s after

the murder of a close friend. She worked in local community groups who organized against the violence of the police and drug gangs and for improvements in public services. She completed an undergraduate degree in social services, joined PSOL and was hired as an assistant to Marcelo Freixo, a state deputy in PSOL and her ex-high school history teacher.

Freixo, with Marielle's assistance, led a high-profile inquiry into the paramilitary militias in Rio

which led to the arrest of hundreds, including several politicians and dozens of current and ex-police officers. Yet in the context of the economic and political crisis since 2013 and their continued links with politicians and corrupt police, the militias have actually increased their influence, exercising more power in Rio than the drug gangs.

In the last few months before her murder, Marielle criticized both the brutality of the police and the militias and became a leading voice

against federal government military intervention. Just a few years ago, she defended her Master's Degree in Public Administration with a thesis criticizing police and military actions in Rio's favelas.

Marielle's execution provoked widespread public indignation and rage, but it also exposed the growing right-wing tide in Brazilian politics. High-profile judges, politicians and figures in the far-right spread malicious lies about Marielle, reflecting the growing racism, homophobia and reactionary politics in the country fueled by the parliamentary coup against the Workers' Party president Dilma Rousseff in 2016 and a ultra-neoliberal political agenda by the illegitimate federal government.

By all accounts, the police have bungled the investigation in the murders. The left, unions and social movements need to first demand that Marielle and Anderson's murderers be brought to justice.

But to truly honour Marielle, we also need to demand an end to federal government military intervention in Rio. We need to demand an end to the murders of poor and Black people by the police and militias. And we need to unite the Black and LGBT movements with socialists and the unions to build a fight back against the entire racist, anti-poor, misogynist and homophobic politics of governments and the right wing at all levels.

Marielle and Anderson. Presentes!

The Bear in the Room: Russia and the new Cold War

by John Bell

The attempts by the Canadian government and its NATO allies to ramp up a new Cold War, casting Russia as public enemy number one, have peaked with the recent missile attack on Syria by the US, UK and France.

Russia, ruled by Tsar-wannabe Vladimir Putin, remains a dangerous nuclear power, playing out its imperial interests in Eastern Europe and the Middle East. But that doesn't mean I'm about to fall in behind a gang of people in Washington with even more nuclear weapons and their own imperial interests, flooding the airwaves with stories about how Russia is the anti-Christ of nations.

It has been creeping up on us for years. I recall the headlines in 2014, accusing Russian planes of "buzzing" a Canadian Forces ship in the Black Sea, there as part of a NATO "training exercise". Rob Nicholson, then Stephen Harper's Defence Minister, made the threat as clear as mud: "While the Russian military aircraft that circled the HMCS Toronto did not in any way pose a threat to the Canadian ship, their actions were unnecessarily provocative and risk escalating tensions even further."

The threat was non-threatening? NATO officials later suggested it never happened, but the "buzzing" was a front page headline while the backtracking appeared in the back pages.

Then a year ago this headline topped the CBC news: "Canadian jets intercept Russian bombers, 1st time since 2014". Wow, pretty threatening. But North American Aerospace Defence Command representative Maj. Jennifer Stadyk said the Russians remained in international airspace, and acted "professionally and

safely" before returning home.

In other words, much ado about nothing but a sensational headline.

Just this March Jason Kenney, now head of Alberta's United Conservative Party, suggested that Russia was behind the protests against the Kinder Morgan pipeline. "In whose interest is it that Canadian oil and gas does not get to global markets? Well obviously, it's in the interest of Russia, with the fourth largest reserves on earth." Obviously, except that Russia ranks eighth in proven oil reserves.

A Russian Spy and a Guy Named Boris

Consider the epic story/non-story out of Britain, of the attempted assassination of the Russian defector and his daughter. Theresa May's embattled Tory government was quick to accuse Russia of attempted murder in the poisoning of Sergei Skripal, a Colonel in the Russian military intelligence service who had defected to Britain, and his daughter Yulia. Buffoonish Foreign Minister Boris Johnson rushed to insist that he had undeniable proof from the Ministry of Defence—that the chemical weapon used was of Russian origin.

Reaction was swift. Russian diplomats were expelled, a serious provocation, the sort of thing that marks the path to war. In lock step, 29 other countries—including Britain's NATO allies—expelled almost 150 Russian diplomats.

And there was Canada's Foreign Affairs Minister Chrystia Freeland sternly giving four Russian officials the boot. Her department directly tied the expulsion to the Skripal case: "The nerve agent attack represents a clear threat to the rules-based international order ..."

But then the British Ministry of Defence

sources that Boris Johnson had so decisively cited actually spoke up for themselves: there was no proof that the chemical weapon used originated in Russia. Then Swiss researchers found that the nerve agent probably came from the arsenals of the US or UK.

Skeletons in Cabinet's Closet

So, did the Russian diplomats expelled for fallacious reasons get readmitted? Back in Ottawa Trudeau flipped the entire narrative. The Russians were expelled, it seems, because they were mean to Chrystia Freeland. They were undermining Canadian democracy by engineering a smear campaign charging that Freeland's grandfather was a Nazi collaborator in WW2.

The only problem with Trudeau's moral high ground is that Freeland's grandfather was a Nazi collaborator. From 1940 to 1945 Michael Chomiak was editor-in-chief of a newspaper called *Krakuski Visti* in Cracow. A Ukrainian ultra-nationalist, Chomiak was an enthusiastic supporter of the Holocaust and wrote approvingly of the slaughter of 33,000 of Kiev's Jews: with them gone, Kiev was "beautiful, glorious." He also hailed the creation of a fascist unit made up of Ukrainian volunteers, the 14th Waffen SS Division Halychyna.

Freeland has repeatedly lied about it, and now Trudeau has lied on her behalf. Why? She is not responsible for the sins of her ancestors. But this history reminds us of how easy it was for Eastern European fascists like Chomiak to emigrate to Canada. And it has more to do with Canada's present military role in Ukraine than with the past.

It is an open secret that the Ukraine military—like its government, elected after a

Western-backed coup in 2014—is riddled with fascists. Soldiers that aren't in these far-right militias are either sympathetic to them or fearful of them. According to MP Andriy Biletsky, head of the fascist National Corps Party, Ukraine is destined to "lead the white races of the world in a final crusade ... against Semite-led Untermenschen [subhumans]".

These are the forces Freeland and Trudeau would ally with to face down Russia. It isn't the fascists of the past we have to worry about, it is the fascists of today.

There is no doubt Russia has imperial interests in the Crimean and Donbass regions. And there is no doubt it is backing President-for-Life Assad in Syria to maintain its political and economic interests in the Middle East. Whether or not Assad has used chemical weapons, he is guilty of a long list of war crimes against Syrians rebelling against his rule.

Russia is a shitty, dangerous imperial power, ruled by a slimy autocrat. But the powers whipping up the current round of anti-Russian propaganda are at least as shitty, dangerous and slimy—and, yes, that includes Canada. It must be possible to oppose Russia and its clients at the same time as opposing the US, UK, France, NATO and their clients. The enemy of my enemy is not necessarily my friend.

All the breathless efforts to stoke a new Cold War with Russia need to be met with a massive dose of skepticism. Maybe we need to deal with our own oily oligarchs, our own war merchants, and our own lying politicians before we worry about Russia's.

Teachers Rising!

by Pam Johnson

The West Virginia teachers' strike has ignited a wave of mass resistance among US teachers. West Virginia teachers defied the state government and their union leadership to initiate a historic strike on February 22 to demand better wages and protect their benefits. And they won!

Strikes and walk-outs have exposed the horrendous working conditions of teachers many who work multiple jobs to make ends meet and use food banks to get by. Also exposed is the deterioration of public schools: mould, broken toilets, obsolete and wrecked textbooks and lack of basic supplies, like pencils, that teachers must provide. Years of concessions and erosions of their working conditions and erosion of resources for students pushed these teachers to the brink. They said enough is enough.

Their success and the victory of their strike lit a flame that is quickly spreading through the US. In less than two months, teachers in mainly Republican Party controlled "red states" and right-to-work states like West Virginia are building mass protests. In Arizona, Oklahoma, Kentucky and now Colorado teachers have struck, walked-in or walked out to demand better working conditions for themselves and better learning conditions for their students.

West Virginia: miners' strike to teachers' strike

In West Virginia, teachers are taking inspiration from the history of struggles of miners in West Virginia coalfields in the early 20th century. Small walkouts began in early February, organized by the sons and daughters of coal miners who had stood on the picket lines themselves. "When I was in diapers, my father was involved in a mine strike," Justin Endicott, 34, a fourth-grade teacher in Mingo County, WV said.

"It was definitely bottom-up, not top-down," according to Jay O'Neal, who started the Facebook group that became a hub for organizing the early actions. "The unions soon jumped on board, and the strike was born."



Arizona teachers wear Red for Ed

Oklahoma: nine day strike

Oklahoma teachers declared victory after a nine-day strike in April. The walkout prompted legislators to boost education funding by \$479 million and up teachers' pay by an average of \$6,100, the largest pay raise in state history. The teachers also won pay raises for support staff such as cafeteria workers and bus drivers, and secured \$70 million in recurring revenue for classroom supplies.

Teachers flooded the state capital and went door knocking at the state legislators' offices to demand that they not only fund wages but also restore millions that has been cut from education. On April 16, the day that Oklahoma teachers finished striking and went back to class, Colorado teachers walked out.

Arizona: Red for Ed

In Arizona, where teachers' pay is the lowest of any US state, Arizona Educators United (AEU), a coalition of teachers, support staff and administrators initiated a #RedforEd campaign. Their demands are for better pay for all school staff—support and teachers but they are also demanding increased per pupil funding.

Arizona teachers voted on April 19 to strike following weeks of "walk-ins" protests. Teachers here, following the lead of Oklahoma teachers, are raising the stakes with demands that are not just about their working conditions. Dylan Wegela, an AEU leader said, "I can't walk back into my classroom without getting more for my students and this movement."

West Virginia to Montreal

In the US, Canada, the UK and Brazil teachers are also on the front line of resistance to austerity. Ontario college faculty in OPSEU were on strike for 5 weeks in the fall 2017. Carleton University faculty were on strike to defend pensions and York University contract faculty and teaching assistants remain on a protracted strike for job security.

UK university faculty defied their union leadership to stay on strike to defend pensions. Teachers in Sao Paulo faced brutal police violence striking against cuts to benefits.

Montreal teachers have called for a May Day strike on May 1. Teachers voted for this "illegal" strike against the wishes of their trade union leaders.

Red-state revolt

It is notable that these mass protests and strikes are happening in mainly Republican-controlled red states, that overwhelmingly voted for Trump.

"Those who voted for Trump may have wanted to shake up the system, but there's a lot of other people that want to shake up unfairness," said Randi Weingarten, president of the American Federation of Teachers. "You saw that in the women's marches, you see that in the 'Me Too' movement, you see that in the kids in Parkland, who rallied for stricter gun controls."

Similarly, the usual right-wing talking points saying teachers are greedy and don't care about their students is backfiring. In all of these struggles, students and parents have been up front showing their support for their striking teachers.

The disconnect of the Trump government was on display when Betsy DeVos, Secretary of Education, admitted she had no idea what the conditions of public school are in her home state, Michigan. She has been pushing the Trump government's continuation of the privatization of public school through charters and vouchers as "choice" in education.

Power in the Streets

This movement is exposing the Trump Republicans' real agenda, and the teachers' union leaders—who have now jumped in front of the grassroots struggles—are saying that the way to solve this is to vote the Democrats in. But it was the Obama Democrats who accelerated the erosion and privatization of education after the 2008 crisis.

The labour leaders' call for leaving the streets for the ballot box was a disaster in Wisconsin when public sector workers took over the capitol in 2011. Channelling that anger into an election returned anti-union Governor Scott Walker and he proceeded to decimate union power.

What this resistance proves that it is the protests and strikes that masses of people are participating in that is getting the job done of forcing governments to refund education and stop the cuts and austerity.

Mass strikes shut down France

by Charlie Kimber

Around 300,000 people took part in some 190 demonstrations and rallies in France at the end of April, as the battle continues against President Emmanuel Macron's neoliberal assault.

They brought together rail workers, electricity and gas workers who are fighting privatisation, civil service workers, pensioners, students and school students.

Rail workers are striking two days in every five.

The turnout was smaller than a united day of action on 22 March. This time in most areas only the CGT federation called people out.

On 22 March there was a wider call.

The strikes need urgently to accelerate.

Pierre Brun, a rail worker, told Socialist Worker, "We had a good demonstration in Lyon, 8,000 or so. It felt strong and united. Lots of different workers were on the streets with us."

"The number of train drivers on strike doesn't go down. Some people miss a strike or two, others come out."

"But the issue is how we're going to win. There will be big demos around May Day. Good, but there has to be something that paralyses the country—a general strike, and for more than one day."

"Macron is very determined. Gestures won't win."

Meanwhile the student movement continues to resist Macron's plan to increase selection and make it harder to go to university—despite police attacks on occupations.

The latest came at Tolbiac in Paris where cops seriously injured a number of people.

Occupations

The government claims that only three universities now have any form of occupations going on.

But the main student union, Unef, said on Monday that actions continued at Rennes 1, Paris 3, Paris 8, IEP Lille, Toulouse 2, Rennes

2, Nantes, Rouen, Strasbourg, Limoges, Montpellier 3, Aix-Marseille, Nancy, Metz, Avignon, Paris 4, Bordeaux Victoire, IEP Paris and Nanterre.

Sylvine, a student from Paris, told Socialist Worker, "The movement is not intimidated, we're angry."

"There are thousands of young people involved—against selection, with the strikers, against the new laws that crackdown on asylum."

"There were lots of students on the demos last week. In 1968 when the students were attacked the unions called strikes."

"We want that now—for themselves and for us." Representatives from 33 universi-

ties met last weekend to discuss the next steps.

Their statement said, "Despite the repression it is not, and never was, time for negotiations and compromise with the government."

"We call on all students to escalate mobilisations and to take to the streets on the rail strikers' protests. We also call to participate in all the May Day marches and the 5 May education strikes."

"To allow students to continue to struggle, we call for students to be automatically marked as having passed exams, and for occupations if universities don't agree."

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REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS OF KARL MARX

It has been 200 years since the birth of Karl Marx and his ideas are more relevant than ever. Much of what he predicted is coming to pass and the capitalist system is looking more unstable each day. Faline Bobier looks back at Marx's revolutionary ideas.

by Faline Bobier

On this 200th anniversary of Marx's birth, it is timely to look at Marx's contributions to revolutionary thought and practice — from the development of the method of historical materialism, to his critique and analysis of capitalism as an economic system and his pinpointing of the working class as the potential 'gravediggers' of that system.

Historical materialism

The 1859 preface to Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* is probably the clearest statement he made about the method that would come to be known as historical materialism:

"In the social production of their existence, men [human beings] inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men [human beings] that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness."

Marx starts his examination of human society with the material reality in which we find ourselves. It is this that determines our lived reality, not the ideas in our heads, although there is a complex interaction between material reality and the ideologies that spring up to explain, or more often, to obscure, that reality.

This is a big advance over the way that history is often viewed, i.e. the Great Man (and less often, Great Woman) theory of history that is

peddled in mainstream educational institutions. According to this view of history, society moves forward because of individual genius, separated from social relations and the rest of society.

This is why the study of history so often seems to be reduced to memorizing the dates of kings and queens, emperors, presidents, prime ministers and so on. They are the "actors" that make history, and the only role for the rest of us is to look on in awe, or more often, in terror, as they run roughshod over our lives.

However, Marx turned this idea on its head and brought ordinary people onto the scene of history. According to Marx's conception history moves forward, not through the action of powerful individuals, but through class struggle:

"At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or — this merely expresses the same thing in legal terms — with the property relations within the framework of which they have operated hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an era of social revolution. The changes in the economic foundation lead sooner or later to the transformation of the whole immense superstructure. In studying such transformations, it is always necessary to distinguish between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, artistic or philosophic — in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out."

So, to understand historical events, such as the transition from feudalism to capitalism, you need to see how the development of new forms of production begins to undermine the old ruling structures.



Making the connections at a demonstration against Trump. Photo: Robert Jones CC BY 2.0

Unlike modern day politicians and mainstream media, Marx did not argue that the ascendancy of the bourgeois class and capitalist production represented the "best of all possible worlds" and the end of history. He saw capitalism as another stage in the development of human society, one which could usher in socialism, an egalitarian society where all could benefit from the immense amount of wealth created by the economic system of capitalism.

However, this wasn't a foregone conclusion.

Struggle

It's sometimes argued that Marx has an "instrumentalist" view of history — that Marx believed that history would inevitably lead to socialism.

On the contrary, to paraphrase Marx, human beings make history, but not in conditions of their own choosing. History moves forward through class struggle, but the outcome of those struggles is not pre-determined.

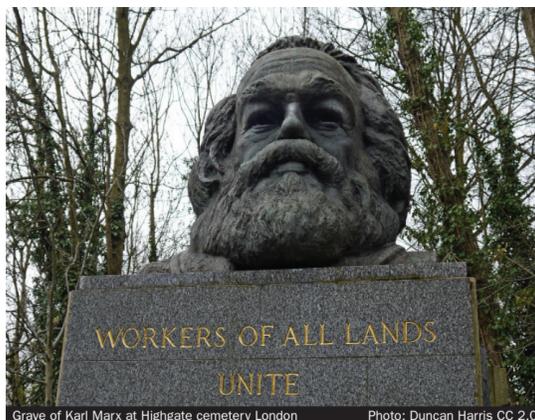
achieve this society of plenty for all, because of the way production is organized, with the means of production controlled by a tiny minority of society, the ruling class—more widely known today as "the 1%".

Marx described the ruling class as a "band of warring brothers" in constant competition with each other—giving the system a relentless drive to expand. As Marx wrote in *Capital*, "Fanatically bent on making value expand itself, he (the capitalist) ruthlessly forces the human race to produce for production's sake." Capitalism's insatiable drive has brought us in the 21st century to the edge of climate chaos and environmental destruction. But the Achilles heel of capitalism is that it can only create and re-create itself through the labour of workers.

Marx defined the working class on the basis, not of their salary or self-definition, but on their objective relationship to the means of production. Workers are those of us who can only survive by selling our labour power. So, although we are in that sense enslaved to capital, capital is also dependent on us—and capitalism grows by producing its own gravedigger, the working class.

This dependence on the working class can potentially be the downfall of the system. Profits only come from the exploitation of workers, and because of workers' relationship to production—we create all the wealth in society, but have no control over what is produced, how it is produced or who it is produced for—workers are constantly thrown into conflict with the bosses over working conditions, wages, questions of democracy in the workplace. When workers withdraw our collective labour power, the gears of capitalism and the profits that flow from it grind to a halt.

But Marx was aware of problems in advancing the workers' cause. The Communist Manifesto notes that the organisation of workers "is continually being upset by the competition between the workers themselves".



Grave of Karl Marx at Highgate cemetery London. Photo: Duncan Harris CC 2.0

Capitalism

Before the rise of capitalist society, based on colonialism and the often violent expropriation of resources from those who lived in the "colonies," modern day racism as we know it did not exist. In pre-capitalist societies there was prejudice against strangers, or those who lived in the next town, but there was no systematic categorization of different "races" as inferior.

This understanding was something that Karl Marx wrote about very compellingly in *Capital*, Vol. 1: "The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement, and entombment in mines of the indigenous population of the continent, the beginnings of the conquest and plunder of India, and the conversion of Africa into a preserve for the commercial hunting of black skins are all things that characterize the dawn of the era of capitalist production."

In one sentence Marx encapsulates immense amounts of human suffering, from the genocide visited on First Nations people in North America to the slave trade which saw Blacks forcibly removed from their homes to die on slave ships or to survive only to become the property of white masters.

"The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains," they wrote. "They have a world to win."

Crisis and Capitalism

During the recent stock market panic some commentators reassured us that the markets were just having "a correction".

But whatever the ups and downs during the latest episode, Marxism can

Divide and rule

Racism is a double-edged sword. Its first target is obviously those who suffer most directly from prejudice and hatred. However, racism has another objective, which is to bind those who share the same skin colour or religion or national affiliation, to their own ruling class.

Marx understood that this false consciousness or affiliation with one's own ruling class could only divide the 99% and make it much more difficult for ordinary people to make any gains. In the following passage he explains how English and Irish were set against each other and how this only benefited the bosses and the English ruling class:

"Every industrial and commercial center in England now possesses a working class divided into two hostile camps, English proletarians and Irish proletarians. The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker he regards himself as a member of the ruling nation and consequently he becomes a tool of the English aristocrats and capitalists against Ireland, thus strengthening their domination over himself. He cherishes religious, social, and national prejudices against the Irish worker... This antagonism is the secret of the impotence of the English working class, despite its organization. It is the secret by which the capitalist class maintains its power. And the latter is quite aware of this."

As Marx also noted in writing about the Civil War in the US, "Labor in the white skin can never free itself as long as labor in the black skin is branded."

The "secret by which the capitalist class maintains its power" is this ability to pit one group against another. In order to fight effectively it's important

to build real solidarity with those who face the daily reality of racism and discrimination.

Marx maintained that only workers could free themselves—no one could do it for them. He argued that in struggle the working class would become a "class for itself", one that consciously fights for its own interests.

And the process of revolution would not only transform the world but also the workers who made it. Marx wrote that only through revolution can the working class "succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew".

Today the working class makes up the majority of the world's population. When the Communist Manifesto was written in 1848, it was a tiny minority. But even then, Marx and Engels could see that this class had the potential to end exploitation and class division for good.

Instead each tries to grab large parts of the market—and plans production accordingly. Too many cars are produced compared to the ability to buy them and then sit unsold.

Bosses lay off workers and rein in investment. Some firms go bankrupt. Workers overall have less money and the crisis deepens.

Marx noted that capitalism produces ever bigger monopolies over time as bigger companies swallow up smaller ones. Deeper crises are more likely as capitalism ages because the collapse of bigger firms has a more widespread

effect on the system as a whole. Capitalism has produced immense wealth. Yet people go without things they need while "too many" things are produced.

Fortunately, Marx identified the power to get rid of this system. Capitalism generates its own "grave diggers" in workers, who have the power to scrap capitalism and create a socialist society based on need not profit.

We have come to a time in history when new challengers are showing themselves willing and able to take on this monstrous system that Marx understood so profoundly. May the revolutionary ideas of Karl Marx give them their inspiration and strategy for the struggles now and to come.

Over time, bosses get a lower return on their investments. They are still making billions in profit. But the rate of prof-



Student redecorate their classroom in Paris 1968



Parisian workers take to the streets against Macron

France 1968-2018

by Carolyn Egan

In Paris, where workers are fighting back against the neo-liberal measures being imposed by the EU's darling, Emmanuel Macron, there are prominent placards reading "1968-2018". They bring to mind the time in 1968, fifty years ago, when France saw the largest general strike in history up until that time. This strike caused the government to panic because of the threat of a mobilized working class. It showed the world that the collective power of ordinary people can shake the foundations of capitalism if they choose to use it.

World in Revolt
It was also the time when peasant guerillas in a small Asian nation stood up against the strongest nation in the world. The Tet offensive in Viet Nam began in January of 1968. The huge popular support shown for the National Liberation Front shook the US leaders. There were already a half a million American troops there and General Westmoreland was calling for another 200,000.

The anti-war movement was growing massively. Martin Luther King came out publicly against the war and was giving his support to trade union struggles as well. He stood on a platform in New York City with Malcolm X in support of hospital workers. He was murdered in Memphis, Tennessee supporting striking sanitation workers.

In the south, Black people were not allowed to drink out of the same water fountains, sit in the same restaurants, go to the same schools as whites. They were subject to Jim Crow laws which denied them the right to vote, and in northern cities subject to poverty, segregation and police violence.

And while this was going on, Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Indigenous and white youths were being drafted out of their communities. They went off to Viet Nam in crisply pressed uniforms and too many returned in pine boxes. 50,000 dead, hundreds of thousands wounded. US cities were exploding. Black people were no longer willing to accept the intolerable conditions under which they were forced to live. Uprisings occurred in

every major US city which gave expression to the feelings of so many.

In 1968, John Carlos and Tom Smith won their events at the Olympics and went to the podium, raising their fists in the Black Power salute. The Black Panther Party was organizing in city after city, rallying young Black people to a revolutionary program. It had broad popular support way beyond its numbers. The League of Revolutionary Black Workers was organizing auto workers in Detroit and leading walkouts. There were rank and file movements often led by Black workers in the shipyards and steel mills of the US.

The resistance to the war grew. What started off as small actions at draft boards and on university campuses became huge marches of hundreds of thousands happening in every country. This gave confidence to the 100,000 young Americans who said no to the draft and refused to serve in the military. Chants such as "Hey, hey LBJ, how many kids did you kill today" became "Hell no. We won't go", and they didn't. Eventually the US lost the war and withdrew.

The 1960s gave the US ruling class a rude awakening. For so many years, big business and the US government worked together to control society, but because of the contradictions which had been developing for years, it seemed suddenly there was open rebellion and conflict which involved millions. We are not at that point, but the anger at the base of society, the systemic racism and misogyny, the volatility that exists in every country is real and people desperately want change.

Today, French trade unionists are harkening back to that time because they remember the past, and are fighting the same battles as their parents against the same forces that put profits before people. These struggles are happening all over the world — whether it's rail workers in France, farmers in India or our fight in Ontario to maintain the victory that a diverse movement won for the \$15 minimum wage. The struggles of the sixties have real lessons for today, that there is an alternative to what is, and that our collective power can once again shake the foundations of capital.

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 transgender 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.

Doug Ford vs the Climate

by Valerie Lannon

"Carbon tax is a terrible, terrible tax. I don't even know why they put the word carbon in front of it. I don't. It's just a tax. A tax is a tax," said Doug Ford to a group of conservatives in Ottawa in March. As he later explained, "I'm excited for my friend Jason Kenney to get elected [in Alberta], at least we'll be on [the same] side... If we have to [take the matter to court], we have to do it. We'll do whatever it takes to make sure our businesses are competitive."

Carbon tax contradictions

Ford can grab on to the argument that the carbon tax is just "tax and grab" and he'd be right—as long as there is no requirement for revenues to go to clean energy investment and refunds to low and middle income people. Unless carefully designed, carbon taxes can act as a flat tax, unduly penalizing low wage workers.

Despite Ford's ranting, carbon taxing is most favoured by business (just like it supports "basic income"), because this tax is the least likely to quickly, if ever, bring us to a fossil-free future. The various tax or cap-and-trade programs do not make the taxes nearly high enough to reduce emissions sufficiently to ward off climate catastrophe.

This comes at a time when Earth's planetary boundaries continue to be breached whether we are talking about hotter climate, ocean acidification, decreased biodiversity or any of a host of indicators that measure how habitable our planet is for humans and animals. Notwithstanding the increased use of renewable energy and divestment from fossil fuels by some major financial institutions, the use of fossil fuels also continues to increase globally—which is already disastrous for Indigenous communities whose territories are poisoned by tar sands extraction, or migrants displaced by climate disasters.

By seizing on the shortcomings of the carbon tax, Ford is trying to turn the anger at Liberal austerity against the climate justice movement. So far the Tories have yet to say anything about addressing the climate in any meaningful way, not even to say how they will make up the \$4 billion



Doug Ford is not a friend of the planet

shortfall resulting from not implementing carbon taxes. And Ford's threat to stop the \$15/hr minimum wage would disproportionately impact Indigenous and migrant workers who are most impacted by climate disasters and most concentrated in low wage jobs.

Browning the Greenbelt

A video surfaced during the campaign which showed Ford sitting with a group of developers and promising to allow development in the greenbelt. The Greenbelt is an environmental protection area that surrounds the Toronto area. Ford dismissed the protected area as nothing but, "farmers fields".

After an outcry from farmers and environmentalists, Ford was forced to back down from the proposal. It is telling though that he was so willing to put the natural world up for sale with such ease. We should expect more of the same if he were to get elected.

Climate justice: during the election and beyond

But climate justice activists will not be letting Ford or any other politician off the hook. Plans are underway for a climate justice contingent in the June 16 post-election rally called by the Fight for \$15 and Fairness Campaign and the Ontario Federation of Labour.

The Toronto Good Jobs For All coalition (made up of labour, environmental and social justice organizations) is developing a climate manifesto. An early version calls for any carbon tax to be made conditional upon the requirement that refunds go to people on low

and moderate incomes, and other revenues go to furthering actions to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Other calls are for more investment in rapid transit, stopping the privatization of Hydro One, retrofitting buildings, reforestation, a just transition for workers, mandatory joint union/management for workplace environmental representatives, and Community Benefit Agreements with binding and equitable employment targets for major infrastructure projects.

Toronto 350 makes similar demands and adds support for low-carbon jobs including a minimum wage increase and enforcement of the Fair Workplaces and Better Jobs Act (Bill 148) to recognize the important role low-carbon jobs—particularly in health, education and social services—play in our economy and the lives of working people.

We must push the NDP provincially (and federally) to endorse and act upon the Leap Manifesto. The NDP should challenge Ford's contempt for climate justice, expose the Liberals' shortcomings and demand real climate justice alternatives. We can stop fossil fuel use by ensuring a just transition for fossil fuel workers, while expanding and raising the wages of low carbon economy. To push this we need to build the climate justice movement so that it is truly a mass movement, involving high and low carbon workers fighting for change. The next step in Ontario is to build the biggest possible June 16 rally regardless of who wins the election, raising climate justice demands during the election and beyond.



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Kinder Morgan Battle Heats Up

New rules for immigrants with disabilities a step in the right direction

by **Melissa Graham**

This April, the federal government finally announced changes to medical admissibility for immigrants to Canada. If implemented properly – and that is a big if – the change would mean that many people living with HIV/AIDS and some migrant workers with children with disabilities would now be able to come to Canada.

The government promised to increase the cost threshold for medical inadmissibility to 3 times the previous level, and amend the definition of social services by removing references to special education, social and vocational rehabilitation services and personal support services.

Demand full repeal

These changes are largely thanks to the persistent pressure by migrant worker activists, disability activists, and many others across the country.

But these changes are far from the full repeal that activists demanded. Canada will continue to deny permanent residency to some families if one member of the family has disabilities, against the recommendation of the Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration.

The changes also did not say what would happen with immigrants already in the country, meaning there is doubt that many migrant workers who spoke out about this injustice will be reunited with their families.

The Federal government's press release read "Government of Canada brings medical inadmissibility policy in line with inclusivity for persons with disabilities", but in reality that system is still intact. Canada continues to break domestic and international rules regarding discrimination against persons with disabilities.

The Immigration Minister said, "These newcomers are not a burden to Canada" but kept in place a system that treats people with disabilities precisely as burdens. Our work is far from over.



• For more information, and to sign the petition, please go to <http://www.migrantworkersalliance.org/>



Threats of state violence aren't stopping the Kinder Morgan opposition

by **Graeme Cheadle**

The battle over the Kinder Morgan's planned TransMountain pipeline expansion project, which would transport diluted bitumen from the tar sands of Alberta to a terminus in Burnaby for export (increasing tanker traffic in Burrard Inlet by 600%), may be entering a terminal phase. After growing protests and the resolute determination of (primarily indigenous) land defenders who continue to occupy strategic points along the pipeline's proposed route, it seems that the company has blinked.

This spring has seen hundreds of protesters arrested in various actions on Burnaby Mountain (including federal Green Party MP Elizabeth May and NDP MP Kennedy Stewart), as well a visit to the blockades by Grand Chief Stewart Phillip, President of the Union of BC Indian Chiefs, along with several other prominent aboriginal leaders and activists. More actions are planned.

The future of the project has been up in the air however since the surprise announcement by Kinder Morgan that it would cease all "non-essential" funding on the project until the various levels of government involved could work out their differences. The company stated that it could not mediate between feuding governments and would therefore not expose its investors to unnecessary risk, even laying off construction workers while the standoff lengthens, though activists note that construction equipment continued to be moved on site and tree-clearing efforts apparently continued for days after the announcement.

State Threats

The Canadian state, meanwhile, is not prepared to allow the plan to fail without a fight. Alberta Premier Rachel Notley and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau are ardent supporters

of the pipeline, claiming that the federal government has absolute authority on inter-provincial energy projects (despite a brewing scandal which has suggested that the National Energy Board process which approved the TransMountain expansion was rigged from the outset), and when asked, neither Minister of Natural Resources Jim Carr (previously on record as advocating the use of military force to ensure the pipeline's completion) nor Minister of Infrastructure and Communities Amarjeet Sohi would rule out the use of military force against protesters and land defenders.

The federal government has been warning about the "threat" posed by an emerging alliance between environmental activists and indigenous land defenders since the days of Stephen Harper, and Trudeau, despite his lofty rhetoric about reconciliation, has proven that this is a thoroughly bipartisan consensus, assuring attendees at a Texas oil and gas conference last year that "No country would find 173 billion barrels of oil in the ground and just leave them there," despite his promise the previous year that "governments grant permits, communities grant permission" and the well-established opposition to the pipeline by First Nations along its entire route, from the Secwepemc to the Tsleil-Waututh, not to mention consensus by the world's leading climate scientists that the oil in the tar sands must indeed stay there in perpetuity if the planet's biosphere is to have any chance of long-term survival.

With his own political survival likely in mind (a recent poll suggested an incredible 10% of British Columbians would be willing to engage in direct action to prevent the pipeline from being built), BC Premier John Horgan recently inquired with the BC Court of Appeal about the province's right to regulate pipelines. In its public statement Kinder Morgan essentially issued an ultimatum to the various governments involved that they had

until May 31st to guarantee that the project would go ahead or it would pull out of the project. In response, both the federal and Alberta governments announced the possibility of nationalizing the pipeline in order to guarantee its successful implementation. It was initially reported that this would see as much as \$2 billion of public funds directed toward the failed private sector initiative, but according to the former chief executive of oil giant Trans Mountain Corp., the real figure could easily be as high as \$10 billion:

"The only way [the project] could go ahead is if the government was to indemnify Kinder Morgan against a failed project halfway through [which is] a \$10 billion dollar indemnity," Hal Kvisle said.

Such is the determination of the Canadian ruling class to rest its fortunes on energy extraction, no matter how harmful, controversial or even potentially illegal such projects may be. After the defeat of the Energy East and Northern Gateway pipelines, it will no doubt become more determined in its efforts to ram through pipelines to whichever coast it can reach.

How events on the ground play out from here depend on the steadfast determination of the indigenous land defenders, environmental activists, and socialists.

To donate to the legal campaigns of the arrested activists and for updates on anti-Kinder Morgan protests, go to <https://protecttheinlet.ca/>, or visit Camp Cloud (located at the corner of Underhill Avenue and Shellmout Street in Burnaby, across the street from main gate of the Kinder Morgan facility) or the nearby Tsleil-Waututh Watch House (about 500 meters east of the main gate of the Kinder Morgan facility, along a hiking trail) to donate money, food, supplies or time.ity, along a hiking trail) to donate money, food, supplies or time.

Why Vote NDP?

Elections will not, on their own, bring about the world we wish to see: a world without hunger and racism and war and environmental destruction. Real change comes through extra-parliamentary struggles which shapes people's ideas and leads them towards a challenge to the system as a whole.

But elections are, nevertheless, important. They have impacts in both the material and ideological realm and they cannot be simply discounted because of the limitations inherent in the process.

Who are the Liberals?

During every election in Canada, there are calls for people to vote strategically. Usually this means a vote for the Liberals as a means to stop the Conservatives gaining power. But we must assess what that means in practice. Liberal governments talk a good game as progressives, but when challenged, they show their face as a party of the 1%. When college faculty went on strike in Ontario, the Liberals legislated them back to work thus eliminating the power of collective bargaining as a tool to lift them out of precarity.

It was the Liberals in this province that privatized Hydro so they could pocket a bit of cash and make the books look balanced. Those privatization schemes have always benefited the rich at the expense of the rest of us. The Liberals are always ready to make their Bay street buddies richer and they are backed by many of the same corporate interests that support the Conservatives.

The Wynne Liberals in Ontario didn't raise the minimum wage because they are truly progressive. They did so because there was a movement on the ground to force their hand. They may call themselves the party



The NDP contingent at the International Women's day march in Toronto

of healthcare in Canada but again they only brought about universal care because activists marched and rallied and made this happen.

It can be hard to think of good reasons to vote for the NDP. When they have achieved power, they often move significantly to the right making them seem indistinguishable from the other parties. This has as much to do with the control of the political system by the corporations and the rich. Those forces have rigged the system so that whoever is elected, they remain in power. So the NDP, because they have decided to play the parliamentary game, becomes beholden to that agenda.

The fact that they also look to the par-

liamentary process as the main vehicle for change inevitably leads them to further capitulations to the system which will move them rightward as well.

Role of Labour

While the NDP often looks like it is floundering and their platforms are a far cry from what most progressives would like to see, there is a specific difference between them and the Liberals and Tories. They are a party that was born out of the labour movement, and they still maintain a connection to the unions. Some of the best trade union activists are NDP supporters because of the tradition

of its connection to labour.

There is a long and important history in the union movement. Traditions of collective struggle already create a very different way of looking at the world. Unions have spoken out against racism and war and have fought many battles to make things better for working people. Most importantly, unions, by their very nature are an expression of the division of society into classes. One of the key tools that the ruling 1% use to cement their power is to argue that "we are all in this together" even as they grow rich on the work of others. The existence of unions belies that falsehood.

For the right wing this connection to the unions is one of the main reasons they oppose the NDP. It is also why the NDP always fights an uphill battle in the media, regardless of how timid their program is. The bosses realise that a party that represents the need for workers to have their own party is a threat, and therefore attack it or push it to the right.

It is also one of the reasons why we must critically support them. In the aftermath of an election, if the NDP is decimated and the Conservatives grow, the right wing, the bosses and the bigots all feel buoyed and they will push even harder for their agenda.

If the left gains, it can give hope and confidence to those who wish to challenge the system and bring about some real change.

All these reasons are why we call for a critical vote for the NDP. We are critical because they are to the right of where they should be and when in power they are often a disappointment. But a destroyed NDP would mean the Liberals would have no-one nipping at their heels from the left and things would go from bad to worse for working people.

Fight on class issues

With the provincial election looming, what is the situation confronting working class people in Ontario?

- In urban areas, housing prices have skyrocketed and rental costs have ballooned. In rural areas, hydro bills have soared.

- Hospitals face chronic under-staffing. Seniors line the hallways on gurneys in waiting rooms across the province, while nurses and hospital staff work longer and longer hours.

- Workers have seen pensions get gobbled up by greedy bankers and bosses such as Sears, US Steel, Toys R Us.

- Wages have stagnated under the Liberals, yet salaries for CEOs have grown exponentially. The gap between the rich and the rest of us is the largest in almost a century.

- The Sunshine list grows, as more and more CEOs and top managers of hospitals, Hydro, school boards and Metrolinx line their own pockets while jacking up costs and driving down services.

15 years of Liberal rule hasn't made life easier for working class people in Ontario. Bills keep piling up while bankers and bosses keep raking it in.

Sadly, the Tories have been able to tap into this anger at watching the rich get richer while the rest of us struggle to keep our heads above water.

Their social media front group, *Ontario Proud*, outrageously uses the slogan of the Labour Party in Britain, "for the many not the few", to claim

Doug Ford is the solution to these problems. This is despite the fact that it was the Harris Tories which initially floated the idea of privatizing Hydro and were responsible for many of the policies which have exacerbated rising inequality in Ontario

The Labour movement needs to take seriously

the threat of Ford and the possibility of a Tory government in Ontario.

But that can't be done by trying to convince working people that the Liberals are a better alternative, or through "strategic" voting.

Defeating Ford can happen by doing what was done on the ground to stop Tim Hudak in the last

election, and by putting pressure on the NDP to come out swinging to the left in a real way.

What is the NDP saying?

The NDP announced a wide ranging progressive program including \$12 day care, universal pharmacare, free dental care for lower income workers, a huge investment in hospitals and a conversion of all student debt to grants.

This will be paid for by increased taxes on corporations and the wealthy. The strong platform can be a game changer for the NDP. But, the key for activists will be to keep pressure on NDP candidates to actually campaign on this platform to make it a tool to relate to the class anger that Ford is attempting to harness.

The Tories and Liberals are the twin parties of the rich and powerful, despite attempts to portray themselves as friends of workers.

The way to stop Ford is to mobilise at the base of our unions and in communities and the NDP can help by pushing an unapologetically left platform.

We need the NDP to campaign not to just win seats but to raise class issues such as defending women's rights, fighting for pensions, defending and extending the gains from the fight for \$15 and fairness and renationalizing Hydro.

Working people are looking for a true alternative to the Liberals. Fighting on class issues will expose the Tories and stop them from capturing that anger for themselves.



Only class issues can defeat the bosses parties

Photo: Ontario Health Coalition